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MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

VII. – //

JOHN LYLY AND EUPHUISM.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1894. –

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JOHN LYLY AND EUPHUISM

BY

CLARENCE GRIFFIN CHILD, M. A.

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I.

Introduction.

Euphuism exercised, at a critical period in England's national development, an influence marked and profound upon literature and cultivated speech. This truth, though recognised during the lifetime of the great Euphuist himself — so far at least as it evidenced itself in his personal achievement — was nevertheless speedily forgotten. Lyly's astonishing success, the applause accorded him by his age, the sincerer tribute of its close imitation, came soon to be regarded merely as memorable features of a folly as prodigious as it was ephemeral. His real honesty, good-sense, earnestness of purpose, counted for nothing. He was remembered only because of the consummate artificiality of the style he adopted and brought into fashion. Ridicule and censure attended its final rejection and gave rise to that falsifying tradition which condemned him to serve so long only as a mark of scorn for the sciolist, an awful example of monumental literary affectation for the complacent references of pedantic ignorance. Today however the true significance of that influence is perceived, whose effects for good and ill his works most fully display. The sources, character, consequences of Euphuism, have been traced out, examined into, defined. We are taught to see that no other influence ever affected English prose development so notably. Moreover we learn that, as concerns Comparative Literature, additional support is afforded

important generalisations, for Euphuism made or marked a phase in England's literary growth that may be profitably compared with phases somewhat similar in the literary developments of Greece, Imperial Rome, Spain, Italy and France.

Of the inquiry which has afforded these results, no detailed account has yet been given. Such however approves itself as the only means of thoroughly understanding the subject in its varied aspects and relations, as well as the present status of its study. Before we attempt it, certain points of elementary importance must be briefly touched upon, — and first a word as to the ambiguous use of the term "euphuism" and its co-derivatives.

For us, Euphuism will naturally mean, (1) an influence informing English literature and cultivated speech during the 16th century, with results most marked during Elizabeth's mid-reign, and with periods of inception, highest activity, and decadence, at least approximately determinable, (2) in any literary work, the general character or form resulting from direct operation of such influence, (3) any single group of words forming a unit for critical purposes, which exhibits such character or form.

These, with the adjective "Euphuistic" and the noun of the agent "Euphuist" are accepted terms, precise in meaning, and possessing precise equivalents in German. English critics, however, often use these terms in secondary senses running parallel to the primary and conveying in their connotation no implication of true traditional Euphuistic influence, no reference indeed to what are the individually characteristic features of Euphuism. These uses originated in the ignorant and prejudiced views of Euphuism which prevailed in the 18th century. Changing in color somewhat as the conception of Euphuism changed, they now draw their meaning from the mistaken notion prevailing until recently and not yet surrendered by some English critics, that Euphuism was the predominating influence throughout the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries. Thus they denote a style having certain characteristics possessed in common by all the several styles

in vogue during that period, e. g. wit in any degree other than quite spontaneous, in conjunction with a sophisticated nicety of expression. [1]) — The distinction here drawn is no idle one. English critics are constantly led into ambiguity — even Prof. Morley seems to be, though he takes care to note that "Euphuism is a convenient word for artificial wit", "a byword for certain forms of literary affectation." [2]) By reason of this double use, misunderstandings have arisen between German and English critics. Dr. Weymouth, in feeling about for a distinction between "euphuism" and a "euphuistic style" is evidently led astray by the more familiar use of these terms in their æsthetic connection. Schwan, who criticises him upon this point sharply, seems also unaware of the distinction. It was this use, no doubt, which made it more easily possible for Morley to repeat the error which credited Euphuism with a term of activity (its effects changed in form but not in kind) from Lyly's day to Dryden's mid-career — and to speak of Fuller, Browne, and Andrewes, as "euphuistic" — which they certainly are, but only in the rhetorical sense of the word, which itself took rise from precisely the same incorrect historical conception.

This conception has been shown to be false, as well as that, which by an error natural enough, found the original source, the fountain-spring of Euphuism in the two famous works which gave it name — Lyly's "Euphues", and "Euphues and his England". Yet these must remain as the pivot-point of all study of the subject — while not the first, they are at once the most purely characteristic and the most significant product of Euphuism. Euphuism had long been work-

[1]) With all due deference to Weymouth, these secondary uses are not only useful but quite justifiable, notwithstanding the fact that they took their rise in historical error (an origin in no way disparaging the value of many words of honorable acceptance) and in spite of the fact that "euphuism", "euphuistic", etc., have been misused by George Eliot and others for "euphemistic" &c.

[2]) Quarterly Review. 1861. CIX, p. 350. It is to be regretted that Morley in his last work (English Writers, VIII, p. 317) speaks of a "Later Euphuism" affecting verse, &c. The use of capitals emphasises his incorrect application of the term.

ing up to this its most perfect expression. The language itself was at a stage of development which made a tendency to preciosity of some sort natural, indeed inevitable. Cultivated speech felt and followed this tendency — strove to express its feeling — was inarticulate, being ignorant for what it strove. Literature was naturally even more sensitive — and with better understanding, but with as great a lack of any definite self-originative power, found its satisfaction in the translation and close imitation of the works of one who seemed an admirable and well-nigh inimitable exemplar — the Spaniard Guevara. Lyly completed the work, conjoining a native and original element. His two books first truly naturalised this foreign form, for they preserved in their content a thoroughly English and Elizabethan spirit. He focussed scattered and errant rays into a single narrow beam of intense brightness which kindled reflections often brilliant, often broken and refracted, in every angle and facet of the polished life of the day. Fitting his work with delicate intuition to a wavering, irresolute tendency, uncertain as yet of its object, he left that tendency by reaction a self-conscious fashion. His success was in a word due to the fact that he jumped with his time. Without a rival until the appearance of Sidney's Arcadia, his book had opportunity to make a most marked impression. It was no doubt familiar to every one of the two million or less readers of the period. Moreover Lyly, we have reason to believe, commended himself by his honesty as well as his artificiality, — in fact first gave offence by it. Many of his sayings had vitality enough to become proverbs, — became classic on the lips and in the memories of the unlearned. And doubtless the throng of poets, romance-writers and dramatists who a little later trod on each other's heels in their anxiety to get before the public, must have hungrily regarded his fame, and attempted through study of his means to repeat his success — even at a time when his elaborate rhetoric had ceased to excite admiration. Of these some of the greatest, while they ridiculed the follies he engendered, certainly held him and his work in real respect. It is equally certain that he must have exercised upon them

in their youth, for a time at least, something of a formative influence.

Concerning Lyly's life, we have but scanty information. Born 1553—4, he took his B. A. in Oxford, 1573, his M. A. 1575. Lord Burleigh refused him a fellowship, but seems to have given him employment of some sort 1575—82, when he apparently fell into disgrace from which, in a letter to Lord Burleigh still extant, he pleads for an opportunity to exculpate himself.[1]) During this time he had been incorporated Master of Arts of Cambridge[2]) (1579), had published "Euphues" (1579) and "Euphues and his England" (1580). For certainly over thirteen years, probably from 1584 on, he lived about the Court as playwright, striving without success to obtain the post of Master of the Revels, although in two petitions to Elizabeth, he pleaded pathetically his long services and his poverty. He died in 1606. Only a few scattered allusions give us glimpses of the man. Morley, piecing together references gathered by Fairholt, has contrived to draw a very complete picture. "Lyly", he said[3]) "had children and his book shows as we shall find that he thought seriously for himself and agreed with Ascham upon questions of education. He was a little man with a wife and family; he smoked tobacco, and was a wit in society with a heart full of seriousness; he was a hungry reader of good books and to the last[4]) a hungry waiter in the Court that repaid his honest labouring to entertain it well according to its humor only with promises

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[1]) We discover a hint as to Lyly's occupation in Harvey's "Pierces Supererogation" (Archaica II, p. 80): "*Pap-hatchet*, desirous for his benefit to curry favour with a nobel Earl and in defect of other means of commendation, labouring to insinuate himself by smooth glosing"; p. 139: "A whole sink of such arrant phrases savour hotly of the same Lucianical breath, and discover the minion secretary aloof".

[2]) Some have said this indicates an estrangement from his Alma Mater. This is ridiculous. Such double degrees were common enough, e. g. Nash was M. A. of both Universities.

[3]) Quarterly Review, 1861, CIX, p. 360.

[4]) No historical warrant for this statement. The probability is he was pensioned. He lived for a number of years apparently unproductive, save some Latin verses to Elizabeth in *Lock's* "Ecclesiastes".

unfulfilled . . . . The first part of Euphues is the complete work; the second and longer part was designed to mitigate the severity of the first and indirectly deprecate in courtly fashion an interpretation of the author's meaning that might lead to the starvation of his family.[1]) In the first part Lyly satisfied his conscience; in the second part, but still without dishonesty, he satisfied his country and the court".[2]) Mézières[3]) closely follows Morley. He speaks of Lyly as "ce bourgeois de Londres, esprit sérieux et religieux, un peu de théologien même . . . ce père de famille très-occupé de questions d'éducation et très-attentif à bien élever ses enfants". Two facts only of Lyly's life are of pointed interest and importance: — (1) University-bred, he read the classics in the original; (2) he wrote for his daily bread, studied therefore the taste of his public; followed, did not institute a movement.

Euphues, as Morley points out, gave temporary dissatisfaction owing to its strictures on the Universities and the laxities of fashionable life.[4]) With its successor however it speedily won great popularity and brought into vogue the style it used in such elaborate perfection. In proof of these facts, a few quotations[5]) may be of interest and value:

Rich, B.[6]), "Don Simonides", II: "And amongst the whole cataloge of comedy schollers, there shalt thou meete with a Gentleman . . . yea, with so sweet a tongued orator shalt thou meete, as Aeschines should be shaft at, if he discommended him and Anthony the orator derided at. . . . Happy

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[1]) How does Morley know Lyly was married when he wrote Euphues and his England?

[2]) Quarterly, CIX, p. 361.

[3]) Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Shak. p. 62.

[4]) Euphues, p. 215: "The other not daring to bud till the colde were past"; ib. p. 207, the apology "To my verie good friends the Gentlemen Schollers of Oxford".

[5]) Dilke and Drake started and Fairholt and Arber added successively to this list of citations. We quote one from Landmann (see also his Diss. pp. 89—91, quotations from Nash and Harvey) and add one or two from Harvey's Pierces Supererogation.

[6]) Landmann, Diss. pp. 86—87.

shalt thou be in thy travaile to meete with this Euphues, who is curious in describing the anatomie of wit, and constaunt reprehending vanities in Love."

1586 Webbe, Wm., "Discourse of English Poetrie": "Among whom I thinke there is none that will gainsay, but Master John Lilly hath deserved moste high commendations, as he hath stept one steppe further therein than any either before or since he first began the wyttie discourse of his Euphues."

1587 (?) Upchear, H., Prefatory Verses to R. Greene's "Menaphon":

"Of all the flowers a Lillie on[e]e I lov'd,
Whose labouring beautie brancht it selfe abroade".

1588 Eliot, J., Prefatory Sonnet to R. Greene's "Perimedes":

"Greene et Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglois".

1592 Nash, Th., "Strange News": "Euphues I read when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and then I thought it was ipse ille . . . I looked not in it these ten years".

1593 Harvey, G., "Pierces Supererogation": "For in truth I loved him, in hope praised him, many ways favored him and never in any way offended him" [1]); "Faith, quoth himself, thou wilt be caught by thy style ..... Greene's pamphlets, Euphues similes, double V's phrases are too well known to go unknown". [2])

1596 Lodge, Th., "Wits Miserie": "Lilly, the famous for facility in discourse"; 1598 Meres, F., "Wits Treasury": "Eloquent and wittie John Lilly"; 1623 Jonson, B., Prefatory Verses to the First Folio:

"For, if I thought my iudgment were of yeeres
I should commit thee surely with thy peeres,
And tell, how farre thou didst our ***Lilly*** *outshine,*
Or sporting ***Kid,*** *or* ***Marlowes*** *mighty line."*

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[1]) Brydges, Archaica, II, p. 80.
[2]) Ib. p. 139.

1632 Blount, Ed., "Six Court Comedies" (a reprint of six of Lyly's Plays), Address to the Reader: "Our Nation are in his debt, for a new English which hee taught them. *Euphues* and his England began first that language: All our Ladies were then his Schollers: And that Beautie in Court, which could not Parley, Euphueisme, was as little regarded; as she which now there, speaks not French".

Adverse criticisms of the faults and excesses of the Euphuistic style are not wanting; these followed for the most part upon the waning of its popularity:

Circa 1580 Sidney, P., "Apologie": "So is that hony-flowing Matron Eloquence, apparelled, or rather disguised in a Curtizan-like painted affectation . . . I would this fault [Alliteration] were only peculiar to Versifiers and had not as large possession among Prose-printers"; 1592 Nash, Th., "Strange News": "Do I talke of any counterfeit birds or hearbes or stones . . .?"; 1593 Harvey, G., "Pierces Supererogation": "A whole sink of such arrant phrases savour hotly of the same Lucianical breath" [1]); "The finest wits prefer the loosest period in M. Ascham or Sir Philip Sidney before the trickiest page in Euphues or Pap Hatchet" [2]); "Pap-Hatchet's reasty eloquence" [3]); 1599 Ben Jonson: the character of Fastidious Brisk in Ben Jonson's "Every Man out of his Humour" has been so generally accepted [4]) as a satire upon the Euphuistic courtier that we mention it — though unable to discern wherein the point of the satire lies. Fallace quotes Euphues [5]) to Brisk, but nothing in his behaviour or conversation suggests the Euphuist; 1627 Drayton, M., "To

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[1]) Ib. p. 139.

[2]) Ib. p. 140.

[3]) Ib. p. 151.

[4]) See e. g. Dunlop, p. 433, Arber, p. 16. Fairholt, with as little reason says (I, p. X) that Euphuism was "one of the chief objects of satire" in "Cynthia's Revels".

[5]) Act V, Sc. X: "O Master Brisk, as 'tis in Euphues, Hard is the choice when one is compell'd either by silence to die with grief or by speaking to live with shame" (Gifford's ed. II, p. 205).

my most dearely loved friend Henery Reynold of Poets and Poesie":

"The noble Sidney . . . did first reduce
Our tongue from Lillies writing then in use;
Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes,
Playing with words, and idle Similies".

1627 Wither, G., "Brittans Remembrancer":

"Words alter as the Times:
And soonest their fantastic Rhetoriques.
Who trim their Poesies with school-boy tricks.
That, which this age affects, as grave and wise
The following generation may despise.
Greenes phrase and Lillie's language were in fashion
And had among the wits much commendation;
But now, another garbe of speech, with us
Is pris'd; and theirs is thought ridiculous."

(Canto 2. 42 ff.)

We have not hesitated to cite Harvey in spite of the enmity Lyly and he had for one another. Landmann says even Harvey did not withhold the respect which Lyly's contemporaries felt for him personally.[1]) Schwan criticises "I know nothing of this respect which Harvey did not refuse to Lyly".[2]) Landmann referred him to a passage already quoted by him from Harvey's "Advertisement for Pap-Hatchet": "So then of Pappadocio *whom* nevertheless I esteem a hundred times learnder and a thousand times honester then this other Braggadocio" i. e. Nash. Some of the passages above given might better have been cited, or that[3]) in which Harvey charges Lyly with the authorship of "Pappe with an Hatchet &c." Harvey there says: "When young Euphues hatched the egges that his elder freendes laide (surely Euphues was

[1]) Diss. p. 94.

[2]) Engl. Stud., 1883, VI, p. 104: „Von der Achtung, die Harvey Lyly nicht versagte, ist mir nichts bekannt".

[3]) Quoted Arber's Euphues, p. 9.

someway a pretty fellow: would God, Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues and never Pap-Hatchet)".

The term Euphuism is first found in Harvey's "Four Letters and certaine Sonnets touching Robert Greene" [1]), — "What hee is improved since excepting his good old *Flores Poetarum*, and *Tarleton's* surmounting rhetoric, with a little *Euphuism*, and *Greeness* enough which were all prettily stale before he put hand to pen". It appears to have been in general use. Blount preserved it for us in the passage quoted above (p. 8).

Blount was himself a belated Euphuist — and epitaphist, not editor. His Epistle Dedicatorie and Address to the Reader in florid eulogy of Lyly's memory, possess historical value only — contain no profitable critical comment; such, of course, we are not to expect of his day and generation. Scarcely more profitable, indeed, are the greater number of later references. Lyly's name is introduced, perfunctorily enough as a rule, in works treating of the drama — and dismissed with a passing, often contemptuous mention. Yet trivial as many of these references are, we are unwilling to pass any of them entirely by. The study of Euphuism has always been closely identified with that of Lyly; it is impossible to reject any mention of him as of no importance historically. These references formed the real basis of the modern inquiry, for they served to keep the subject in mind, gradually gathered together fragments of useful fact and opinion, and finally supplied everything but the point of view for the first separate and thorough treatment of Euphuism itself. When however we take the whole body of our notes into consideration, justice and accuracy demand the marking of a distinction. We accordingly divide our account into two parts: A. Incidental references to Lyly and his style; B. Euphuism as a separate subject of scientific inquiry.

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[1]) Brydges, Archaica, II, p. 29.

A. Incidental References to Lyly and his Style.

Gerald Langbaine [1]) says of him: "He was a very close student and much addicted to Poetry; a Proof of which he has given the World in Nine Plays he has bequeath'd to Posterity and which in that Age were well esteem'd both by the Court and the University. He was one of the first Writers that in those Days attempted to reform our Language and purge it from obsolete Expressions". Langbaine himself is not of so much interest to us as the interleaved Ms. notes of the famous antiquarian, Oldys. [2]) He comments upon Lyly's style with singular justice and quiet good sense — upon its "Conformity", the "formal measure of its Periods", its "shaping of the sense into one artificial Cadence", its "excess of Allusion", and particularly its constant use of "one odd Allusion or Simile or other (out of Natural History that yet is fabulous and not true in Nature)". Mr. Cibber [3]) has not himself read Euphues but quotes the author of the "British Theatre" [4]) who has: "This Romance, so fashionable for its wit; so famous in the court of Queen Elizabeth, and is said to have introduced so remarkable a change in our language, I have seen and read. It is an unnatural affected jargon in which the perpetual use of metaphor, allusions, allegories, and analogies, is to pass for wit, and stiff bombast for language; and with this nonsense the court of Queen Elizabeth (whose times afforded better models for stile and composition than almost any since) became miserably infected and greatly help'd to let in all the vile pedantry of language in the two following reigns; so much mischief the most ridiculous instrument may do when he proposes to improve on the simplicity of nature". Whalley [5]), a few years later,

[1]) Dramatick Poets, 1691, pp. 327—330.

[2]) In copy in Boston Library, 4 vols., rescript of copy in British Museum.

[3]) Lives of the Poets, 1753, I, pp. 110—113.

[4]) [Chetwood, W. R.], 1750, Preface.

[5]) Ben Jonson's Works, 1756; reprint quoted 1811, I, p. 94.

finds the essential quality of Lyly's style to be "antithesis of thought and expression"; this phrase and those of Oldys are notable: they are constantly repeated by later critics; in fact these two brief annotations sum up nine tenths of later criticism.

In 1758, Lyly was commended [1]) as "a kind of prodigy for neatness, clearness and precision", and in 1760 credited [2]) as "a writer of some fame in the XVI century..... by many accounted one of the first reformers of the English tongue". Berkenhout [3]) perverts the meaning of Whalley's note, and condemns the Euphues as a "most contemptible piece of affectation and nonsense." Malone [4]) barely touches upon the subject. In the British Bibliographer [5]) there is incidental reference to the "fantastical nonsense of Lyly", and the "jargon of the Euphues and his England".

D'Israeli [6]) in his "Calamities and Quarrels of Authors" (1812) expresses a doubt whether Lyly wrote "Pap with a Hatchet": "Its native vigor strangely contrasts with the famous Euphuism of that refined writer". The editor, his son, says there can be no doubt of Lyly's authorship and quotes Harvey as proof.

Dunlop [7]) is to be credited with carefulness and some originality. He discovers three faults in Lyly, — "1. A constant antithesis, not merely in the ideas but words, as one more given to *theft* than to *threft*; 2. An absurd affectation of learning by constant reference to history and mythology; 3. A ridiculous superabundance of similitudes". [8]) Of chief interest is the fact that he finds features of style similar to those of Lyly in Lodge, Greene, Brian Melbank and Breton.

[1]) Anon. Literary Magazine, 1758, quoted Arber, p. 19.

[2]) Biog. Brit. 1760, V, pp. 2962—2963.

[3]) Biog. Literaria, 1777, p. 312, note a.

[4]) Rise and Progress of the English Stage, 1800, pp. 39—64.

[5]) 1810, I, p. 232. Here a bare reference may be made to Dilke, Old English Plays, 1814, Vol. I, pp. 199, 201, 291—293, Vol. II, 34. Dilke began the collection of incidental references to Lyly.

[6]) Ed. 1860. London and New-York, p. 116.

[7]) History of Fiction, 1814. 2d Ed. used, 1816, pp. 426—448.

[8]) Ib. p. 431.

Gifford [1]) follows Berkenhout's lead: citing Whalley, he does not pervert his meaning like Berkenhout, but adds of his own hand that Lyly "vitiated the taste and corrupted the language of his time". A.W. Schlegel [2]) holds that Lyly deserves recognition among Shakspeare's predecessors. He was a trained scholar, and successfully busied himself with bringing into English prose and conversation an elaborate adornment of style. His Campaspe is an example, and warning, how impossible it is out of mere anecdote and epigram to build up a dramatic whole. Lyly was a learned wit but in no respect a poet. [3]) Drake's [4]) treatment of the subject is as careful and thorough as his opportunities permitted, and for a long time was standard. He gives a just estimate of Lyly's style, presents historical data, records judgments passed upon him, briefly vindicates his moral earnestness, and condemns Berkenhout's flippant criticism. He may also be credited with having first attempted to determine, though unsuccessfully, Lyly's proper place in English prose development.

Scott's [5]) well-known parody of Euphuism in the character of Sir Piercie Shafton is said to have attracted attention to the subject. It scarcely deserves the name of parody, being rather that most worthless of all trivialities — a caricature without likeness. Later in criticising his own failure [6]), Scott was the first to draw a parallel between Euphuism and Preciosity.

Tieck [7]) justly says that there was nothing in Lyly's word-plays, elaborate similes, pedantic niceties, to save him from oblivion, yet he is to be studied if we are to obtain a true knowledge of his time, the character of its culture, and the

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[1]) Ben Jonson's Works, 1816, II, p. 205.

[2]) Dramatische Kunst und Litteratur, 1809, pp. 268—269; lectures delivered in Vienna, 1808.

[3]) There is a brief reference containing nothing worthy of note in "Ancient British Drama", ed. by Sir Walter Scott, 1810, I, p. 132.

[4]) Shakespeare and his Times, 1817, 1, pp. 441—443, II, pp. 240—242.

[5]) The Monastery, 1820.

[6]) Ib. 1830, p. 391.

[7]) Shakspeares Vorschule, 1823—1829, I.

course of its development. Miss Aikin [1]) quotes Drake. Her account of the reception of the French Embassy, 1581. gives several speeches then delivered pronouncedly Euphuistic in character. She herself calls attention to Elizabeth's early letters; though not truly Euphuistic, they prove unmistakably the cultivation of a carefully antithetic style.

Two remarkable bits of criticism follow from two rather notable men. Collier [2]) considers Lyly to have little title to the character of a poet; that he "never yielded to the impulse of genuine feeling" — a woefully mistaken impression characteristic of the time. He refers to Lyly's "fabulous or unnatural natural philosophy" — and is warmly praised for the phrase by Fairholt, Ward and others, though it is evidently an awkward conveyance of Oldys' epigram, above given. Hallam [3]). eight years later, while commenting upon the Elizabethan taste for recondite mythological allusions, and a Latinised phraseology, uses Lyly as a stock example. To talk of a "Latinised phraseology" in connection with Lyly is simply absurd. The amusing feature of this criticism is that Hallam quotes nearly three pages of the Euphues; in these not fifty words are of Latin origin at all — and such as are had been long domesticated in the language, — nobility, honor, courage, and the like. Hallam's criticism of Lyly is empty, of his book false. "It is full", he says, "of dry commonplaces", — surely a curious comment for an historical critic to make upon a book 240 years old.

Ulrici [4]) was the first to suggest Lyly's influence upon Shakspeare in the matter of comic and witty dialogue, wordplays, &c. His criticism is founded upon Drake. Lyly, he considers, was no poet. Hazlitt's [5]) criticism is purely of

[1]) Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth, 1823; ed. 1870, p. 312.

[2]) History of English Dramatic Poetry, 1831, III, p. 173.

[3]) Introduction to the Literature of Europe, Paris 1839, II, pp. 253—254, London, II, pp. 408—411, New-York 1863, pp. 287—289. See also III, pp. 17—38.

[4]) Ueber Shakspeares dram. Kunst, 1839, pp. 38—40.

[5]) Lectures on the Dram. Lit. of the Age of Elizabeth, 1840, pp. 44—53.

an æsthetic character. The affectations which disfigure Lyly's pages form only occassional blemishes in those of Sidney. D'Israeli [1]) remarks: "Nothing we know of the much applauded, and much ridiculed and most ingenious John Lyly". Halpin [2]) traces certain resemblances between Lyly and Shakspeare, in point of plots, dramatic devices, &c., entering particularly into the discussion of the Endymion in connection with Oberon's Vision, in regard to their alleged allegorical significance. His work does not stand in direct relation to the inquiry. In the same year appeared in Chambers' "Encyclopædia of English Literature" a brief note, for its time excellent, upon Lyly's life and work. Charles Kingsley [3]), in speaking of the honesty and true gentlehood of the Elizabethan Age finds occasion to speak of Lyly, and in one pithy remark gives us a glimpse of the opinion then held of him: "If they [those differing in opinion] shall quote against me with a sneer Lyly's Euphues itself, I shall only answer by asking 'Have they ever read it?'" Here we may interject that Lyly was certainly not without one or two readers. Irving [4]) quotes him in Bracebridge Hall (1822), Longfellow [5])

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[1]) Amenities of Literature, 1842, II, p. 128.

[2]) Shak. Soc. Publications, 1843, also Oberon's Vision etc. London, 1843.

[3]) Westward Ho! 1855, p. 276.

[4]) Motto prefixed to "Student of Salamanca" from "Gallathea": "What a life doe I lead with my master; nothing but blowing of bellowes, beating of spirits, and scraping of croslets! It is a very secret science, for none almost can understand the language of it. Sublimation, almigation, calcination, rubification, albification and fermentation; with as many tearmes impossible to be uttered as the arte to be compassed". Motto to the "Schoolmaster" from "Euphues": "There will no mosse stick to the stone of Sisyphus, no grasse hang on the heeles of Mercury, no butter cleave on the bread of a traveller. For as the eagle at every flight loseth a feather, which maketh her bauld in her age, so the traveller in every country loseth some fleece, which maketh him a beggar in his youth by buying that for a pound which he cannot sell again for a penny — repentance".

[5]) Prose Works: Book I, p. 1129; "In John Lyly's 'Endymion', Sir Top[h]as is made to say: 'Dost thou know what a poet is? Why, fool, a poet is as much as one should say — a poet'!"

in Hyperion (1839), and Southey [1]) in his "Commonplace-Book" and "The Doctor".

By this time the book Euphues had been partially redeemed from oblivion, and its character from obloquy. A decided change was now to occur in its fortunes. Fairholt's edition of Lyly's plays [2]) effected this, but indirectly through Morley's article, of which we shall speak later. Fairholt's brief introductory article is helpful both through its presentment of what few facts we possess of Lyly's life and its quotation of remarks and opinions concerning him. Lyly's indebtedness to the classics is shown; "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Cynthia's Revels" are referred to as parodies of Euphuism. It is taken for granted that Lyly worked after Italian models; no specific instances are given in which this appears save a trivial one where Lyly seems to have coined a figurative allusion from a pictorial page-heading in Geffrey Whitney's translation of Alciati's popular "Emblems".

Of Bodenstedt's [3]) fresh and original view, we need only take a glimpse. He is almost tempted to believe Euphues a parody on the extravagances of its time. His use of the sub-title "Anatomy of Wit" in a literal German translation rather begs the question. Like Morley he compares Euphuism with forms of preciosity in England, Spain, Italy and France. Euphuism is however distinguished by its use of alliteration. Lyly was forced to study the taste of his time in order to win its suffrages. His submittance was still no slavish one; he worked unhampered and with an artist's freedom.

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[1]) "Commonplace-Book", seventeen quotations, I, pp. 487, 504, 505, six, IV, p. 457. Before this collection of quotations, Southey prefixed a note "John Lyly. In a Catalogue I see 'Lyly's Euphues. Lucella, Ephoebus and Letters' rendered into modern English 1716". Noting Wither's reference to Lyly (cf. p. 9) he adds the single critical remark: "There is in his Euphues occasionally a vulgarity such as in Swift's Polite Conversations and there are also conceited and rapid discussions like those in Madame Scudéry's Romances". What Southey says of Lyly's vulgarity is entirely without foundation. Also "The Doctor", two quotations, pp. 23, 259.

[2]) 1858, Introduction.

[3]) Shak.'s Zeitgenossen u. ihre Werke, 1860, III, pp. 9—11.

Marsh's references to Lyly remind us of Dunlop. The earlier [1]) barely touches the subject: "Hardly to be distinguished from annomination is the euphuism of Queen Elizabeth's age, which Scott's character has made familiar to modern readers". It is strange that Marsh should thus have singled out this feature of Lyly's style. "The formal characteristics of Euphuism", he says later,[2]) "are alliteration and verbal antithesis". This is true and helpful. The remainder of what he says, while true as he meant it, is not accurate according to modern definitions. It is nevertheless of interest, for Morley evidently drew from it .... Euphuism has prevailed more or less in all periods of English literature. Stanihurst, Silvester, Fuller, Browne, were all affected by the Euphuistic tendency. It displays itself in the first two in a morbid, hectic phase; in Fuller and Browne we see it mingling with the flush of convalescence from a malady, which might have proved dangerous.

The effect of Morley's article (April 1861) appears from now on in the marked respect and attention paid to Lyly in every work treating of Elizabethan literature. Mézières [3]) devotes thirty-five pages to him as "un des hommes qui ont exercé la plus grande influence sur l'esprit anglais pendant quelques années".[4]) The Euphuist's inspiration was Italian. He hoped to do away with the barbarities and soften the asperities of his language. Form was affected, not content. He did not diminish the riches of the language in order to render it more elegant like the Précieux, — "la brutalité native de la race anglaise s'y opposait".[5]) Word-play is the basis of Lyly's Euphuism .... The character of Lyly's influence upon his age and upon Shakspeare is admirably presented. Mézières is in general Morley worked over,

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[1]) Lectures on the English Language, 1861, p. 567.

[2]) Origin and History of the English Language, 1862, pp. 539, 544—546.

[3]) Prédécesseurs et Contemporains de Sh., 1863, pp. 59—94.

[4]) Ib. p. 59.

[5]) Ib. p. 89.

but his fresh and energetic treatment of the subject in a work of standard reference in so broad a field must have served as a constant reminder to the student of its importance in a way which Morley's isolated magazine article could not do.

In 1868 Arber [1]) reprinted the two parts of the Euphues. He naively tells us we must address our thanks to Prof. Morley, "who has more than any other contributed to the book's resurrection; not only by the loan of his texts, but by being my foster-father in English literature". [2]) This edition is necessarily standard and we may be thankful that it possesses the virtues of the series of which it forms part. Arber, as is his wont, essays little himself by way of criticism, giving in its place a catena of quotations, bearing upon author and book historically and critically. In a note at the end of the volume, it is pointed out that "Euphues and his Ephoebus" is translated with the exception of a few passages from Plutarch. This was the discovery of Prof. Rushton, circa 1868.

Rushton, in a little brochure "Shakspeare's Euphuism" (1871), places parallel a number of passages from Lyly and Shakspeare. The book aims to prove likeness of matter, not style, and therefore does not particularly interest us. Lowell, [3]) in commenting on the "Library of Old Authors", says: "Of the dramatic works of Marston and Lilly it is enough to say that they are truly *works* to the reader, but in no sense dramatic nor, as literature, worth the paper they blot". This is curious, as coming from Mr. Lowell. The literary worth of Lyly's plays may be matter of opinion; their historic value is not. The series he criticises does not aim simply to please the general reader.

[1]) Euphues, 1868. In the Saturday Review, May 1869, XXVII, pp. 722–725, an anonymous article appeared ostensibly a review of Arber, but in fact only a slight and superficial sketch of Lyly and his work. It echoes Hallam's condemnation, — "The evil that Lyly did lived long after him" (p. 722).

[2]) Ib. p. 26.

[3]) My Study Windows, 1871, p. 296.

We must pause for a moment in our task of tracing the progress of the direct inquiry in order to take note of the more careful treatment of a subordinate question — one of interest, though we may consider it today to have received a definite answer — that which has to do with the character and extent of the influence of Lyly upon Shakspeare. Vatke [1]) finds that Lyly's style suggests that of Shakspeare's sonnets. It was epoch-making for English prose, and in particular laid the foundations of English dramatic prose. Delius, [2]) after distinguishing two several kinds of simple prose, of which the comic used by clowns and servants is the more noteworthy and individual in character, proceeds to characterise a third, the artificial character of which, in its phrases and constructions, antitheses and metaphors, hints either that the poet consciously imitated the style which the Euphues brought in, or that he employed it of his own choice and taste for certain special uses. In the earlier dramas this form of prose appears as the "persiflage" of a "foolish pedanticism", but later it is used — this is worthy of special remark — where a "dignified, ceremonial tone" is aimed at. In "Love's Labour's Lost", Armado's speeches burlesque the Euphuism of the Court — and in "I Henry IV" Falstaff and Prince Hal, in their amusing travesty of Court-ways, undoubtedly parody Euphuism.

Hense's valuable papers [3]) upon "Shakspeare and John Lilly" contributed little or nothing to the study of Euphuism proper. Lyly, it must be remembered, exerted an influence as playwright quite apart from that which he exerted as Euphuist. [4]) It is in this aspect that Hense views him. Most careful attention is paid to Lyly's classicism — his indebtedness not only in the matter of direct quotation (which

[1]) Shakspeare u. Euripides, Jahrb. d. D. Sh.-Ges. 1869, IV, pp. 62—93. References to Lyly also in Kurz, Nachlese, ib. pp. 246—307 (see pp. 270—289); these are without significance.

[2]) Die Prosa in Sh.'s Dramen, Jahrb. d. D. Sh.-Ges. 1870, V, p. 229 ff.

[3]) Shakspeare and John Lilly, ib. 1872—73, Vol. VII, pp. 238—300, VIII, pp. 224—279.

[4]) For the detail of his argument see General Scheme, p. 31.

comes out in the plays), but also for turns of thought, fancy, and phrase. In a few concluding pages Hense treats Euphuism proper. How closely he follows Mézières appears clearly in the use made of Mézières' phrases. [1]) With Mézières, he believes Shakspeare to have been too strongly affected by Lyly in youth to shake himself entirely free from the influence in later years.

Ward [2]) simply follows in Hense's steps; he pays prime attention to the "classicism of euphuism" — a phrase in no way justifiable, for the presence of metaphors, turns of phrase and thought, of classical origin is in no way consequent upon or characteristic of the Euphuistic influence. Ward dwells particularly upon the use of direct quotations, — the fact is, in the Euphues there are only four, and they mere commonplaces; in the plays we would suggest that direct quotation is employed half the time with comic intention as in the case of Sir Tophas. Again Ward should have definitely separated Lyly the dramatist from Lyly the Euphuist. Hense made it clear that Lyly exercised an individual influence in this relation, but did not give the fact clear emphatic statement. Ward wrongly considers the Euphuistic style to have been first introduced into English prose by Lyly — though as far

[1]) „In diesem Stil, der so augenfällig mit coquettirendem Schmuck auftritt, hat das Wort den Vorzug vor dem Gedanken, die Form vor dem Gehalte: um des Wortes willen entstehen in Lilly's Dramen Dialoge; der bildliche Ausdruck, nicht immer ein nothwendiges, naturgemässes Erzeugniss einer erhöhten oder leidenschaftlichen Stimmung, sondern ein Calcul des Verstandes, ist berechnet und daher erkaltend. Der Euphuismus hat eine entschiedene Passion für die Symmetrie der Rede und für harmonische Proportion" etc. p. 260. "Une coquetterie extrême dans l'expression (p. 62). Ce n'est pas l'idée qui amène le mot sur les lèvres, c'est au contraire le mot qui amène l'idée. Il se jette sur le mot dès que la conversation le lui amène, et il en exprime tout ce qu'il contient (p. 90). Il emploie de nombreuses comparisons non qu'il soit échauffé par son sujet et que son imagination l'emporte, mais froidement et dans le seul but d'orner son style (p. 65). De plus, ils sentaient que ce qui manquait à leur langue, c'était l'élégance, l'harmonie, et le sentiment des proportions" (p. 62) &c.

[2]) English Dramatic Literature, 1875, I, pp. 151—169; see also in Encyclopædia Brittanica, Art. Drama.

back as 1861, in Morley's article, the contrary was affirmed and proved.

Jusserand's [1]) brief notice of Euphuism presents nothing new, but has a certain charm and attractiveness; the willing reader might believe that in butterfly fashion his eye had been led to every glowing point of colour in the parterre. Gallic-wise Jusserand fastens his attention upon his theme in its aspect as a fashionable folly. [2]) There is perhaps in his concluding sentence [3]) a truth blinked by Dr. Landmann.

We pass over briefly, as contributing nothing to the inquiry, the references [4]) given below. Hertzberg considers that Shakspeare made war upon the fashionable folly of Euphuism and put an end to it. Symonds' article is worth the reading,

[1]) Le Théâtre en Angleterre, 1878.

[2]) Ib. p. 258: Cette manière de s'exprimer, si étrange, eut bientôt, surtout parmi les femmes, une vogue immense; on s'était fait sa langue à soi, et tous ceux qui se piquaient d'élégance voulurent l'apprendre; on parlait par jeux de mots, par énigmes, ou chargeait ses discours de comparaisons singulières avec des arbres ou des fruits imaginaires; c'était la mode; dans la haute classe elle entraînera tout, et les dames de la cour, à qui mieux mieux, imitèrent le gentil babil (!) des héroïnes de Lilly.

[3]) Ib. p. 258: . . . quand les bizarreries disparurent, il resta longtemps le goût des allusions lointaines, des compliments entortillés et tout cet Euphuisme de la passion, qu'on trouve si souvent dans Shakspeare.

[4]) Wagner: Translation of Dowden's "Sh.'s Mind and Art", 1879; p. 106, Note 1 (a reference to Rushton's finding a certain Euphuistic character in certain speeches of Hamlet and Polonius); Hertzberg: Sh. und seine Vorläufer, Jahrb. d. D. Sh.-Ges. 1880, XV, pp. 360—409, see pp. 374—379; Scherr: Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur, 1880, II, p. 20; Hermann: Weitere quellenmässige Beiträge zu Sh.'s literarischen Kämpfen, 1881, I, pp. 1—117 (deals chiefly with Halpin's theories); Prölss: Das neuere Drama der Engländer, 1882, pp. 33—38; Symonds: Sh.'s Predecessors in the English Drama, 1884, pp. 499—533, remark quoted p. 505; Jusserand: Le Roman au Temps de Sh. Revue des deux Mondes. 1st Feb. 1887; Saintsbury: History of Elizabethan Literature, 1887, pp. 37—48; Minto: English Prose Literature, 1889, pp. 227—232; Hunt, J. W.: Euphuism in Literature and Style, 1889; Chamber's Journal: John Lyly and the Euphuists, 1891; Brandl, A.: "Crit. of Ohle's Sh.'s Cymbeline etc. . . ." Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung 1891, XII, p. 817; Lowell: Old English Dramatists. 1893, p. 30.

though its sum of information was presented fifteen years before. One remark is quotable: "There would have been Euphuism in some form or other without Euphues". Jusserand's article is in great part devoted to an exposition of Landmann's discovery six years previous. The Euphues was in his opinion the original drawing-room romance.

Of very different character are the last two references upon our list. In commenting on the essentially Euphuistic character of the style of George Pettie's "Pettie Pallace", Koeppel [1]) propounds the very interesting question how far North may be credited as truly the originator of the Euphuistic style, and how far Pettie. Pettie may very probably have imitated from North his Guevaristic parallelism, his constant use of examples and similes, — perhaps the use of alliteration for emphasis, though Landmann certainly, so far as examples are concerned, has not shown this to be a marked feature of North's style — but apart from these, Pettie was justified in his claim to having brought in "new fashions in phrases and words" — he it was who truly first gave Guevarism its distinctive Euphuistic coloring, first made constant and conscious use of alliteration, first made the peculiar Euphuistic use of the adversative form — and finally in Pettie occur the references to fabulous natural history, hitherto considered peculiar to Lyly. In a word, Lyly was Pettie's imitator — and Pettie's book lies neglected and uncredited by the critic, because of the sensational success of its successor.

In the eighth volume of his "English Writers", Morley again takes up the subject of Euphuism. His present view is not materially different from his earlier; he has in fact quoted largely from his article in the Quarterly. [2]) That which is new is in exposition and criticism of the views of Weymouth and Landmann, and will be noticed in the second section of this paper.

To this second section we now pass.

[1]) Stud. z. Gesch. d. italienischen Novelle in d. engl. Lit. des XVI. Jahrh., 1892, pp. 24—29.

[2]) Morley, English Writers, VIII, pp. 297, 305—322.

B. Euphuism as a Special Subject of Scientific Research.

Morley's notable article [1]) opens the list. It presented nothing essentially new, but may be considered by virtue of its clearness, comprehensiveness, and suggestiveness to have brought the subject into a light entirely novel. As is usual in a first-class English review, the reviewer says little or nothing concerning his nominal topic — Fairholt's edition of Lyly's plays — but gives his own views instead as to the character and literary significance of Lyly's romances. Addressing the general reader, this ablest of English critics devotes a large part of his space to a homily upon the vanity of literary affectation. In the brief compass of the disquisition which precedes, however, he so clearly presents his subject, makes such deft use of the scanty historical and critical material offered him, and is, even when in error, so helpful towards attainment of the truth, that his article at once brought the subject of Euphuism into its proper scientific bearings and enforced its interest and importance. It left the ground moreover thoroughly cleared for its successors — and there is no later critic who does not owe to it directly and largely — often more than quotation marks acknowledge.

By aid of Morley's article, it may not be unprofitable to draw a cross-section, showing the stage of progress at which the inquiry stood. He makes the following points: 1) Euphuism existed before Euphues, — Lyly chose his style deliberately; 2) Lyly's popularity, fame and influence were great; 3) [2]) Italian influence created the atmosphere in which Euphuism flourished, — Euphuism was a strongly individualised form of Italianism, — the worship of conceits, of which it was one phase, lasted from Surrey's time till Dryden's mid-career; Lyly drew from Pliny his fabulous natural history, Pliny's work having been made familiar to

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[1]) Quarterly Review, 1861, CIX, pp. 350—383.

[2]) These conclusions are of course only in part accepted today.

the English through its use as a text-book by the Neo-platonist Cabbalist of Florence; 4) Euphuism is comparable with Marinism, Preciosity and similar movements, — all these movements in spite of the extravagance of their affectations, were influential in settling and refining the several languages and literatures they affected; 5) Euphuism exercised its most marked effects upon form, did no harm to the language, shows no traces of affiliation with Soraism; 6) The title of Euphues was from Plato, through Ascham, and probably the motive as well; 7) Lyly was greatly indebted to the Classics — Homer, Plutarch, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero; 8) Lyly, though a wit by profession, was a serious-hearted man; his book is one of earnest purpose, and at first gave offence; its sub-title was one in common use, recommending the volumes which bore it to the reader as manuals of polite conversation; 9) Shakespeare did not parody Euphuism — he made good-natured fun of it: "Too dull even as material for jest."

Morley's vindication of Lyly against obloquy was instant and complete. Euphues henceforward stimulated inquiry and discussion only because it exhibits in their most essential form all the characteristics of Euphuism. This was the value, it will be remembered, early claimed for it by Bodenstedt.

Weymouth's brief article [1]) is weighty in inverse ratio to its brevity. It is the first clear analysis of Lyly's style and first brought out its most peculiar and characteristic feature, the use of "transverse alliteration in conjunction with parisonic antithesis." In recoil from the woefully vague and incorrect use of the terms "euphuism" and "euphuistic", Weymouth went too far — Lyly becomes the only Euphuist, and Euphuism is confined to his pages. The article concludes with a very clever imitation of Lyly's style. The author, it may be added, has surely forgotten the use of the word "wit"

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[1]) On Euphuism. Phil. Soc. Trans. 1870—72, Part. III. For the details of Weymouth's analysis, see General Scheme pp. 31 f.

in Elizabethan times, when he condemns the book for its lying title. [1])

The treatment of the subject thus far has been loose, vague, or simply superficial — often prejudiced through its being subordinated to other inquiries of more immediate interest and moment, often limited and partial, as is the case with Weymouth's monograph. Results are scattered and fragmentary. The time was ripe for such careful, separate, comprehensive treatment as Dr. Landmann's. [2]) His work is for the most part an admirable digest of what his predecessors had achieved, but rounded, filled out, developed into a form symmetrical and complete. He often justifies his conclusions by too copious a wealth of illustrative and evidential quotation, — sometimes almost defeating his own object. But the crown and glory of his work is an original discovery of the most profound interest and importance in itself and to be valued as well in that it provided him with a touch-stone wherewith to test the results of his predecessors. An attempt to conjecture the genesis of this discovery will best give us the gist of his dissertation. Following Weymouth, Landmann carefully distinguished the Arcadian style from the Euphuistic. The date 1590 of the appearance of Sidney's work may accordingly be used as one sufficiently accurate wherewith to mark the final disappearance of Euphuism. Following Morley, Mézières, and others he pointed out that Euphuism shows no traces of the periphrastic tendencies of Preciosity, the circumlocutions and hyperbolism of Italianism, and that while it was truly "a child of the Renaissance", its classicism evinces no inclination towards Soraism, or the use

[1]) And why ascribe the tediousness of Euphues to an entire lack of humor? What is humorous and what not is of course matter of opinion — but if Philautus, struggling at once with the pangs of love and seasickness and opening one eye occasionally to show respect to Euphues' endless discourse does not present a spectacle broadly humorous enough to tickle everyone — if this scene, to say nothing of others, is devoid of humor, we yield the point without further argument.

Morley's reference to Weymouth's article, English Writers VIII pp. 317—320, takes the form of an abstract

[2]) Diss. 1881.

of direct quotation. The Euphuistic style is thus seen to be something quite apart, quite distinct. Taking into account the results of Weymouth's analysis, the frequent use of transverse alliteration in conjunction with parisonic antithesis is seen to distinguish it, and in general the excessive use of various rhetorical devices. The sudden appearance then, in English prose of this mannered style, with its hyper-refinements and super-subtleties, demands explanation — and Landmann finds this explanation in the setting in of an influence from Spain — the transference into England of the unique and individual style of Don Antonio de Guevara, through the clever translations of Sir Thomas North in particular, and earlier through the less skilful work of Lord Berners and his nephew, Sir Francis Bryan. Thus Euphuism is shown to take its rise in Guevarism, which itself owed its origin to the Renaissance — and a date may be set for its first beginnings, 1557, the year when North's "Dial of Princes" appeared, or if we wish to appear more accurate, while really less so, 1532 the year in which Berners' "golden Booke" was first published.

In his analysis of Lyly's style, Landmann closely follows Weymouth — he corrects Weymouth's error however in pronouncing Lyly to be the only Euphuist. Basing his definition upon the results of his discovery, he finds Euphuism to be an influence which dominated English literature from about 1557 till 1590 — and traces down the line of descent from Lyly through Greene, Nash, Gosson, and others, to Lodge, whose Rosalynde, 1590, is Euphuistic in style and Arcadian in content.

Landmann's labors cannot receive too grateful acknowledgement. His treatment of the subject in its broader relations at least was practically conclusive. In connection with his Dissertation Breymann's review[1]) should be read; not only are numerous errors corrected, due to Landmann's use of faulty authorities, but also a concise, succinct survey of the argument given, cleared of the undigested matter with which

[1]) In Engl. Stud. 1882, V, pp. 409—421.

in the disquisition it is somewhat cumbered. A resume of Landmann's article by Mrs. Ward forms the article on Euphuism in the Encyclopædia Brittanica. Lee's criticism [1]) of this and Mrs. Ward's answer [2]) have to do with certain bibliographical details.

In a brief article by Goodlet [3]) an attempt is made to display what the author considers to be a certain rhythmical poetical form in certain varieties of Lyly's dramatic prose. While unacquainted with the work of Delius, Landmann, or Schmidt, Goodlet confirms incidentally certain of their results. He develops his theme as follows: Lyly's prose divides itself into (1) simple, conversational prose, and (2) oratorical or poetic prose. So far of course this is an old story — but further, of this second sort of prose, five features are noticeable: (1) It runs into a kind of blank-verse tetrameter with rare licenses. (2) The lines by their sense fall into symmetrical couplets, and these again into verses of four lines sometimes. After one such verse (sometimes two) comes a single couplet, or a longer or an irregular line. (3) All this yields something like Oriental parallelism, the more as the sense is generally parallelistic, the corresponding feet containing the same parts of speech and parts of a sentence. (4) There is a constant tendency to alliterate in corresponding parts of two lines. (5) Lines of five measures are comparatively rare. ' Goodlet considers that Lyly, so far as Euphuism was concerned, did not affect Shakspeare, but that he directed his attention to the possibility of poetic form in prose. Schwan [4]) referred to Goodlet's article in his critique upon Landmann. He considers it natural that sentences carefully constructed in parallelistic forms should have a rhythmic fall, and ridicules Goodlet's article as the work of a man ignorant of all knowledge of the literature before Lyly. A hot-tempered reply followed from Boyle, [5]) a friend of Goodlet, to

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[1]) Athenaeum, 1883, Nr. 2907, p. 49.
[2]) Ib. Nr. 2912, p. 205.
[3]) In Engl. Stud. 1882, V, pp. 356—363.
[4]) Ib. 1883, VI, see p. 98.
[5]) Ib. 1884, VII, pp. 206—210.

which Schwan [1]) answered by a deliberate restatement. Boyle considers that a German may very possibly not be able to detect a melody and rhythm quite apparent to an English ear. Schwan acknowledges that he and presumably others can only bewail their inability. At this point of the discussion it is interesting to note that a paper [2]) had been read before the Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen some three years before, which in some measure seems to have anticipated Goodlet's. Of this no notice was taken in the controversy, yet here was a German who had not only detected a rhythmic fall in Lyly's prose, but a distinct musical quality as well.

On February 10th, 1882, Landmann [3]) read a paper before the New Shakspeare Society on Shakspeare and Euphuism. It concerned itself chiefly with "Love's Labour's Lost" and the conclusion reached was that the affectations of the Court were parodied, not Euphuism — the only passage aimed by Shakspeare at Euphuism is "I Henry IV", 2. 4. [4]) Schwan, [5]) in his critique of this article, puts himself at once in sharp conflict with Landmann. He sets aside the term Arcadianism which Landmann employs to designate the influence which supplanted Euphuism, and offers evidence in proof that there was an influence affecting prose — a so-called Italianism — contemporary with Euphuism, and dating its first appearance from 1553, which produced a poetical style, in distinction from the Euphuistic, or rhetorical. Whatever the truth of this theory, the proof he offers is far from satisfactory. He points out that from 1553, the use of "darke wordes" and "inkehorne termes" had been deplored in England, and considers this an evidence of the existence of another style, side by side with the Euphuistic — a poetic, Italianistic style, cognate with and deriving strength from the

[1]) Ib. p. 210 f.

[2]) By a "Herr Schmidt". See Herrig's Arch. 1881, LXVI, p. 206.

[3]) Printed in New Sh. Soc. Trans. 1880—82, pp. 241—276.

[4]) Already touched upon in the Diss. pp. 94—97. To Delius belongs really the credit of first pointing out this passage from Henry IV. Landmann and Schwan quote wrongly II Henry IV.

[5]) Schwan, in Engl. Stud. 1883, VI, pp. 94—110

poetry of Surrey and Wyatt, and constantly growing into more and more general use until its final triumph over the Euphuistic style in 1586—89. The proof which Schwan offers almost tempts one to think he has been led astray by the old word "Italianate". This whole question as well as that which originated it (whether or no Shakspeare parodied Euphuism), we must handle apart in a place more fitting. We may mention that Schwan finds three passages [1]) in which he believes Shakspeare parodied Euphuism in place of Landmann's one.

Morley's criticism [2]) upon Landmann may be briefly referred to here. It entirely misses the point, proceeding on the assumption that Landmann places Lyly in direct connection stylistically with Guevara. He admits that similarities are discoverable, continuing however: "But Dr. Landmann accepts Dr. Weymouth's discrimination of the characteristics of Euphuism, and the pieces he has quoted from Guevara's Spanish text in evidence that Lyly did get his Euphuism therefrom prove that he did not. Guevara *made so little use of alliteration*, that where it occurs it seems to have come in by accident. Of the characteristic blending of transverse alliteration with antithesis there is in Guevara nothing". This passage stands its own commentary. Morley in fact admits all that Landmann maintains regarding the indebtedness of the Euphuist to Guevara, but takes no notice of the fact that Landmann sharply defines precisely what this was, and precisely what Euphuism owed to its own independent development. "Had the style of Lyly been that of Guevara", says Morley, "we never should have heard of Euphuism". Landmann never asserted that Lyly's style was Guevara's. He asserts that Lyly's style represents (with Pettie's) the final stage of development of a style which took its inspiration from Guevara. Guevara certainly used no alliteration; he used consonance and rhyme. The Euphuists added the use of alliteration to these, employing it in the same way.

[1]) These are in the same scene and are really covered by the general references of Delius and Landmann.

[2]) English Writers: VIII, pp. 320—322.

With Landmann to whom so large a debt of gratitude is already due, the history of the inquiry practically closes. In 1887 he published the first part of Euphues[1]) together with the first chapter of the Arcadia. The introduction is in general a brief survey of his previous publications. Its special points we have already noticed in the course of the preceding discussion. The little volume is of value as affording a convenient means of comparing the Arcadian and Euphuistic prose-forms. The last contribution of any sort of which we need make note is an article by Lauchert[2]), which touches upon the Euphuistic use of fabulous natural history and its possible ultimate reference to the Physiologus. There is of course no proof of direct influence. The examples given of metaphors drawn from the pelican, eagle, panther, viper &c., clearly exhibit how these were part of the common stock. They belong indeed as much to the Continent as to England and Euphuism. And thus we reach a conclusion. So much detail is involved that we find it impossible to give a general and at the same time helpful statement of the present status of the inquiry. We offer instead a scheme, which starting from Lyly and his work broadens out to an exposition of the general topic. This will afford a comprehensive view of the subject in all its detail. For convenience of reference, and in order partly to make up for a surprising scarcity of quotation-marks and references every-where noticeable, the names of the various workers are given under the various points to whose elucidation they have lent efficient aid.

[1]) Euphues &c. In Engl. Stud. 1888, XI, p. 153, Schwan briefly commends this edition, defends his own use of the term Italianism as being natural or convenient, and insists upon the error as he judges it of speaking of Euphuism at Court, if the Weymouth definition is to be strictly accepted. In a small pamphlet "Euphuism" Hart summarises the work of Landmann and the reviews of Breymann and Schwan. While condemning the misuse of the term Euphuism, he himself misuses the term "Italianism" in speaking of the present day, and comes dangerously near misapplying "Euphuism" itself.

[2]) In Engl. Stud. 1891, XIV, pp. 188—210.

C. Scheme showing Present Status of the Study of Euphuism.

(The symbol . . . (L) indicates general repetition and discussion of a point in successive treatises until final inclusion in Landmann's comprehensive Dissertation.)

I. John Lyly.

1. Facts of his life: à Wood, Cooper, Collier, Fairholt . . . (L).
2. Personal character: Oldys, Fairholt, Morley, Mézières.
3. Influence upon English Literature:
   - A. Prose romance (See II. 5).
   - B. Drama: influence in particular upon Shakspeare.[1])
     - a. Use of prose: Drake .. Fairholt, Hense .. Ward.
     - b. Comic dialogue and word combats: ib.
     - c. Free use of classical matter in novel forms: ib.
     - d. Roughly rhythmical prose to suggest a ceremonial tone or mark stress of feeling: Ulrici, Goodlet, Boyle.
     - e. Interspersion of lyrical passages in dialogue: Fairholt, Hense, Ward, Goodlet.
     - f. Use of dumb-shows and masks: Hense, Ward.
     - g. Dreams: Halpin, Hense.
     - h. Use of fairy mythology, astrology, riddles, gnomic utterances: Hense.
     - i. Changes of dress: Hense.
   - C. Lyric: purity and simplicity: Drake . . . (L).

II. The Book Euphues.

1. Bibliography: Morley, Arber, Hazlitt, Collier, Landmann.
2. Ethical character: Drake, Marsh, Kingsley, Morley, Mézières, Arber.

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[1]) It is suggested that Shakspeare borrowed from the Euphues for Cymbeline; cf. Brandl l. c. and in his "Shakspere" (Führende Geister VI) Dresden, 1894; p. 205.

3. Style.

A. General character.

a. Sententiousness: Oldys . . . (L).
b. Didactic discourses: Morley . . . (L).
c. Monotony of cadence: Oldys, Drake, Mézières.
d. Artificiality of rhetorical structure: Oldys, Whalley, Mézières, Landmann.
e. Antithetic character: Whalley . . . (L).
f. Neatness and precision leading to clearness: Anon. 1758 . . . (L).
g. Over-abundance of rhetorical figures: Oldys . . . (L).

B. Rhetorical structure.

a. Words used good, sound, genuine English, in common use at the time: Morley, Mézières . . . (L).
b. Sentence form.

α. Parallel clauses in juxta-position: Weymouth, (L).
β. Parallel clauses in antithesis: Weymouth, (L).
γ. Trains of examples and illustrations: Landmann.
δ. Use of the rhetorical question: Landmann.
ε. Rhetorical devices:

A. Non-mechanical.
1. Oratorical question: Landmann.
2. Responsive question: Weymouth . . . (L).
3. Antithesis of ideas, in words and sentences: Whalley . . . (L).
4. Tropes and similitudes:
a. Form. — Infrequency of all tropes except metaphor: Landmann.
b. Sources. — Common and familiar objects and occurrences in nature: Drayton, Ward . . . (L).
Ancient History and Mythology: Hallam, Hense . . . (L).
Fabulous natural history: Oldys . . . (L).

B. Mechanical.

1. Alliteration.
   a. Form. α. Plain: Drake ... (L).
      β. Transverse: Weymouth ... (L).
   b. Use, to mark antithesis: Weymouth ... (L).
2. Consonance and assonance: Weymouth ... (L).
3. Rime: ib.
4. Parison to mark antithesis: ib.
5. Syllabic antithesis: ib.
6. Punning: Craik, Ward, Landmann.

4. Sources of style and matter.

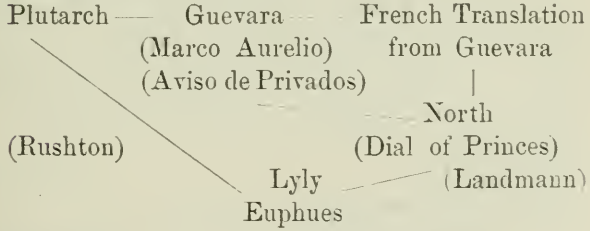
A. Qualitative.

a. Title from Ascham, from Plato: Morley.

b. Fabulous natural history from Pliny: Morley.

c. Occasional sources, turns of phrase, allusions &c.:
Bishop's Bible: Morley;
Ovid and Virgil: Hense;
Homer and Plutarch: Morley; to which we may add Caesar, Cicero, Seneca &c.

d. Matter, style, and plot:



B. Quantitative.

a. Bishop's Bible: — Morley gives no particular references. These may be mentioned, p. 42, ll. 8—11; p. 71, ll. 8—11: p. 109. ll. 31—33; p. 112 f., l. 38, ll. 1—6 (quoted): p. 159. ll. 3—5 (quoted); p. 456 *(passim)*; and the greater part of Euphues and Atheos, 160—177.

b. Ovid, Virgil, Homer, slight allusions *passim*.

c. Caesar: — No one in speaking of Lyly's classicism has seen fit to mention that his de-

scription of the geography of Great Britain is drawn from Caesar, see pp. 246—7.

d. Plutarch: Nearly all of Euphues and Ephoebus: Rushton.

e. From Guevara, through North, details of plot, and possibly features of style.

5. Influence:

A. had in general an intensifying effect upon the Euphuistic tendencies of the day: Morley . . . (L)

B. had in particular an effect:

a. upon the Court: Blount (1632) . . . (L).

b. of a formative character upon Shakspeare and his fellows: Drake, Morley, Mézières, Rushton, Hense . . . (L).

c. upon non-dramatic prose in the works of imitators: Arber (see Menaphon: Engl. Scholar's Library, No. 12, Introd.) . . . (L).

d. improving English prose style and refining the language: Webbe (1586), Eliot (1588), Blount, Morley, Mézières . . . (L).

e. gave rise to many of the proverbial sayings of Sh.'s time: Morley . . . (L).

III. Euphuism.

1. Characteristics:

A. in detail, see II. 3. for Lyly's Euphues was essential Euphuism: Hense . . . (L).

B. affected form, not content: Morley, Mézières . . . (L).

C. the indispensable criterion of its presence, transverse alliteration in conjunction with parisonic antithesis: Weymouth . . . (L).

2. Sources:

. took its source from Guevarism, which itself was developed from the classicism of the Renaissance: Landmann.

3. Duration:

A. Landmann:

1532 Berners' "Golden Book"
1557 North's "Dial of Princes" } Period of Inception.

1576 Pettie's "Palace of Pleasure"
1579 Lyly's Euphues } Highest Development.

Gosson; Nash, earlier works; Greene, till 1590; Lodge, Rosalynde 1590, Euphuistic in style and Arcadian in content; 1590, Sidney's Arcadia, triumph of Arcadianism.

B. Arber: Euphuistic writers after Lyly (1580—1600): Greene, E. Spenser, J. Yates, A. Munday, W. Warner, T. Nash, T. Lodge, H. Chettle.

C. Schwan:

1534—59. First beginnings of Guevarism.
1553. Italianism is existent.
1568—85. Guevarism wins steadily in popularity.
1581. Sidney adopts Euphuism and Italianism.
1585—8. Euphuism is assailed by Harvey and Nash, and Italianism is predominant at Court.
1589—96. Secession of the last partisans of Euphuism and general dissemination of Italianism.

4. Parodied by

Ben Jonson: Whalley ... (L); Marston: Fairholt; Shakspeare: In one place (Delius, Landmann), in three (Schwan).

5. From the comparative standpoint

A. comparable with Guevarism, Marinism, Dubartism, Preciosity: Scott, Bodenstedt, Morley, Mézières ... (L).

B. and to be contrasted with the movements leading to the hyper-refinements of the late Greek rhetoricians (e. g. Phalerius Philetas, Euphorion) and to the prurient purism of the Age of Caligula: Morley.

II.

The Euphuistic Rhetoric.

Before we pass on to make such few notes as may suggest themselves with reference to the formal peculiarities of Lyly's prose, it may not be amiss briefly to examine in what spirit, owing to conditions of his time and temperament, Lyly surrendered himself to the Euphuistic influence. Without so doing we cannot understand the mere phenomenon of his appearance and of the influence he exerted, or account for the individual character, the trend which Euphuism took in his hands. No author could better exemplify than Lyly the necessity of the remembrance of the principle laid down by Elze: "Jedes schriftstellerische Erzeugniss ist . . . das Product des nationalen Denkens oder Erkennens auf der einen und der individuellen Beanlagung, Erziehung und Eigenthümlichkeit auf der andern Seite . . . Wir gelangen . . . zu dem Ergebniss, dass bei der Darstellung stets ein Kompromiss zwischen den verschiedenen Factoren, dem nationalen und dem individuellen, dem generischen und dem biographischen geschlossen werden muss".[1]) That this truth, though standing its own witness in the simple statement, should thus receive emphatic recognition, explicit enunciation, is fitting and right. As a principle of æsthetic criticism, it is fundamental and

[1]) Grundriss: p. 235.

does not permit itself to be overlooked, — too often however, though just as truly obtaining in historic criticism, it is blinked by the inquirer, who fastens his attention upon the purely mechanical side of the organic development in an eager and unscientific endeavor to give to his proofs, tests, and results, an appearance of mathematical precision, which is, if successful, almost necessarily specious.

In the present inquiry, Morley and Mézières did not forget this principle, but their application of it was for the most part in æsthetic and ethical relations. With such we have nothing to do. It is in relation to his prose-form, to his leadership of the Euphuistic school, that we call to mind that Lyly stands before us in several aspects, i. e. as Englishman, Elizabethan, wit, moralist, poet, — above all distinctively as literary artist, mastering and using what knowledge of technique his time afforded him.

When Lyly went to the University, the glory and wonder of the Renaissance was not over for England. The riches of classical learning lay open to the explorer like a new Ind full of unimagined treasure — he might adventure into this new wealth of books even as his brother adventurer fared forth to the Spanish Main. Lyly was such an explorer. Quick, eager, with the instinct of the born "littérateur", he strayed aside from the beaten track of the University curriculum, was but an indifferent scholar — having that in him which made him seek out his own salvation. And to the college-lad, as a part of the newness of things, the exulting sense of progress and discovery which made every man's blood sing in his veins, came the fresh and inspiring suggestion that there might be a conscious, artistic side to literary effort — the possibility of a man's being able to apply thought and careful endeavor to produce a definite artistic result. Now moreover there fell into Lyly's hands books written in his mother tongue, but ennobled by novel graces of rhetoric peculiarly fitted to amaze and enrapture him — for in this he was of the age he lived in. For the brisk activities of youth, a stirring temperament, and nimble intelligence, there was no moment's pause between appreciation and imitation. There must

not only be a thing to say but a way to say it; there must not only be matter, there may also be manner, — and one which by care and study may be elaborated to point of perfection. Lyly was seized with this notion, surrendered himself to the inspiration of the style which had entranced him — made it his own. We catch a glimpse of him — eager, clever, enthusiastic, proud of being abreast with his wonderful age, smoking his pipe, accounted a famous "wit" by his admiring fellows — in Harvey's phrase "someway a pretty fellow" in his time.

But the works, whose style had enraptured him, appealed to him in still another way. Lyly, we can see, was a man of eager impulses and generous sympathies, of a natural unforced strain of piety, — with a respect for, and a desire himself to enforce, moral truths. This respect he shared with every true-hearted Englishman of his time. The horrors of Mary's reign and the ticklich risks of Elizabeth's had made England very serious-hearted. And in the models, which Lyly followed, appeared didactic themes and exhortations delivered with gravity and earnestness and set off by a style of novel piquancy and point — an appeal doubly irresistible to an Elizabethan. In Mézières' phrase [1]) Lyly's work presents "le plus singulier mélange qui se puisse imaginer, celui d'une certaine sévérité puritaine dans la pensée et d'une coquetterie extrême dans l'expression"; Lyly is "un peu théologien même". Mézières might better have characterised him as "tout-à-fait protestant", or better still as a reformer, since Lyly does not hesitate to lay down rules for the life of a "good Catholic". The example of his models together with his own native seriousness and earnestness had this marked effect upon his style, that while carrying to excess the artificialities of his school, not once is he confused or obscure in meaning. He meant to be understood. Each sentence is pointed by sharp antithesis, and if possible weighted with illustration and allusion to drive it more surely home.

To this clearness and precision of expression, another

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[1]) p. 62.

factor contributed. Not only because he was of his age, Elizabethan, but also by nature, Lyly was a poet; the few lyrics of his which have survived possess in common with Marlowe's that simplicity and melody which we have learned to regard as characteristic of the later Elizabethan Age. But Lyly was no genius — no excess of creative energy sent plastic masses of thoughts, hints, fancies, suggestions thronging into his mind such as only a Titan's hand could grasp and model into definite coherent form. Marlowe and he stand side by side admirable foils. With Lyly the purely artistic faculty predominated, — or rather a primitive artistic instinct. Once and for all he was "littérateur", — he amassed his materials and recast them with careful attention to his adopted form, so while most certainly not accepting Hallam's dictum to the effect that Euphues is only a succession of dry commonplaces, we must discern that Lyly treated well-worn themes. But still both in his novels and dramas it was with something of a poet's instinct and a poet's freedom that he made use of his material — whether he drew from classical sources, or simply enforced plain moral truths, or advised rules for right living. It has ever been a distinguishing merit of English didactic prose that it endeavors to do what it is the duty and highest mission of poetry to do, namely to give a new significance through vigorous expression and concrete illustration to truths whose spirit has vanished utterly away from empty and dead word-forms. It is this power of poetical conception and of its interpretation in melodious and virile English that gives so many of our old divines the right to a place in our classical literature. So Lyly's excess of illustration, allusion, his repetitions and reinforcements, and all his elaborate rhetorical paraphernalia (in which for their own sake he also undoubtedly took delight) were, as may plainly be seen, directed to the endeavor aptly and energetically to express truths which in him had quickened to a life instinct with his own. But in the matter of form his poetic gift did not help him — indeed perhaps played him ill. Gifted with a "natural ear" and undoubtedly a very perfect one, he

too early, in his prose, committed himself to one rigid and specific form — disciplined himself therein — his natural feeling for melody was warped and crippled. All he says is turned and twisted into a single shape so marked that it yields its secret to the most dry mechanical analysis. Whether as an artist, he was lacking, erring, or misbegotten, does not concern us — enough that he was a man who found his *métier*. Of "honey-sweet eloquence" his was yet a "curtizan-like painted affectation". Of indubitable poetic promptings, he was after all a man of one rhythm.

Quickness, ingeniousness, warmth of feeling, sprightliness of fancy, and a certain adaptiveness, while they alone raised him above mediocrity, were the secret of his success. Himself the measure of his age in many ways, he read from himself the measure of his age, or at least of the audience to which he addressed himself. To his taste as to theirs was suited the blending of home-spun sense and lofty sentiment, the discussion equally grave of themes now serious, now light, which appear in his work. But his book was not only to be "necessarie to remember", it was also to be "verie pleasaunt for all Gentlemen to read"; "the perfectnesse of wisedome" was to be presented in the pleasant garb of "wit".[1]) To this "wit" — so much a matter of rhetoric — for which his nimble mind had so soon discovered a knack, all the world like himself were ready to "pay Idolatry". Pettie's style, to be sure, to which Lyly owed much if not all, had not sufficed to raise his book above the level of other translations or imitations from the Italian. But Lyly's effort was fresh and in a way original; moreover it was English in spirit, and still more, interest in it was spiced by its personal application. Court and University felt that it concealed an arraignment and a rebuke. It created, in our phrase, a "sensation" and was talked about; and when the "Euphues and his England" appeared to salve the sting of its predecessor by adulation of the country, Court and Queen, it attained instant success, and admiration, heightened by astonishment,

[1]) Title-page edition 1581, p. 201.

paid tribute to what was considered the novelty and perfection of the author's art.

This brief personal view of Lyly will, it is hoped, help us to a better understanding of the whole spirit and bearing of his use of the Euphuistic style. To our few scattered notes upon that style, we now pass.

A. Choice of Words.

Hallam, as we have noted, condemned Lyly for the use of a Latinised phraseology. The falsity and carelessness of his criticism was shown by aid of the very passages he himself quotes in illustration from the Euphues. Euphuism showed no tendency at any time toward Soraism.

Nothing more need be said. It may not however be idle to remark how small a percentage of the words in the Euphues are used in other than their modern sense, — at most but a small fraction of one per cent are obsolete. Sidney has been warmly praised by Minto [1]) and others for what they consider his wonderful acumen in the selection of words marked out by some inner fitness for immortality — Lyly may either share this praise, or we may ask whether perhaps the cart has not been put before the horse. Is it not possible that two such notable works as the Euphues and the Arcadia may have had some such influence in determining the destiny of the words they contain, as the Bible undoubtedly has had? This supposition is strengthened by the fact that a far greater number of obsolete words appear in Lyly's plays — something in itself natural enough, but pointing no less to the conclusion that the Euphues contributed in some measure towards determining the limits of the purely literary vocabulary.

Why was it, we may ask, that Lyly was not led by his outseeking and enterprising temperament to make use of the

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[1]) Engl. Prose Literature, p. 204. He quotes William Stigant's Essay on Sidney, Cambridge Essays for 1858.

terms Italianate which were so rapidly growing in favor. Partly no doubt his choice of words was affected by his effort to be in every way perspicuous, no doubt also words were weighed by him largely in their character as vocables. He preferred alliteration to consonance and aimed to give a clear-cut brevity to his balanced clauses — chose therefore words rich in effective consonant sounds, and rarely running more than three syllables in length. These considerations probably in part constrained him to the use of the pure English medium, and restrained him from employing the cumbrous new coinages from the classic tongues, to the use of which his scholarship might have tempted him. But probably also he shared in the strong feeling of the more notable of his contemporaries in behalf of purism and joined in their earnest denunciation of the use of foreign importations.[1]) Perhaps to the earnest desire to be concisely clear, displayed by all our early authors and Lyly among them, we owe it that our tongue at a critical stage in its development was not ruined, at least emasculated, by what would have been an irremediable acceptance of blurring, question-begging, abstract terms of Latin derivation. In all truly notable works, from Chaucer's Treatise on the Astrolabe down, the freedom from foreign elements is marked. Though thousands of new words were pushing and crowding in, no author of real note erred in their adoption. Even Elyot need not be excluded from this number, though he gave rise to a dangerous tendency and was not always so successful in his adaptation as in the case of "maturity" and "redolent"; he at least took care to explain his new words and why he used them, wrote in English what others would have written in Latin, and evidenced always an anxious care and regard for his mother-tongue. More, Berners, Ascham, Robynson, North, Petty, Lyly, Sidney, Bacon, lead us down to the Latinised theologians and quasi-scientific

[1]) One often quoted passage seems to declare this (p. 204): "It is a world to see how Englishmen desire to heare finer speech then the language will allowe, to eate finer bread then is made of wheat, to weare finer cloth then is wrought of woll".

writers of the 17th century — the caterpillar-like monstrosities of Sir Thomas Browne and his fellows. Then scholarly refinement worked precisely for that, against which in the Elizabethan Age it had, through its most distinguished possessors, most earnestly striven, until Dryden's prose, pure and beautiful in this respect as in all others, marks a restoration of the balance.

B. Sentence-structure and Sentence-relation.

"Lyly's words", says Landmann, [1]) "are genuine English, his ideas sound and reasonable. It is the grammatical structure, the syntax, that strikes our eyes at once as excessively artificial". Lyly's syntax, like his choice of English, is irreproachable; Landmann means, of course, rhetorical structure.

This artificiality remarked upon by every critic of Lyly from Oldys down was once supposed to be mere fantasticality and affectation. In time however the critic discovered that it concealed a certain method or system. The phrase "Euphuistic rhetoric" acquired a meaning. Weymouth, so Morley declared, reduced it to a formula. What Weymouth really did, was to reduce its most characteristic expression to a formula. He paid attention in particular to sentence-structure. As a general thing, in fact, the Euphuistic rhetoric has been conceived of and studied, as displaying itself in the limits of the single sentence. A better notion of its essential character, at least of the fact that it possesses some system and consistency, will certainly be obtained if we observe that it employs but one simple principle in practice, and that it applies this not only to the ordering of the single sentence, but in every structural relation.

The Euphuist, as we have seen in Lyly's case, had become possessed with an idea of the value of careful attention to form, the possibility of lending special emphasis through artificial means to the expression of thought. This he aimed to do for himself in the first place through use of certain

[1]) Euphues, p. XV.

set forms, in the second, of certain subsidiary, as we beg leave to call them, mechanical devices. If in examining Euphuistic prose, we leave these latter out of consideration and study the philosophy of its structure only, we find it to be at bottom essentially simple. This simplicity is by no means due to lack of careful concern with regard to this particular art on the part of the Euphuist, but to the fact that the Euphuist's scheme comprehended only two methods for the emphatic expression of his thought. As a result of his having acquired a clear notion only of these, or of the impression they had made upon him by their force and effectiveness in his exemplars, he employs them exclusively, reducing their use in conjunction to a principle.

The basic principle of the Euphuistic rhetoric is then, in brief, the inducement of artificial emphasis through Antithesis and Repetition — Antithesis to give pointed expression to the thought, Repetition [1]) to enforce it. This exhibits itself, as regards sentence-form and sentence-relation, in the constant employment of elaborate antithetical and parallelistic constructions.

The significant part which Antithesis plays has long been recognised. "We have here", says Landmann, [2]) "the most elaborate antithesis, not only of well-balanced clauses, but also of words, often even of sentences .... Even when he [Lyly] uses a single sentence, he opposes the words within the clause to each other". To this admirably simple and comprehensive statement, we need only add a word regarding the frequency with which the Euphuist employs Antithesis.

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[1]) A general term, designed to cover every structural relation, which the word parallelism properly does not.

[2]) Euphues, p. XV. We append examples: "And though women have small force to overcome men by reason, yet have they good fortune to undermine them by pollicie" (p. 81); "such sweete meate, such sowre sauce ... such hot love, such colde desire" (p. 80); "If the sacred bands of amitie did delight thee, why diddest thou breake them? If dislike thee, why diddest thou praise them?" (p. 91); "The soft droppes of raine perce the hard Marble" (p. 81) &c. &c.

Literally speaking scarcely a line in the Euphues does not contain either a complete antithesis or some part of one.

The systematic and general use of Repetition in every structural relation has not before been definitely recognised. It displays itself most evidently and continually in the immediate repetition of a set form, rhetorical device, or grammatical construction just used, the repetition conferring of course upon that form or device an artificial point and effectiveness. Thus the grammatical structure of one clause is repeated in the succeeding clause; if one antithesis is used, one or more follow; one oratorical question produces another; one simile or illustration sets in train a long series of similes or illustrations. [1])

The application of these two methods is of course not restricted simply to the internal ordering of a sentence. Through their help, sentences themselves are brought into relation quite as readily as clauses; in brief, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, serve them indifferently as units. They as readily govern the disposition and character of sentences in a paragraph or group, as of words in a same or simple sentence, or clauses in a compound or complex sentence.

If this is plain, we will readily understand the Euphuist's application of them in a wider relation. Lyly, we find, does not pay careful attention to his transitions, his modulation of one sentence into another — this results from an author's feeling the necessity of giving prompt, articulate expression to close, continuous thought sequences. Lyly feels no such necessity. A certain ostentatious precision of form is of prime

[1]) "Such sweete meate, such sowre sauce; such fayre wordes, such fainte promises: such hot love, such colde desire; such certeine hope, such sodeine chaunge" (p. 80); "Alas we silly soules which have neither wit to decypher the wiles of men, nor wisdome to dissemble our affection, neither craft to traine in young lovers, neyther courage to withstande their encounters &c." (p. 78); "The Spider weaveth a fine web to hang the Fly, the Wolfe weareth a faire face to devour the Lambe, the Mirlin &c." (ib.); "And canst thou wretch be false to him that is faithful to thee? Shall his curtesie bee cause of thy crueltie? Wilt thou violate the league of fayth to enherite the lande of folly? Shall affection &c." (p. 62).

importance. His aim is to produce a number of pointed and balanced sentences — to achieve his ideal of constructive symmetry rather than carry forward the logical continuity of the thought. Consequently a single thought occupies his attention for some time; he balances with it its allied thoughts, directs his efforts to express it and its suggestions in a variety of ways, and to emphasise these by illustration and example, before he passes to the next thought in the logical sequence. Unity is brought about through parallelism. In this way a group is produced, which is as truly characteristic of the Euphuistic style, is as truly a Euphuism, as for instance, any single case of the peculiar Euphuistic use of parisonic antithesis in conjunction with transverse alliteration.

To illustrate this, the first set discourse in the Euphues may be taken. The subject is the folly of Euphues' dissipated life in Naples. The detail of Eubulus' argument is as follows [1]): 1) I am a stranger, but hear me; 2) your appearance argues gentle birth, but your behavior that your parents were ill-advised or negligent in the matter of your education; 3) (a) youth is the time for training, (b) if your parents had done their duty, they would have seen more carefully to your bringing up; 4) the past is however beyond recall, but the present should teach you the necessary lesson; for (a) the ancients gave through the sight of evil an example and a warning, and (b) the sight of the evil in Naples with dreadful consequences should do the same for you; 5) your view is that while you suffer perhaps from the harm, your wit will also enable you to profit by the good, but the very excellence of your wit and capacity make your danger the greater; 6) amend your ways and live as follows .... The first thought is expressed in four pairs of balanced clauses, the second in four antitheses. The group 3) (a) consists of a simile, four metaphors, and a simile, (b) of three elaborate balanced comparisons, 4) (a) is made up of three illustrations, (b) of an

[1]) pp. 36—40.

elaborate mingling of parallel clauses, antitheses, and illustrations, 5) consists of ten metaphors, 6) contains ten antitheses.

Nothing similar to this group-division appears in other prose. This in itself is sufficient to mark a broad difference between Lyly's style and Sidney's. One result of it is to be noted. Each thought with its suggestions is so long dwelt upon, and the similes, metaphors and illustrations which accompany it are so varied and attract so much attention in themselves, that except one read with close attention, the effect is that of a rambling and disconnected discourse. Lyly has in general not been credited with much logical coherency, — the Euphues has been considered merely a series of sententious utterances set off by conceits, — of rhetorical show pieces labored in detail and loosely strung together. This judgment is not fair. In the discourse we have been examining, in spite of what seems to be its rambling and disconnected character, there is logical unity, and an attempt discernible of a simple and primitive sort to bring about a corresponding formal unity. Its logical scheme runs as follows: — "The possibility of your leading a foolish and wicked life should have been prevented in the past, but the present itself affords you means whereby to judge of the extent of your folly and a warning with regard to its evil consequences. Your view of the matter, Euphues, is so and so, but the true view is so and so. Therefore amend and live as follows". Lyly kept his argument in mind, and attempts to make it clear to his reader, but his tendency to linger and expand affects him even where there is instant need of marking simply and clearly the transition from one thought-group to another. Thus in passing from the first thought-group to the second, it would have sufficed to say: "But the past cannot be recalled, what of the present". Lyly however says: "But things past are past calling againe" — here he cannot refrain from lingering to form a group even about the transition-sentence itself — "it is too late to shutte the stable doore when the steed is stolne. The Troyans

repented too late when their towne was spoyled. Yet the remembraunce of thy former follyes might brede in thee a remorce of conscience, and bee a remedie against farther concupiscence. But now to thy present time". Here Lyly is seen to hold, and to go back, to his ground plan, but his lingering has forced him to an awkward repetition of the disjunctive. In a word, Lyly is not discursive as Montaigne, for example, is discursive. He adheres to his logical scheme, and reaches a definite aim finally through a connected thought sequence: it is in the treatment of each separate thought that he is prolix and diffuse.

In the logical substructure of his discourses, it will be observed, Lyly still employs Antithesis. In the discourse just considered, we find two main antitheses. Furthermore with but few exceptions, the discourses run in pairs, presenting aspects of the question in hand pointedly opposed to one another. And finally, the conception of the book itself, as the title-page shows, took antithetical form in the writer's mind.

Thus the structural character of Euphuistic prose is seen to be due to the single and simple application, in every relation for the emphatic expression of the thought and its reinforcement, of the methods of Antithesis and Repetition. If then we seek to explain, so far as structure is concerned, the artificiality to which so many have referred, we find it to reside not in richness of rhetorical resource, but on the one hand, in the essentially artificial character of the two methods employed, on the other in the unwearying constancy of their employment.

C. Rhetorical Devices.

a. Non-mechanical Devices for Ornament and Emphasis.

1. Oratorical question and oratorical response: — The use of these forms illustrates the general tendency of the

Euphuistic rhetoric to use every means for the inducement of emphasis. In accordance with the general structural principle of Repetition, they seldom appear in isolated cases.[1]) Incidentally (this is true particularly of oratorical response) they exhibit the lively sense of reality with which Lyly composed his discourses. With regard to the oratorical response it may be noted that it is essentially an antithetical form.[2])

2. Tropes and similitudes: — Lyly's use of figurative language is deliberately artificial — never involuntary, due to the inspiration of the thought. Particularly in the way similes and illustrative allusions are grouped together by the half-dozen,[3]) we discern the erring, or rather half-tutored rhetorician, with his tendency to over-emphasis and over-ornament. Now and again aptness, vividness, illustrative force betray the poet — scarcely ever tenderness, boldness of fancy, or beauty of expression due to instant, felicitous conception.

Landmann finds in Lyly's infrequent use of tropes a marked point of difference between his style and Sidney's. This is true of all but metaphor; metonomy, synecdoche, and the like, Lyly but rarely employs. Landmann doubtless meant the forcible wresting of the single word from its ordinary application. In no point of detail could a sharper line of

[1]) "Is it not the pray that enticeth the theefe to rifle? Is it not the pleasaunt bayte that causeth the fleetest fish to byte? Is it not a byworde amongst us, that gold maketh an honest man an ill man? Did Philautus accompt Euphues too simple to decypher beautie, or [so] superstitious not to desire it? Did he &c." (p. 63).

[2]) "I, but Euphues gave the onset: I, but Lucilla gave the occasion: I, but Euphues first brake his minde: I, but Lucilla first bewrayed hir meaning" (p. 89).

[3]) "As therefore the sweetest Rose hath his prickell, the finest velvet his bracke, the fairest flower his branne, so the sharpest wit hath his wanton will, and the holiest head his wicked way" (p. 33); "The fine Christall is sooner crased than the hard Marble; the greenest Beech burneth faster then the dryest Oke; the fairest Silke is soonest soyled; and the sweetest Wine tourneth to the sharpest Vineger. The Pestilence doth most rifest infect the clearest complection, and the Caterpiller cleaveth unto the ripest fruite" (p. 39).

severance be drawn between Sidney and Lyly. In this connection we beg to enforce Landmann's point. There is a difference in character as well as in extent of use. Sidney's tropes, while astonishingly bold, are made to bear a natural relation to their objects, which in some sort atones for or explains their boldness — e. g. "blessed paper, which shall kiss that hand whereto all blessedness is servant", "mourn boldly my ink, for while she looks upon you, your blackness will shine", "sheepish squadron", "honey-sweet eloquence", "honey-flowing speech", and so forth. Lyly's few tropes show not the slightest care in this respect, if he indeed intended any tropical application at all. Thus in the phrase "cankered storehouse" we have a curious use of the word "cankered", which if tropical is at best catachresis. We understand its use only when we see that it adds to the general effectiveness of the sentence, and is in alliterative balance with "common" in the next clause. The fewness of Lyly's tropes is perhaps partially explainable by the uniformly simple character of his epithets, which if ornamental, are generally of a tautological character — "swift dolphin", "rattling thunder". Careful attention to rhetorical effectiveness in this regard — so marked a feature of modern preciosity — does not appear in Lyly. [1])

The Euphuist drew his figurative allusions from three sources, — (1) "familiar and common objects in nature", (2) "classical history and mythology", (3) "unnatural natural history". Those from the first two sources are most common; those from the third most peculiar and characteristic. Guevara employs many allusions to the classics and to nature. Landmann is inclined to think the Euphuist imitated him. In the method of their employment undoubtedly — scarcely in their substance. Lyly's metaphors and similes are such as

[1]) Opening the Euphues at random, p. 319, we find in five pages only thirty epithets, and these of the simplest and most necessary character, "good", "new", "white", "warm clothes", "foolish fellow" &c. The only cases that are even remotely ornamental or tropical are "greedy hound", "cooling Carde", "inbridled furie", "desperate medecine", "curst wife".

belong to the common stock of his time; the rose, the serpent in the grass, the loadstone, the poison in the painted pot, — such as these occur constantly. We doubt if a single illustration can be found in his pages that is not to be found in the poetry or prose of his predecessors. In this we except of course allusions to fabulous birds, stones, and fishes.[1]) But even the use of these, as Koeppel has pointed out, must not be considered an original contribution of Lyly's to the Euphuistic rhetoric. Pettie used them before him. Moreover there was a very general interest in these wonders, and they are often employed in other than Euphuistic literature well on into the 17th century. Euphuism simply made a special feature of, and in some sort lent a distinction to, their use. They pleased Lyly no doubt partly because of their picturesque quality, partly because of their convenience and effectiveness for purposes of illustration. We are told that he invented no few for himself.

Lyly uses figures simply and solely for the sake of argumentative statement and illustration. This forms a distinct difference between Lyly and Sidney. Lyly never uses metaphor or simile for narration or description of action — Sidney invariably.

b. Mechanical Devices.

Lyly's use of these brought about above all his condemnation for artificiality and affectation. No wonder the early critic remarking his excesses and examining no further, cried out upon what seemed a coxcomb's love of frippery for its own sake. As in the case of structure, a later day detected that purpose and system were not wanting in Lyly's use of these devices. Weymouth pointed out the constant use of

[1]) Morris (Introd. to "An Old Engl. Miscellany") says (p. 8) of the Bestiary therein contained that it serves to explain certain of Lyly's references, otherwise unexplainable, e. g. the panther's sweet smell, the wood culver's solicitude for her young. Warter (Southey's Commonplace Book, 4th series, p. 457), has a comical note to the effect that few of Lyly's similes are to be relied upon, but that he has "discovered several instances of these old notions".

parison, and made it clear that consonance, rime, and a particular sort of alliteration, were used with a definite purpose to lay further emphasis upon the accurate balance of his clauses and sentences.

1. Parison: — Landmann's description of this feature of Euphuism is simple and clear: "When we find a principal and a subordinate clause, we may be sure that two, three, or all of the words in the former are opposed to an equal number in the latter. This we call parisonic antithesis. Most of Lyly's clauses are formed upon this system".[1]) This is, as a general statement, true. The prominence given to parison is perhaps in one way misleading. Its constant use is undoubtedly a characteristic feature, but we should remember that as Lyly's first thought is evidently to be antithetical, the use of parison, though constant, enters as a secondary matter. We emphatically question whether the greater number of Lyly's antitheses are thrown into parisonic form. It may also be suggested that parisonic parallelism plays quite as marked a part as parisonic antithesis.

In order to bring out more clearly the relation of parison to the general scheme, the essential character of the Euphuistic rhetoric, we should like to modify Landmann's statement. It might perhaps read: "When we find two clauses or sentences conveying an antithesis, or a train of clauses or sentences connected by parallelism, we often find two, three, or all the words in the different members accurately balanced against each or one another by similarity of position and similarity of grammatical function. This is called parison. In cases of parisonic antithesis, the words opposed are themselves very generally contrary or opposite in meaning". We seek to bring out the distinctive tendency of the Guevarian and the Euphuistic rhetorics, — namely, that after selecting for use forms of expression in themselves the most pointed and effective possible, they hasten to superinduce emphasis by the employment of devices purely mechanical. Take for example the following case in Lyly: "For as ye

[1]) Euphues: Introduction, p. XV.

fire stone in Liguria though it be quenched with milke, yet again it is kindled with water, or as the rootes of Auchusa [Anchusa] though it be hardned with water, yet it is againe made soft with Oyle, so the heart of Euphues enflamed earst with love, although it bee cooled with the deceites of Lucilla, yet will it againe flame with the loyaltie of some honest Ladye, and though it be hardned with the water of wilynesse, yet will it bee molyfied with the Oyle of wisedome" (p. 121). Here antithesis is marked between the logical contents of the clauses, a device effective in itself, but which is nevertheless reinforced by offsetting, in purely mechanical fashion, words inherently antithetical to one another, between which a careful balance is preserved, they being ticketed so to speak into pairs by similarity of position and grammatical structure. Even here the Euphuist does not rest content in his use of mechanical devices. As we shall see he often emphasises the fact that he is parisonic.

2. Devices depending upon sound-likeness: — Scarcely a line of the Euphues is without its use of alliteration, or similar artifice. No systematic display has yet been made of the various forms and their applications. Special features have absorbed attention in a way that has prevented clear understanding of the matter, particularly in its historical relations. The scheme [1]) which follows will, it is hoped, sufficiently exhibit all the various devices employed both as when used by themselves and in conjunction.

I. a. Complete syllabic likeness, i. e. consonance, [2]) sometimes combined with alliteration: — "I am therefore en*force*d per*force*" (p. 67); "This *immod*erate sleepe, *immod*est play" (p. 112).

b. Complete word likeness, i. e. repetition: — "so sweete

[1]) The names are not italicised as in Arber, in order to prevent confusion, and modern symbols are used for u, v, j, and s.

[2]) Similarity at once of vowel and consonantal sounds is consonance; of vowels only is assonance; of initial sounds of stressed syllables or words, is alliteration; of all but initial sounds is rime.

a violet to his *nose* that he could hardly suffer it to be an houre from his *nose*" (p. 427); "to rest at their own *home* till they come to their long *home?*" (p. 242).

c. Partial syllabic and word likeness: —

1. Assonance: — "there to l*a*p up, that he doth c*a*st up" (p. 215).

2. Rime: — "answered his forged *gloase* with this friendly *cloase*" (p. 67); "I will to Athens, there to tosse my *bookes*, no more in Naples to live with faire *lookes*" (p. 99); "then *wounded* [1]) with griefe, hee *sounded* with weaknesse" (p. 336).

3. Annomination [2]): — "began to bewaile his *Nurture* and to muse at his *Nature*" (p. 36; same case occurs pp. 41, 42, 101, 130); "to see thee as *hopelesse* as myselfe is *haples*" (p. 92); "in the hot *liver* of a heedelesse *lover*" (p. 111; same pp. 195, 276).

Excursus: — Puns and plays upon words are common in Euphues and are referred to here though not mechanical devices, partly because they often half partake of that nature, partly because it is often difficult to tell whether a case in hand is one of simple annomination or of paronomasia. It was perhaps Weymouth's doubt as to the existence of puns in the Euphues which led Landmann to instance Sidney's fondness for playing upon words as one of the differences between the Arcadian and Euphuistic styles. [3]) There is

[1]) To this day old-fashioned people may be found who pronounce this word to rime with "sounded". As regards "sounded" it is rather interesting that Lyly uses this form. It was about this time perhaps that the *d* first found its way into good usage. Cf. Stanyhurst, p. X: "Yet, sowning, in English must be long, much more if it were, Sounding, as the ignorant generaly but falsely do write".

[2]) Weymouth, followed by Landmann, uses the term syllabic antithesis. This we take to mean consonantal similarity plus non-assonance, as *bul, bel.* Lyly employs this, but cases of full word-annomination are far more frequent. Marsh said (see p. 17): "Hardly to be distinguished from annomination is the Euphuism of Queen Elizabeth's age", — a statement of course absurdly exaggerated, but hinting at the prominence of the part which annomination plays in Lyly's style.

[3]) Euphues, Introduction, p. XXVIII: "Besides, Sidney is fond of playing upon words".

really no difference discernible between them in this respect.

"Who so severe as the Stoickes, which lyke stocks were moved with no melodie"? (p. 40); "It is not his great mannors, but thy good manners" (p. 81); "otherwise when the babe shall now begin to tattle and call hir Mamma, with what face can she heare it of his mouth unto whom she hath denyed Mamma" (p. 129); "he himselfe knowing best the price of Corne, not by the Market folkes, but his owne foote-steppes" (p. 267); "a Violette is better then a Rose, and so shee arose" (p. 399).

II. Alliteration: —

a. Simple:

1. For ornament or euphony only: — "*f*aire *f*eathers" (p. 54); "*h*oarie *h*aires" (p. 55); "*f*onde *f*oole" (p. 64); "The first *p*icture that Phydias the first *P*aynter shadowed was the *p*ortraiture of his owne *p*erson" (p. 213); "I would exceede in *c*ost, though in *c*ourtesie I know not how to *c*ompare with you, for (without flatterie be it spoken) if the *c*ommon *c*ourtesie of Englande be no worse then this towarde straungers, I must needes thinke them happy that travaile into these *c*oasts. and the inhabitaunts the most *c*ourteous, of all *c*ountreyes" (p. 266).

2. Single balance, marking:

α. Clause-rhythm: — "Euphues nowe as willing to obey as shee to *c*ommaunde, addressed himselfe to a farther *c*onclusion" (p. 70); "that Euphues shal be without daunger by L[ordships] *P*atronage, otherwise, I cannot see, wher[e] I might finde succour in any noble *p*ersonage" (p. 218); "And bicause your discourse hath hetherto bred *d*elight, I am loth to hinder you in the sequele of your *d*evises" (p. 56).

β. Parallelism: — "doth so *w*eaken the *s*ences and be*w*itch the *s*oule" (p. 112); "never more *p*ride in Rome, more *p*oysoning in Italy" (p. 140); "beeing *p*erverse in nature and *p*roud in words" (p. 145).

γ. Antithesis: — "Thinges which cannot be altered are to be *b*orne, not *b*lamed" (p. 297): "to have just tryall of his *f*aith, or plaine knowledge of his *f*alshood" (p. 299).

3. Continuous, single letter, marking:

α. Parallelism: — (a. a. a.) — "The first sippe of love is *p*leasant, the seconde *p*erilous, the thirde *p*estilent" (p. 108); "Fly the *p*laces, the *p*arlours, the *p*ortals" (p. 117); "curious in their attyre, *c*ostlye in their dyet, *c*arelesse in their behaviour" (p. 134); (a. a. a. a.) — "having in it the three rootes which they attribut[e] to *M*usicke. *M*irth, *M*elancholie, *M*adnesse" (p. 425); (a. a. a. a. a.) — "to *c*on*f*ute those that be obstinate, to *c*on*f*ound those that bee erronious, to *c*on*f*irme the faithfull, to *c*om*f*ort the desperate, to *c*ut off the presumpt[u]ous" (p. 113).

β. Antithesis: — (aa. aa.) — "least *tr*usting their outward *t*alke, he be be*tr*ayed with their inward *tr*echery" (p. 99); (aaa. a.) — "I *f*orce not *Ph*ilautus his *f*ury, so I may have Euphues his *f*riendship" (p. 81).[1])

4. Continuous, more than one letter, marking:

α. Parallelism: — (a. a. [a.] b. b. b.) — "If *C*onjurations, *C*haracters, Circles,[2]) *F*igures, *F*[i]endes, or *F*uries" (p. 347); (a. a. b. b. b. b.) "Their *s*utes, their *s*ervice, their *l*etters, their *l*abours, their *l*oves, their *l*ives", (p. 56): (aaa. bbb.) — "Doe we not commonly see that in *p*ainted *p*ottes is hidden the deadlyest *p*oyson? that in the *g*reenest *g*rasse is ye *g*reatest Serpent"? (p. 53); (aaa. bbbb.) — "so *c*anne there be no *c*ontract where both be not *c*ontent, ... no *m*ariage *m*ade where no *m*atch was *m*ent" (p. 85); (aa. bb. cc.) — "Such is the *N*ature of these *n*ovises, that thinke to have *l*earning without *l*abour, and *t*reasure without *t*ravaile" (p. 47).

β. Anthithesis: — (a. a. b. b. c. c.) — "When they see the *f*olly of men turne to *f*ury, their *d*elyght to *d*oting, their a*ff*ection to *f*rencie" (p. 56); "O ye Gods, have ye ordeyned

[1]) No doubt Lyly also felt the force of the "*ph*" in "Euphues".

[2]) The C alliterates to the eye.

for every *m*alady a *m*edecine, for every *s*ore a *s*alve, for every *p*aine a *p*la[y]ster, *l*eaving onely *l*ove remedilesse" (p. 61). No other forms occur.

b. Transverse, or alternate alliteration:

1. For ornament, or euphony: — "If this seeme to *strai*ght a *d*iet, for thy *stray*ing [*stra*unge] *d*isease" (p. 113); "*wor*ship them in my *l*ife whom I shall know to be *wor*thy in their *l*ivinge" (p. 120); (rime & allit.) "seeing I am not *fedde* with their *p*ap, I am not to be *ledde* by their *p*erswasions" (p. 60); (cons. & allit.) "bicause I re*s*e*mble* him in *w*it, I meane a little to dis*s*e*mble* with him in *w*yles" (p. 63); (aab. aab.) — "It was the *h*eate of *h*ys *l*ust, that made hyr *h*ast to ende *h*ir *l*yfe" (p. 64); (ab. ba.) — "let my *r*ude *b*irth excuse my *b*old *r*equest" (p. 253): "But I leave to *n*ame thy *s*innes, which no Syphers can *n*umber" (p. 315), "and *c*rueltie too *m*ilde a *m*edecine for *c*rafte" (p. 385); "*s*harpe *f*rostes bite *f*rowarde *s*pringes" (p. 451); (ab. bba.) — "neither can *p*laisters take away the *g*riefe which is *g*rowen so *g*reat by *p*erswasions" (p. 425); (aba. aab.) — "to *c*loake the *v*anities in *c*ourt, were to *c*log mine own *c*onscience with *v*ices" (p. 193).

2. Marking Parallelism: — "the *b*lossome before the *f*ruite, the *b*udde before the *f*loure" (p. 46); "*b*roken the *b*ondes of *m*ariage and for*b*idden the *b*anes of *M*atrimony" (p. 51); "wyth some *p*itie have aunswered hys *d*esyre, or with some *p*erswasion have stayed hir *d*eath" (p. 64); "thou onely hast *w*onne me by *l*ove, and shalt onely *w*eare me by *l*aw" (p. 81); (rime & allit.) "love *creepeth* into the *m*ind, by privie *c*raft, and *keepeth* his holde by *m*aine *c*ourage" (p. 111); (cons. & allit.) "How dis*s*o*lute* have I bene in *s*triving against good *c*ounsaile? how re*s*o*lute* in *s*tanding in mine owne *c*onceipt?" (ib.); "*un*seemely *t*earmes or *un*cleanly *t*alke" (p. 221); (abb. abab.) — "a *s*weet *P*anther with a devouring *p*aunch, a *s*ower *p*oyson in a *s*ilver *p*otte" (p. 54); (ab. ba.) [1] — "a thing *c*ontrary to hir *hon*or, and the next way to call hir *hon*estie

[1]) This is the interesting reverse-transverse, which has in Lyly passed entirely unnoticed hitherto, though long recognised in Old English verse. See also in previous paragraph.

into *qu*estion" (p. 354); (aba. bab.) — "one maye *p*oynt at a *S*tarre, but not *p*ull at it, and *s*ee a *P*rince but not *s*earch him" (p. 264); (abcc. ccab.) — "The Pestilence doth most *r*ifest in*f*ect the *c*learest *c*omplection and the *C*aterpiller *c*leaveth unto the *r*ipest *f*ruite" (p. 39); (complex case with rime) "There is nothing *lyghter* then a feather, yet is it sette a loft in a woeman's *h*atte, nothing *slighter* then haire, yet is it most frisled in a Ladies *h*ead" (p. 221).

3. Marking Antithesis: — "from the *t*eate of *V*esta to the *t*oyes of *V*enus" (p. 76); "to *re*nounce his *La*dye as most *p*ernitious or *re*deeme his *l*ibertie as most *p*recious" (p. 107); "thy *sa*cred *S*enate of *three* hundred *g*rave *C*ounsellors, to a *sh*amelesse *S*inod of *three* thousand *g*reedy *C*aterpillers" (p. 315): (cons. & tr. all.; annom & tr. all.) "Heere, yea, heere, Euphues, mayst thou see, not the *car*ved *vis*arde of a *l*ewde *w*oman, but the in*car*nate *vy*sage of a *l*ascivious *w*antonne: not the *s*hadowe of *l*ove, but the *s*ubstaunce of *l*ust. My hearte melteth in droppes of bloud to see a[n] harlotte with the one hande *robbe* so many *co*fers, and with the other to *rippe* so many *co*rses" (p. 38); (cons. & allit.) "woulde rather al*lowe* it in *wo*rdes, then fol*low* it in *wo*rkes" (p. 44); "not measuring the *deformed* man, with the *reformed* minde" (p. 53); (ab. ba.) — "If *d*eserts can nothing *p*revaile, I will *p*ractise *d*eceipts" (p. 337).

Our list of examples is drawn out to some length for reasons which will disclose themselves if we glance for a moment at work already done in this division of our subject. Weymouth concerned himself chiefly with transverse alliteration as used in connection with parisonic antithesis. Landmann similarly occupied himself with showing that the use of the transverse form is characteristic of the whole Euphuistic school. In thus paying exclusive attention to a particular feature, he not only does not treat the subject fully and completely, but arrives in one or two points at erroneous conclusions. Notably he omits to properly examine Lyly's use of simple alliteration. In the Dissertation,[1]) to be sure, it is

[1]) Landmann, Diss. p. 16: „Als zweites Hauptmerkmal kommt

referred to, but in a way that drops it out of sight as unimportant. It is curious that after giving even such a brief and incomplete list of examples as that which this reference contains, Landmann could have made on the following page the astonishing statement [1]) that for marking word-balances simple alliteration is not used. but the transverse form. In his later work we find a still more sweeping and definite statement. Lyly's alliteration we are told, "is not continnous alliteration". [2]) So unjustifiable is this assertion — every page of the Euphues contradicts it — that we see into what error Landmann has been led in the first place by ascribing such disproportionate importance to the transverse form, and next by devoting his attention to it exclusively. He gives it in

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zu diesen mehr die syntaktische Konstruktion der Sätze betreffenden Figuren, die Vorliebe für Alliteration, Assonanz. Reim und Wortspiel. Ein Blick auf irgend eine Seite des Euphues zeigt dies sofort. So z. B. in folgenden Stellen: "If he find thee *w*anton before thou be wooed he will gesse thou *w*ilt be *w*avering when thou art *w*edded" (p. 59); "I hope I shall for my *w*ages win the good *w*ill of women" (p. 56); "their *s*utes· their *s*ervice, their *l*etters, their *l*abours, their *l*oves, their *l*ives" (ib.); "*W*omen are to be *w*onne with every *w*ind" (p. 55); "No *w*it *w*ill spring in the *w*ill of *w*omen" (p. 113); "Learning without *l*abour and *t*reasure without *t*ravaile" (p. 47). Neben der einfachen Alliteration ist es Assonanz und Reim, welche Lyly zur Hervorhebung der Antithese verwendet, z. B. (p. 51): "Why I go about to hinder the *c*ourse of *l*ove with the discourse of *l*aw"; (p. 81) "my father shall sooner *m*artir me in the *f*ire, than *m*arye me to *Ph*ilautus"; (p. 43) "We *m*erry, you *m*elancholy; we *z*ealous in affection, you i*e*alous in all your doings; you te*s*tie without cause, we ha*s*tie for no *q*uarrell".

[1]) Ib. p. 17: „Das Eigentümliche der Lyly'schen Antithesis besteht nun darin, dass die Worte, welche in der Antithese stehen, mögen sie nun dem Begriffe nach wirklich einen Gegensatz bilden oder sich nur äusserlich gegenüberstehen, durch Alliteration, Assonanz, Reim oder Gleichklang hervorgehoben sind. Wir haben also hier nicht die einfache Alliteration, welche denselben Buchstaben durch einen Satz hindurch verfolgt, sondern ihre Anwendung in der Art, dass das erste Wort des einen Satzes mit dem ersten Worte des zweiten korrespondierenden Satzes alliteriert und so mit allen folgenden korrespondierenden Wörtern, so dass der Euphuismus die überhaupt möglichst pointierte Schärfe der Antithese aufweist."

[2]) Landmann, Euphues. Introduction, p. XV.

fact the same sort of misleading prominence which he before gave to Lyly's use of parison. In saying this, we wish to be clearly understood. We do not underrate the importance of clearly recognising Lyly's fondness for the parisonic form or his use of transverse alliteration — these afford us a ready and infallible means whereby we may identify the great Euphuist with his prototypes and congeners. But we do affirm that their very excellence for this purpose is evidence of a narrowness of significance, a limited importance. Such special features of a style should no be put forward in a way to obscure facts and relations of wider and more vital interest. The student aims primarily to gain some idea of the way in which Euphuism affected the development of English prose. Of first importance to him is the simple fact that the Euphuist made constant and conscious use of clear-cut antithesis and parallelism, not that he was fond of a particular artificial form; he deals with the fact that alliteration is used in Euphuistic prose in many forms for certain definite purposes, not simply that a particular form was applied for a particular purpose. Such limiting of the attention to special features may lead to serious error. It will become plain as we proceed that had we omitted to take into account Lyly's use of simple alliteration and the extent of it, his use of the continuous form for emphasis, and of the transverse form for euphony, the neglect would have stultified any conclusions of an historical nature with regard to the presence of alliteration in his prose and the origin of the forms in which it is there used.

Our list presents all typical forms without prejudice in favor of any particular form whose peculiarity renders it prominent, and gives some sample of the complicated and intricate structures frequently discoverable. The facts therefrom gathered are briefly these.

Lyly uses two plain forms, simple and transverse, and for two purposes, for ornament or euphony, and for giving special emphasis to parallelistic or antithetical balance. Either form is used for either purpose. Questioning which

use was the simpler and more natural, i. e. which came consciously or unconsciously more readily to hand, we find evidence in favor of the euphonic. Single letter sequence, i. e. ordinary continuous alliteration, appears constantly apart from word- or clause-balance, — often also runs irregularly through both members of antithetical clauses. Purely euphonic alliteration is used with careless freedom in complex irregularity within balanced antithetical or parallelistic members in a way that obscures and blurs what had else been a markedly effective use of the transverse form.

Next considering quantitative relations, we find alliteration everywhere present throughout the original portions [1]) of the book, in practically constant quantity. Everywhere too, its use for both purposes — for euphony and for emphasis. As regards use of form with relation to purpose, — for euphony, simple alliteration is generally employed; cases of transverse occur, but not frequently. Again for balance-marking, for emphasis, simple alliteration is far more frequently used, either in the form of a single letter's marking a single word-balance, or running regularly through balanced members, or of balanced sequences formed of different letters. The transverse form is much less used, though it makes itself prominent because of its peculiarity. This fact is to be marked because of the exclusive importance ascribed to that form by Landmann. There is irregularity moreover in the extent of its use. One or two cases appear regularly per page for some time, and then suddenly follow a number in close succession — as on p. 64, three in 6 lines, on p. 65, three, p. 67 three, p. 106 nine, pp. 204—205, eight. In Euphues and his England there are pages together where no case occurs, but when one makes its appearance, two or more are sure to be found in close proximity. This seems to indicate how mechanical a matter its use for this purpose was. While Lyly commonly, constantly, and we believe unconsciously used the

[1]) There is much less in the Euphues and his Ephoebus (in great part translated from Plutarch), and in the Euphues and Atheos, which consists chiefly of quotations from the Scriptures.

ordinary continuous forms, he seems only suddenly and every now and then to have bethought himself of the transverse form, and proceeded to manufacture two or three examples of it. Moreover the more notable groups appear at marked and special places, e. g. the opening of the "cooling Carde" [1]) and in the prefatory epistles. [2])

Let us glance for a moment at a scheme showing to what extent Lyly availed himself of his various devices.

	Simple All.							
	Ornam.	Balance	Trans. All.	Cons.	Annom.	Repet.	Rime	Pages
Euphues	935	668	241	114	44	24	20	117
E. and his Engl.	1196	795	112	48	24	38	9	268

Here is a pointed moral. Of simple alliteration as against transverse, we have 1603 cases to 241. In fact, simple alliteration for ornament by itself almost equals all the rest put together; not to speak of the fact that many of the cases of consonance and annomination are ornamental. A glance at the figures for Euphues and his England still further emphasises these results. Note also, with twice as many pages, the marked decrease in the use of these devices.

Prepared now to consider the subject in its historical relations, we must necessarily set ourselves at once at variance with Landmann in more than one regard. The chapter in which he handles the matter opens with the words [3]): "So also alliteration in and for itself does not form a characteristic feature of Euphuism. It was present in complete form in antecedent prose and verse". In proof he quotes Surrey, Wyatt and various authors in Tottel's Miscellany, refers to Churchyard,

[1]) p. 106.

[2]) p. 204.

[3]) Landmann, Diss. p. 53: „Ebenso macht die Alliteration an und für sich kein Merkmal des Euphuismus aus. Dieselbe ist in der vorausgehenden und gleichzeitigen Poesie und Prosa vollständig vorhanden."

Gascoygne, Turbervile, gives a citation from Puttenham with regard to the value of alliteration in verse, one from Webbe with regard to the "ragged Rhymers" who "hunt the Letter", and two from Sidney, — one the oft-quoted passage from the "Defence of Poesie", and the other from "Astrophel and Stella" concerning the abuse of alliteration and borrowing from Petrarch. These he gives and nothing more — and then closes as follows[1]): "The above cited examples may serve to show us that alliteration was a perfectly common and general ornament of English diction in Lyly's time, and that it was not Lyly who brought it into Euphuism". In point of fact, the chapter, though entitled[2]): "Upon Alliteration in Antecedent and Contemporaneous Prose and Verse" contains absolutely nothing with regard to antecedent prose. The examples of alliteration given are all from the poets, and the single quotation which refers to prose — that from Sidney — was undoubtedly aimed at Lyly in particular and his followers in general. In a word the chapter in no sense fulfils what its title promises.

The truth of the matter seems to be, and it is one worth the bringing out, that while Lyly certainly did not first introduce alliteration into Euphuistic prose, there was, before the setting in of the Guevaristic influence, no definite, general, conscious use of it in prose or any sign of a tendency upon the part of prose-writers to transfer its use from verse. It is when Berners and Bryan turn to Guevara in wondering admiration of his ornate and exalted style that the first traces of such a tendency make their appearance. But in Berners, the alliteration is inconsiderable in amount. With North, we begin to find it in some quantity, but his use of it is not comparable to Lyly's[3]) — in one or two

[1]) Ib. p. 59: „Die oben citierten Beispiele mögen uns zeigen, dass Alliteration eine ganz gewöhnliche Zierde der damahgen englischen Diktion war, und dass es nicht Lyly ist, der sie im Euphuismus einführte."

[2]) Ib. p. 53: „Ueber die Alliteration in der vorausgehenden und gleichzeitigen Poesie und Prosa."

[3]) Landmann, Euphues, Introduction p. XVII: "His style exhibits

special points qualitatively, perhaps, but not quantitatively. Petty's work is however quite comparable with Lyly's.[1]) For one reason or another a development of this special feature had taken place. If we wish to appreciate how great this was, we may compare Elyot with Lyly. The one makes no use of alliteration, the other runs to monstrous excess both in extent of its use and in the elaborateness of the forms he employs.

But in noticing the fact of this development we must not be distracted from the main point. The first general common use of alliteration in English prose was due to the Guevarists, or early Euphuists. This point established, the question rises — how came this and why?

The simple reply is that it was due to the fact that at the very time when the Guevaristic cultus was growing into the more definite form of Euphuism, alliteration had just made a sudden reappearance in fresh vigor in English verse.

But how then is the transference of its use to prose to be accounted for, a thing which had never[2]) before taken place? Briefly, in this way. Alliteration had in earlier times been the peculiar property of verse, because it had exercised therein a peculiar function — that of beginning rime to mark the beat. But this its renascence was due to a recognition of its euphonic value only. Never before had its original function been quite forgotten, even in the 15th century. There was now nothing to prevent the transference

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to a much higher degree than Berners' the specific elements of Guevarism and Euphuism, viz: parison, antithesis, and above all transverse alliteration." Regarding his transverse alliteration we shall speak later.

[1]) Cf. Landmann: Euphues; Koeppel: Stud. z. Geschichte d. ital. Novelle. p. 26.

[2]) This "never", we hope, can justify itself. Lyly's prose is prose; Ælfric's inclines towards being verse. He breaks the law of alliteration of his time, only as he breaks the rhythmical. And when we meet such phrasing as this (Gerêfa, 3): "Ac he mot ægðer witan ge læsse ge mare, ge *betere* ge *mætre*, ðæs ðe to tune belimpð, ge on *tune* ge on *dune*, ge on *wuda* ge on *wætere*, ge on *felda* ge on *falde*, ge inne ge ute", we recognise that we have to do with a jingling formula, not with prose. See the Appendix on Dan Michel.

of its use to prose — a prose, moreover, predisposed in every way towards the employment of devices of precisely this character.

This is why we have been at pains to lay emphasis upon Lyly's purely euphonic use of alliteration. Particularly we now draw attention to an exceedingly important point which our list of examples illustrates — the fact that Lyly uses transverse alliteration, as well as simple, for the purpose of euphony. Here we must take notice that Weymouth and Landmann [1]) are entirely mistaken in treating the transverse form as something entirely new and strange. Landmann distinctly states this to be the case and is evidently under the impression that continuous alliteration only is to be found in Surrey and Wyatt and their fellows; this despite the fact that he by chance quotes a poem of Surrey's in which a case of transverse occurs. [2]) The truth is, transverse alliteration appears quite commonly in early English [3]), frequently in verse of the 16th century, as we shall see, and in fact constantly in the same way in the verse of today. The extent of its use as compared with that of the simple form is of course not great — but this is precisely what should be the case, if we are to establish the fact of a likeness between Lyly's use of alliteration and that of the poets. The ratio of the extent of Lyly's use of transverse alliteration for euphonic purposes to that of his use of the simple, continuous form, is one exceedingly small and quite comparable to a similar ratio obtained by an examination of the work of the Petrarchists.

So far the resemblance holds good between the use of

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[1]) Morley follows them in this notion, English Writers, VIII, p. 319.

[2]) Diss. p. 53: "The *a*dder all her *s*loughe, *a*waye she *s*linges", see Arber's Tottel's Miscellany, p. 4.

[3]) See Schipper: Englische Metrik, *passim*. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was perhaps the first to point out a case of transverse, in a lecture delivered February 3, 1818. His example is from Spenser: "And on the grasse her *d*aintie *l*imbs *d*id *l*ay", see Notes and Lectures upon Shakspeare &c., II, p. 32.

alliteration in Euphuistic prose and in contemporary verse — that is so far as regards its use for euphony. But we have now to deal with another use of alliteration which appears comparatively rarely in verse. This is that use which so entirely absorbed Landmann's attention. "It is", he says, [1]) "all the more incorrect to speak of simple alliteration as a distinguishing characteristic of Euphuism, precisely because Lyly made use of it in a wholly peculiar way. It is with him, as we have seen, only a means whereby to accentuate word-balance in parallel or antithetical sentences". The errors involved by implication in these statements stand already corrected. We take Landmann to mean that he considers this particular use of alliteration to be the peculiar feature — not the form itself. If this be his meaning, he obscures it later. We find him saying [2]) that Lyly applies alliteration "in a very peculiar way", and when Schwan [3]) criticised him to the effect that there was nothing peculiar about it since Lyly used alliteration like others to mark particular words, Landmann answered [4]): "I think Dr. Schwan was mistaken in correcting me ... Dr. Schwan certainly knows what the original use of alliteration was that the same letter runs on in one line or clause: e. g. f—f—f—f: l—l—l—l. But here we have f—l—g—m: f—l—g—m and this is to my thinking peculiar and artificial". Here Landmann plainly defines his use of the word "peculiar" in the first citation as referring to the character of the transverse form itself and what he considered to be its novelty and strangeness, rather than to the character of its application.

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[1]) Diss. p. 60: „Es ist um so unkorrekter, die einfache Alliteration ein spezifisches Merkmal des Euphuismus zu nennen, da Lyly gerade von ihr einen ganz eigentümlichen Gebrauch machte. Sie ist ihm, wie wir oben gesehen haben, nur ein Mittel, korrespondierende Wörter in verschiedenen parallelen oder antithetischen Sätzen zu pointieren".

[2]) Trans. of the New Sh. Soc. p. 250. Cf. also p. 59, Note 1.

[3]) In Engl. Stud. VI, p. 103: „Er brauchte sie so wie andere auch, um bestimmte Worte zu markieren".

[4]) Euphues: Introduction, p. XV, Note.

It is however not the form which is peculiar and novel, but the application; this it is which demands explanation. And if in beginning our search for such an explanation, we recall Schwan's remark that Lyly employed alliteration like others to mark particular words, the fact that he is at once right and wrong serves to define just what the difficulty is with which we have to deal. Right he certainly is, in that he practically asserts that alliteration lends itself readily as a means whereby particular words may be marked, picked out, distinguished. Wrong he is no less in dismissing the matter so lightly — we have here to explain not the possibility of the application of alliteration for a new purpose, but the fact of its very orderly and systematic use in certain forms of special fitness for the end in view.

As to the mere question what suggested the end in view, there is not the slightest difficulty. As Landmann pointed out, Guevara often marked the balanced words in his parisonic co-ordinates by consonance and rime. The Euphuist not only imitated his use of these devices, but added thereto the native English device of alliteration. This presupposes of course a tendency of some kind to its use; such there was, as we have shown, in consequence of its revival for euphonic effect in verse. The Euphuist also constantly employed it for euphony. But when he employed it in the new relation we are considering, it was with a conscious art and carefulnesss — something quite apart from the unconscious freedom, the fatal facility with which he employed it for euphony. This exhibits itself in the forms he uses. It is the genesis of these with which we must concern ourselves. Had alliteration ever been used before as the Euphuist used it — or in a way that would lead naturally to such use — had there ever been before, indeed, careful employment of particular forms, fitted for a particular purpose in hand?

The aim of the Euphuist was as we saw to give distinction to his word-balances (one or more) in order to further emphasise clause or sentence-balance. Let us first enumerate the forms he used for this purpose: — (1) single word

balance, marked by single letter; (2) single letter running through balanced clauses or sentences, marking particular words in balance; (3) balanced sequences each of a different letter (aaa. bbb); (4) the transverse. (abc. abc), and finally (5) the interesting reverse-transverse (abc. cba.) of which previously no notice has been taken, in spite of the exclusive attention paid to the transverse, of which it is a variant. It is worthy of remark how owing to special fitness, the transverse form though still less used than the simple, is lifted from the humble position it holds when euphony is in question and is made to play a marked and prominent part.

Three possibilities now present themselves when we seek to explain the use of these forms. And first let us see whether perhaps the early Euphuists definitely copied in alliteration Guevara's use of consonance and rime.

Our interest in this hypothesis is heightened by discovering in Guevara the occasional use of what appears to be transverse consonance. This appears in two of the examples Landmann [1]) gives: "que antes no suffriesse una pedr*ada* en la cabec*a* que no una cuchil*ada* en la fam*a*"; "Ellos trabaj*ando* de las *servir*; if ellas no rehus*ando* de *ser vis*tas". Have we here an explanation of the origin of transverse alliteration? North, we find, translates the first case by marking a single word-balance: "but had rather suffer a *bl*ow on the head with a stone than a *bl*ot in their good name with an evill tongue". The second is not translated.

If now we were to accept it as likely that Guevara's transverse consonance brought about the use of an alliterative counterpart, we should still have to explain why this so readily took place. Are we to believe that an entirely new form of alliteration, as Landmann considers it, won its way on its own merits? In any case could we similarly explain the use of other forms—balanced sequences for instance? Let us glance for a moment at the facts.

Elyot, who, it will be remembered, came so immediately

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[1]) Euphues: Introduction, p. XIX, V.

under the influence of Guevara,[1]) shows no inclination to imitate his methods. In Berners the alliteration is practically *nil* — what little use there is of it is euphonic. North however requires closer attention. Euphonic alliteration appears in some quantity,[2]) but apart from this he evidently clearly appreciates the possibility of its being used, like consonance, in his originals, for the marking of balance. He uses consonance not infrequently,[3]) but also here and there we discover as in the example above, the marking by alliteration of a single balance[4]) — also occasionally the use of annomination,[5]) repetition,[6]) and rime.[7]) But his use of these devices is by no means commensurate to his use of parison. He employs them only as occasional resources. They may be regarded as features of his style, only because their use was plainly not matter of accident. Still more infrequent is the transverse form. One must be at real pains to discover an example — still more a marked and pure example such as are so common in Lyly. The first we give below is the single one we discover.[8]) When Landmann says that North ex-

[1]) See Landmann: Diss. p. 62.

[2]) Dial of Princes ("The dedicatoire epistle"): — "at this *pr*esent be much *pr*ofited", "most *p*rofonde and *p*leasaunt"; ("The generall Prologue"): "For to give *c*ounsel I *c*onfesse I have no *c*redite".

[3]) Ib. ("The dedicatoire epistle"): — "The omnipotenc*ie* of God, the frailt*ies* of men, the inconstanc*ie* of fortune, the vanit*ie* of this world, the miserie of this life"; ("Author's Prologue"): — "They shal never winne hon*our*, but when they use to recover slaund*er*", (so also "pred*ecessours*-succ*essours*"; "ab*sence*-pr*esence*").

[4]) Ib. ("The generall Prologue"): — I direct my writing unto those which embrace *v*ertue and not unto such as are borne always with *v*ice"; (so also "*P*rinces-*p*eople, *r*ich-*r*eligious"); "right worthy to *r*emember and also pleasaunt to *r*eade"; Fol. 68: "become as dry and *f*oule as before they were *f*reshe and *f*aire". Ib.: "to *c*ondempne my boldnes, and not to *c*omende my enterprise".

[5]) Fol. 3: — "lavish of *words*, and scant of re*wardes*".

[6]) ("The generall Prologue"): "Sithe then the estate of Princes is greater *then all*, that he may be more *then all*, is more of value *then all*, upholdeth more *then all*".

[7]) Ib. "And let no man say I *would* and cannot be *good*".

[8]) Ib. ("The generall Prologue"): — "For heaven is not fur*nished* but with good *d*edes, and hell is not reple*nished* but with evil *de*-

ceeded Berners "above all" in the use of "transverse alliteration", he gives, while stating a truth, a decidedly wrong impression as to the extent of North's use of it.

North in brief appreciated the effectiveness of alliteration as a means to mark balance and occasionally employed it, but in no systematic way. There was no careful following of Guevara's consonance in the original or the French translation. Indeed there is no systematic use of that device at all. It is a question in fact how often his use of it was definitely intentional. His consonance is with the exception of a few cases consonance of endings, and that, even in English, much more in French and Spanish, is a necessary result of the use of parison.

We pass then to a second possibility. Given that the end to be attained was suggested by Guevara and that the use of alliteration came as a result of its natural fitness, was it not in natural course of development by process of invention and gradual acceptance that various forms came into use?

But do we need to predicate the existence of such an independent development — in other words, if the use of alliteration was transferred from verse, may it not possibly have been used in verse in a way that rendered the transfer natural — furthermore, may not the forms we find used in prose have been derived from or suggested by forms used in verse? In any case why was not the translator content to mark his balances by rime and consonance like his master?

The consideration of this third possibility will, as we shall see, make it clear in more than a general way why it was natural and easy for the English author to turn to the aid of alliteration. For so far as the matter of form is concerned, there is not a single marked form in Euphuistic prose, of which use is not made in verse prior and contemporary — the continuous, the balanced sequence, the trans-

sires"; "For even as by the *p*ard [yard?] the marchante measureth al his *w*are; so by the life of the *P*rince is measured the whole common *w*eale"; Fol. 68: "Moth*er* of many *v*ices and the hinder*er* of all *v*ertues".

verse, the reverse transverse; indeed, as a glance at our list of examples will show, there is not a single artifice used in verse of an alliterative character, of which the Euphuist has not availed himself.[1]) But it is something more that we look for. We are not to be satisfied with a bare comparison of forms, with merely looking for and finding in the verse of the time alliterative structures accurately corresponding to the Euphuistic. What we look for is a use of alliteration such as will explain why it was employed for a certain definite purpose in Euphuistic prose and particularly in certain forms.

First let us take the single word-balance — can we find in verse of the period cases where the use of devices turning on sound-likeness distinctly serve to emphasise a logical relation of antithesis or parallelism between balanced words? Turning to Tottel's Miscellany,[2]) we find such and in number — we note the following quite at random:

"By upright dole, and much arayling deed", p. 106.
"Is well to wish and well to will", p. 129.
"I toke no hede to tauntes, nor toyes", p. 133.
"Both lives and lawes are now forgot", p. 142.
"It is my salve, and eke my sore", p. 223.
"The fier . . . . May hurt and heale", ib.
"Both of their blisse and of their bale", p. 231.

"I sowe the sede, they reape the corne,
I waste, they winne, I draw, they drive.
Their's is the thanke, mine is the skorne.
I seke, they spede, in waste my winde is worne.
I gape, they get, and gredely I snatch:
Till wurse I spede, the lenger I watch.
I fast, they fede", p. 61.

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[1]) E. g. in particular, annomination, found so constantly in English verse. It is perhaps worth while to suggest how often parison itself is made use of in verse. For its extravagant use see Hoffmannswaldau, cf. Jellinek: Vierteljahrs. IV, S. 1.

[2]) Arber's Reprint.

Or see Tusser [1]) (1557):

*"Be **wilfull** to kill and **unskilfull** to store".*

Or the "Paradyse of Daynty Devises" [2]) (1576):

*"Concupiscence **inflames** and lusts my limbs **infect**".*

Or, to mention two older poets, Dunbar, [3]) "The Lament for the Makaris. Quhen he was Siek":

*"Non **sound**, non **seik**";*

"Of Discretion in Giving": [4])

*"Some gives for **merit** and some for **meeds***
*Some gives for **thank**, and some for **threat***
*Some gives **money** and some gives **meat**".*

And Occleve [5]) in his "De Regimine Principum":

*"**Symple** is my **goste** and **scars** my **letterure**".*

In these cases. few among many, as every reader will in a moment recognise — alliteration unmistakably emphasises an antithetical or parallelistic relation.

We may now select a few cases [6]) where continuous alliteration serves to emphasise balance:

*"They eat the **hony**, I **hold** the **hyve**",* p. 61.
*"My **pleasure past**, my **present pain**",* p. 74.
*". . . . . Faith **sacred**, **sound**, **sincere**:*
*A **modest maydens mood**",* p. 104.
*"**Wit**, **wisdom**, **will**, **woord**, **work**, and all I **ween**,* p. 105.
*"The **present panges**, and **paynfull plages forepast**",* p. 129.
*"I **knew** no **sorrow**, **sigh**, nor **smart**",* p. 145.
*"And **frendship** may not **faile** when **faithfulnesse** is **founde***

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[1]) British Bibliographer, III, p. 11.
[2]) Ib. p. 114.
[3]) Ward's English Poets, I, p. 157.
[4]) Chambers' Cyclopædia, I, p. 43.
[5]) Ward's English Poets, I, p. 127.
[6]) Tottel's Miscellany.

"*And faithfullnesse is ful of frute, and fruteful thinges be sounde,*
And sound is good at proufe, and proufe is prince of praise,
And precious praise is such a pearle as seldome ner decayes". p. 168.

Let us turn now to the use of balanced sequences. The frequent employment of this form in long-line metres — a sequence appearing in each half-line — seems quite sufficient to have led to its ready use, when parallelism or antithesis was to be marked. In our examples, we give precedence as usual to Tottel's Miscellany: —

"*Each care decayes and yet my sorow springes*". p. 5.
"*Daungerous to dele with, vaine, of none availe*", p. 10.
"*The oke shall olives bear: the lamb, the lion fray*", p. 96.
"*As life or lands: as frends or frutes*", p. 128.
"*My lustes they do me leeve.*
My fansies all be fledde", p. 173.
"*Graffe withouten grothe and cause of carefulnesse*", p. 179.
"*You that in play peruse my plaint, and reade in rime the smart*". p. 229.
"*The scale and signe of love, the key of trouth and trust*". p. 242.
"*Hardy is happy and ruleth most,*
Wilfull is witlesse, and careth not", p. 244.
"*From panges of plaint to fits of fume*", p. 251.

Turning now to other sources: —

"*To foolish fond conceytes, to pleasures poysoned sap*". [1])
"*O foode of filthy woorme, oh lumpe of loathsome clay*". [1])
"*Not happy happe, but frowarde fate*". [2])
"*With hurt to heale . . .*
"*With losse to laugh . . .*" [3])

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[1]) Brit. Bibl. III Paradyse: no page given: "Trans. of the blessed St. Barnard's vision".
[2]) Ib. opposite Fol. I.
[3]) Ib. p. 11.

"The tricklying teares . . .
The secret sighs . . .
The present paines . . ." [1])
"The ryvers rowth, the waters wan". [2])
"King James the First, the patroun of prudence,
Gem of ingyne and peirll of polycie". [3])

We will accord all the above examples their proper significance. only if we recall a point upon which we were careful to lay particular stress. — namely that Lyly makes more frequent use of simple or continuous alliteration than of the transverse. To this form we now turn, hardly expecting to find examples lying so ready to the hand. Undoubtedly, we should think, considerable ingenuity would be required, if a versifier aimed consciously at its constant use. Here of course we do not refer to its euphonic use. Examples of that are common enough, the use of alliteration so readily becomes second nature that its user by habit holds in his ear the salient consonant-sounds he has just used and repeats them, generally single letters in succession, often however two or more in alternating or transverse combinations. To this we do not refer. We mean as before the adaptation of this transverse form to point antithesis or parallelism. And considering the nature of this use in relation to the exigencies of verse, it is surprising how readily examples are hit upon:

*"**Wit, fed** with Pallas food divine; **will, led** with lovely lore"*, p. 104. [4])
*"For **r**iches hates to be **c**ontent:*
*Rule is enmy to **q**uietnesse"*, p. 129.
*"Nor **g**asyng in an open **s**trete,*
*Nor **g**addyng as a **s**tray"*, p. 163.
*"Loe here the **b**ared **s**cull*
*By whose **b**alde **s**igne I know"*, p. 174.

[1]) Ib. p. 75.
[2]) Ward's English Poets, I. Skelton, p. 186.
[3]) Ib. Lyndesay, p. 198.
[4]) Tottel's Miscellany.

"To trust the fayned face, to rue on forced teares,
To credit finely forged tales", p. 215.
"So swete a wight, so sad and wise", p. 221.
"For hoping to make, least thou happen to marre" [1])
"The profit is mickell, the pleasure is mutch". [2])
"Not passed wealth, but present want" [3])
"She bears a double face, disguised, false and fickle". [4])
"My maister Chaucer: flore of eloquence
Mirrour of fructuous entendement". [5])

In these cases the transverse form certainly emphasises logical relation. Leaving entirely out of consideration its use for euphony, this, it is to be remembered, is Landmann's "novel and peculiar form", which Lyly put to a "wholly peculiar use".

And here we rest the case — and in so doing by no means blink the reverse transverse form. It is in Lyly, as invariably in verse purely an abnormal and accidental form. The transverse form itself was presumably an accidental development of the balanced sequence — its use, if the poets thought of such things, must have been considered a poetic license. The reverse-transverse was simply the same and naturally of much rarer occurrence, for it is an offence against the spirit of alliteration and one which brings with it no piquancy. We may remark that in our general search, we hit upon a number of cases for euphony and the following two cases, where logical relation is emphasised:

"My doutfull hope, and eke my hote desyre". [6])
"Some gives for pride and glory vain,
Some gives with grudging and with pain". [7])

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[1]) Brit. Bibl., III, Tusser, p. 5.
[2]) Ib. p. 10.
[3]) Ib. Paradyse, opposite Fol. I.
[4]) Ib p. 8.
[5]) Ward's Engl. Poets, I. Occleve, p. 127.
[6]) Tottel's Miscellany, from Surrey, p. 9.
[7]) Chambers' Cyclopædia, I, p. 43, from Dunbar.

And in resting the case here, let us plainly see what conclusion we have arrived at, lest it be thought that we have attempted to prove too much. The use of alliteration by the 16th century versifiers was undoubtedly primarily for the sake of euphony — they wished to give the indocile English vocables something of the mellifluous flow of the Italian, the beauty of which they felt so keenly in the work of the masters they idolised. But it was in the nature of things that they should feel that natural quality of alliteration which renders it able to give a peculiar distinction to the words with which it is used — one utilised by the early poet to mark the measure and swing of his verse — now naturally suggesting its use, when words or clauses stand in marked logical relation, as means whereby to emphasise such relation.

And in pointing out that the Euphuist transferred the use of alliteration from verse, we have tried to make clear that it was through no violent innovation that he applied it for the special purpose we have been considering — already alliteration had been naturally and simply used in verse for the same purpose — and furthermore in every set form which the Euphuist uses.

Moreover the three possibilities considered above of course in no way exclude one another. Guevara and North undoubtedly made the end to be attained clear, even if they did not suggest use of definite forms; the use of forms in verse may undoubtedly have rendered easy and natural their use in prose; undoubtedly there may have been also a process of development in the conscious use of forms. Take transverse alliteration for example. Guevara's and North's occasional use of transverse consonance is certainly not sufficient to have caused its conscious independent invention by one imitator — but we have proved that it possessed a permanent place in Early Modern English verse with other forms of alliteration, and that it was used in verse of the 16th century not only for euphony, but quite naturally and simply for the end for which the Euphuist was to use it. We can readily see why in his work it should come to the fore be-

cause of his recognition of its special fitness for his purpose.[1])

To sum up — the Euphuist used alliteration both for euphony and emphasis. His use of it for euphony exceeds his use of it for emphasis. The rhetorical character of his style lifted however the latter use of it into a prominence which it had never before attained — and especially a particular form, the transverse, notable for its singular artificiality, when consciously and (relatively speaking) so constantly used. So exceptional is the frequency with which the Euphuist employs this form, that we are enabled by it to detect in a style the working of the Euphuistic influence.

Here concludes our consideration of the mechanical devices of the Euphuistic rhetoric.

D. Rhythm.

One general, partly an accidental feature of Lyly's style remains to be treated. "Sir Thomas North", says Landmann [2]), "was not a mere translator, but successfully tried to reproduce the rhythmic cadence of Guevara's parisonic antithetical clauses". We are glad to have the countenance of even this passing reference to a distinctive feature of Euphuistic prose, which has not yet been properly considered. In a word we approach the point at issue between Goodlet and Schwan. In brief, Goodlet found in Lyly's dramatic prose certain passages which in his opinion are thrown into a "poetic" form. Schwan, on the other hand, considers this rhythmic poetic form purely an adventitious result of Lyly's use of balanced parisonic clauses.

Both, it is seen, recognise a certain rhythmic effect —

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[1]) Today examples of it are not infrequent in newspaper English &c. Cf. G. Meredith, "The Tragic Comedians" Chap. III: "Rome struggling grasped the world. Rome stagnant invited Goth and Vandal. So forth: alliterative antitheses of the accustomed pamphleteer".

[2]) Euphues: Introduction, p. XVII.

the question is what is its character, was it intended. Here we must interject that what Goodlet observes in passages he cites from the plays is everywhere noticeable in the novels, for the Euphues is almost evenly Euphuistic throughout, while the plays are not.

In the first place, is the rhythmic character of much of Lyly's prose matter of accident or no? We cannot on this point remain long in doubt. Dr. Schwan is, broadly speaking, in the wrong. A certain rhythmic effect cannot fail to attend the use of parisonic balance, but it is simply impossible to believe that Lyly employed it for its rhetorical effectiveness in other regards, while remaining unconscious or careless of its marked rhythmic effect, and the seductive charm of its cadence on the ear. Landmann, as we have just seen, remarks that North tried to reproduce Guevara's rhythmic cadences; these formed doubtless one of those beauties of Guevara's style, which caused it to be so admired in England. Furthermore as regards Lyly, apart from the simple fact that no ear could be deaf to so marked a result of the use of parison, it may be easily shown that even where no use of parisonic occurs, Lyly takes care to preserve the rhythm, such as it is. This is all that need be said regarding Schwan's view of the matter. On the other hand, as regards Goodlet, — to speak of a "poetic form" of "blank verse tetrameters with rare licenses" is carrying the matter entirely too far. What then is the character of Lyly's rhythm, and why is it not "poetic"? How far may we ascribe to Lyly a definite care and attention to rhythmic effect in conjunction with his use of parison?

That "impassioned prose" may very nearly approach a definite rhythm is a fact plainly discernible, certainly in modern English literature. Even as it borrows from the poetic vocabulary, so also it trespasses outside the limits of simple prose and uses inversion, ellipsis, licenses of all sorts — thus the writer helps himself to make the crude medium in which he works, i. e. words, conform more nearly to some more or less subtle rhythm in his mind. More or less subtle — for

none, however sensible of a delicate beauty of measure and movement, can analyse Shakspeare's rhythms — or De Quincey's or Ruskin's at their best — and on the other hand we might instance not a few cases where writers, deficient in taste, under stress of a necessity for urgent and peculiarly effective expression of that there is in them, actually by a gradual process drop into verse[1]) — e. g. Dickens in the death-scene of Little Nell runs into blank-verse; his dangerous proclivity to do this, he lamented to his friends. So Henry George's sensational "Progress and Poverty" passes in one passage[2]) by perceptible gradations from inornate politico-economic argumentation to the conclusion: —

> *"Who should crouch where all were freemen,*
> *Who oppress where all were peers."*

Stevenson, whose preciosity is simply exquisite delicacy of judgment, changes his rhythm consciously and constantly: as a boy he "ran his literary scales", writing and rewriting a passage in the style of every famous classical author he was familiar with. Milton, Burton, Dryden, Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Walton, Hooker, have each their definite rhythm, to be felt, but not analysed — a perceptible, characteristic movement — i. e. an individual style.

We see now perhaps where Goodlet is open to criticism. Lyly is conscious of the rhythmic possibilities of his balanced style, and is careful to avail himself of it — but "poetical" his rhythms are not. Impassioned prose may, as we have seen, hammer itself into the swing of verse, but quite apart from this, prose may take a measure, a rhythm, perhaps a definite one that may be analysed, but which is not poetic. See for instance the opening pages of Chaucer's "Tale of Meliboeus", which are in what Tyrwhitt describes as

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[1]) Cf. Coleridge: Notes and lectures upon Shakspeare &c. (II, p. 179): "For a true poet will never confound verse and prose; whereas it is almost characteristic of indifferent prose-writers that they should be constantly slipping into scraps of metre".

[2]) Second page of Introduction.

a sort of blank-verse, or note the measured chant-like effect of parts of Ossian, or of De Quincey's "Levana" and "Dream-Fugue". Lyly, however, here as in other regards, is the erring artist. Led and aided by the parallelism of the style he affected, his prose parcels itself off into lengths — his alliteration and other devices guiding to the measure as surely as to the antithetically pointed meaning — indeed with as plain a guidance as the stave-marks in a book of Canticles. Were we to choose a word to describe his prose, we should call it "declamatory" prose. Euphues, as well as the plays, was indubitably written for the ear rather than the eye — at least, withdrawing ourselves from what is after all but a personal opinion, its prose was indubitably made and measured by the ear, and passages which seem disjointed and rough, when read by the continuous movement of the eye alone, resolve themselves when read aloud into smooth rhythmic movement. This difference between eye-reading for the sense, and reading with the help of the ear to mark the measure, makes itself particularly evident in the plays.[1]) We recall here that Weymouth mocks at previous critics who have spoken of the smoothness of Lyly's style, calling it as smooth as the Huntsmen's Chorus in "Der Freischütz" would be, if played staccato on every note. Is it likely, we may ask, that Lyly of all men would write in a jerky, staccato fashion? Are his single sentences rough? Would such a style have recommended him to the admiration of his age? The fact is Dr. Weymouth has paid no attention to his measure — to the movement he intended — to the proper pauses and balances. If the reader wishes to make a similar mistake, let him read the Prologue to "Endymion" and notice how awkward and halting it is and how disagreeable the repetition of the words "The Man in the Moone" — except he pay proper attention

[1]) It is, by the way, as marked when one tries to read the hexameter of Lyly's time, e. g. that of Fraunce or Stanyhurst, by aid of the ear alone; the greatest care is necessary to prevent missing the movement.

to the pauses and balances, in which case Lyly's purpose clearly comes out, and the repetition spoken of, far from being disagreeable, is seen to be a refrain.[1]) Or examine Philautus' answer to Euphues, when they cement their friendship.[1]) Lyly's art in the employment of his rhythm is there very apparent. The shorter rhythms are adjusted in definite relations to their principals. Transitions are made with a definite purpose and with evident care. And if we endeavor for a moment to see with Lyly's eyes and to forget the real futility of much of his technique, we cannot but admire the truly skilful change of measure, when Philautus offers his all to Euphues, with its suggestion (why, one cannot say) of sincerity. It is impossible to doubt that Lyly intended this speech to be read as indicated.

Oldys, Drake, and Mézières, it will be remembered, made note of a certain monotony of cadence observable in the Euphues. This explains itself when we observe that Lyly is very fond of giving many of his clauses a certain measured length. We do not mean that these preserve a fixed syllabic length — we merely mean that to the ear a balance preserves itself between any one of these and its neighbours. To show how this may be possible when these lengths run, as they do, between twelve and nineteen syllables, we need only suggest the English hexameter. The first five lines of Longfellow's "Evangeline" are of five different lengths — 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 syllables — yet their time-relation in delivery is perfect. To be sure, each is marked by six beats, which subdivide the whole line into six subordinate portions of even length; this of course we do not find in Lyly. It is, by the way, precisely this absence of beats that makes Goodlet's application of the word "poetic" to Lyly's prose so incorrect. In reading Lyly, ear and voice instinctively apportion out to each measured length a fixed time in delivery; it is in this way that a definite relation between successive measures makes itself apparent. In spite of their close approximation as regards range of syllabic length to that of the hexameter,

[1]) See Appendix p. 118 ff.

no pure hexameter appears accidentally in Euphues though in the Book of Job, quite as an accident of its measured parallelism, a number occur. These are due simply to the fact that monosyllabic words are used, permitting one to mark beats where one will. But in no case in the Euphues do the natural accents of the words used happen to fall in the proper places where the hexameter-beats would come.

This clause-length favored by Lyly is plainly meant to suit or express the grave, dignified character which the didactic discourses, in which it appears, were intended to possess. It is found invariably in the opening of every formal address: presently its uniformity is broken in upon by shorter measures; then perhaps trains of similes, illustrations, questions or exclamations, occur; sooner or later however the basic measure reappears. This arrangement, conscious or unconscious, appears everywhere throughout the book in all the discourses which are of any length.[1])

Such then is the character of Lyly's rhythm; relation of balance, precise adjustment of short clauses to the longer in a due proportion, fondness for, and constant use of, a certain measured length, — these are the conditions he observes for its preservation. Briefly to justify this view of what may seem to many purely an accidental feature of Lyly's style, we quote a remark[2]) of Coleridge's upon the "Letters of Junius": "Perhaps the fair way of considering these letters", he says, "would be as a kind of satirical poems; the short and forever balanced-sentences constitute a true metre". And finally, as regards the fact whether or no Lyly recognised the rhythmic effect of his use of parisonic balance, we beg to offer the best of evidence. In his play of Mydas, the oracle of Apollo is written in what appears to be a kind of blank-verse; as a matter of fact it is a succession of balanced sentences:

"Weigh not in one ballance gold and justice;
With one hand wage not warre and peace;

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[1]) See Appendix, p. 119, opening of Philautus' address to Euphues.
[2]) Lectures on Shakspeare: II, p. 252.

Let thy head be glad of one crowne,
And take care to keepe one friend.
The friend that thou wouldst make thy foe,
The kingdome thou wouldst make the world,
The hand that thou doest arme with force,
The gold that thou do'st thinke a god,
Shall conquer, fall, shrinke short, be common:
With force, with pride, with feare, with traffique.
If this thou like, shake off an asses eares:
If not, for ever shake an asses eares. [1])

Here we close this discussion. The elaborateness of Lyly's rhetoric is once more emphasised. His rhythm is seen to have a definite character. And we have the curious phenomenon before us to wonder over of a prose that, using alliteration and other devices with the freedom and frequency of poetry, is marked as well by a rhythmical character, which, without being in any way that of verse, yet in a way is imitative of some of its characteristics. Occasionally indeed Lyly's group-building in the presentation of a thought produces in connection with his rhythm, something which almost ludicrously suggests stanza-form, and the broader divisions of his discourses something like strophe and antistrophe.

[1]) Fairholt: II, p. 67; Act. V, Sc. 3.

III.

The Euphuism of Lyly's Plays.

The interest attaching to Lyly's plays is one almost purely historical. Slight in texture, scant of plot and incident, devoid of any real warm colour of life, and without appeal to its natural sympathies and sensibilities, their only charm today, apart from a certain quaintness due to the way in which they combine grave scholarship with avowed lightness of motive, resides in an occasional poetic grace of fancy, which furthermore does not always impress the reader as being the true product of a quickened imagination. Only in their clever combats of wit — particularly those of the later plays — is dialogue to be found in any way instinct with a true dramatic spirit. Their slightness is in fact not redeemed by spontaneity or even successful artistic pretence of it. Written to suit a Queen and Court, they could draw meaning and life from a Court-atmosphere and from Court-surroundings alone; we can imagine that the commoner folk listened to them at the Blackfriars with merely such simple and wondering pleasure as befitted a dutiful regard for what their betters had approved. As it was, Mother Bombie, which is hardly more than broad farce, stood highest in favor. Time has passed judgment upon Lyly by a sharp contrast. Marlowe's genius has still such hold upon us that works of

his have appeared in the last decade in half a dozen editions, partial and complete, popular and critical. Lyly's comedies — six of them — were reprinted 1632 [1]); the standard edition, published in 1858. [2]) belongs to a series appealing primarily to the critic and antiquarian. Lyly is known to the general reader only through one exquisite and often repeated song — that of Cupid and Campaspe.

We have seen however that Lyly did much for the development of the drama. His offices in this regard have been recognised and ably exhibited. Above all, he was the first to write complete plays in prose — perhaps as an attractive novelty, perhaps in order to use the style which had already given him success. His first play, written probably before the Euphues, is in verse. His other and more significant efforts have been studied chiefly in relation to the history of the drama. Their Euphuism has never received attention. References to it take the shape only of a more or less elaborate description of the Euphues itself. Landmann had no occasion to refer to the plays, save when he incidentally quotes and endorses Ward's words to the effect that they furnish "the most characteristic examples" of Euphuism, "only to an inappreciably less degree" than the novels. This is, in a general way, true. There is however a slight qualitative, and a marked quantitative difference to be noticed between the character of their Euphuism and that of the romances.

Starting from the broad distinction drawn by Delius and Goodlet with which we are already familiar — the distinction between the dialogues of varlets, maids, rustics and "comics" generally, and that in which a "ceremonial tone" [3]) is intended to be suggested, — we may note the following points: —

(1) Broadly speaking, low comedy dialogue shows little trace of Euphuism, though hints and gleams of it break

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[1]) Blount: Six Court Comedies cf. p. 8.

[2]) Fairholt.

[3]) Delius' phrase, and the distinction it implies, are of real value, though his application of them to Shakspeare is of course now seen to be mistaken.

through as if by an unavoidable mannerism. When from the farcical, the tone of conversation rises to the witty, Euphuistic characteristics make themselves more and more prominent.

(2) Euphuism marks all dignified discourse,[1]) but becomes especially marked in all rhapsodical passages, and especially all rapt soliloquies like three of Endymion. Euphuism is the language of polite intercourse and of love, and is found indifferently on the lips of gods and goddesses, kings and courtiers, shepherds and shepherdesses. Its use however is in some measure a token of the degree of importance of the speaker, whether in social condition, or through prominence in the play.

(3) Euphuism is not employed by any character at one time and not at others. Lyly's work shows but little real advance in point of power of characterisation. His people, while not formal types, are often impersonations of single qualities, and are in any case composed of but one or two simple and definite elements. They are therefore not creatures of changing moods and show no difference in manner or method of speech consequent upon change of circumstances, or when conversing with different persons. The comic characters indulge uninterruptedly in their verbal horse-play and quick sharp banter: the serious characters speak invariably in Euphuistic form. There is a certain difference in degree, to be sure, but it is one which depends upon the importance of the speaker only in so far as the length of his speeches is concerned. Euphuism cannot display itself at its best in a limited range — and it is everywhere noticeable that speeches become more and more markedly Euphuistic in proportion to their length. We do not mean simply that Lyly makes more elaborate use of his resources in the way of ornament; we mean a marked difference in structure as well, — also consequently a more marked rhythmical character. A single brief speech may consist of a parisonic antithesis — but

[1]) Except notably the philosophers' discourse in Campaspe, Act I, Sc. 3, Fairholt, I, p. 102; here, as occasionally in Euphues, when Lyly is profoundly in earnest, he appears to lay off his Euphuistic habit for a moment.

only in the longer do we find the balance of antithesis with antithesis, careful attention to uniformity and change of rhythm, which give the Euphuistic style its peculiar and characteristic quality.

(4) Euphuism, though invariably used as the proper vehicle of lofty sentiment and moralizing, does not necessarily indicate the moral quality of the speaker. The wicked enchantress Dipsas, traitorous Tellus, pert Semele, discourse Euphuism similar in quality and kind to that of Cynthia, Endymion and Eumenides.

(5) Prologues and Epilogues are purely Euphuistic. One or two of them can hardly be paralleled as specimens of Euphuistic art.

(6) When the dialogue quickens, the sequences and balances so necessary to the Euphuistic style are broken in upon. This difficulty is occasionally obviated by putting corresponding members in the mouths of different speakers.

Having noted these general points we may pass on to consider the qualitative difference between the Euphuism of the plays and that of the romances, to which we have before referred. Undoubtedly Lyly would been always Euphuistic, had dramatic conditions permitted. Euphuism was to him habit and second nature. As a playwright, proposing to introduce a foreign element into his work — one hitherto foreign to his art — he saw at once the incongruity of Euphuism in conjunction with broad farce, and abandoned his habitual style. How clearly he recognised this, appears in the absolute absence of all vital relation between his main plots and the comic subplots — it is seldom in fact that comic and serious characters are brought together. But apart from the comic scenes, the Euphistic style is employed with every character and upon every occasion, even in offence against what both plays and romances make it clear he regards as its proper function, i. e. the expression of lofty feeling and elevated truth. Had Lyly confined his use of Euphuism to the Prologues, Epilogues and the long speeches of his principal character, it would have been no doubt similar to that of the Euphues. But his general and almost indiscriminate

use of it brought it under the changing and altering influence of dramatic requirements. Thus resulted a certain qualitative difference, which we are disposed to believe may be discerned even in the longer passages of set declamation.

The Euphuism of the plays is in a word a simplified Euphuism. The use of balanced parallelism and antithesis is of course everywhere preserved — but the balanced members are uniformly shorter, and the parisonic form is by no means so frequent. Trains of illustrations and examples do not occur as in the Euphues. Metaphor is more sparingly employed — simile almost never. Oratorical response occurs but once. Still more marked is the difference in the use of mechanical devices. Euphonic alliteration is by no means so common as in the Euphues, and its use for emphasis in conjunction with parisonic balance is not only less frequent but less noticeable. Finally Lyly could not, naturally, in dramatic dialogue, as in the unhurried elaborately constructed discourses of his romances, build up upon the separate points of a speech groups made up of variants upon the main thought, with illustrations, examples or related thoughts by it suggested. In a word, even where the dialogue takes the most sententious form, the natural necessity for directness and movement obliges Lyly, even though he succeeds in preserving what is essentially a Euphuistic tone, to forego many of the elaborate and sophisticated graces which mark his style in the Euphues.

It will be understood that the above notes are quite general in character — we shall hope to arrive at greater precision by examining each play in detail. Their chief value is to illustrate what changes were produced in Lyly's Euphuism by his change from the romancer's art to the playwright's — this in order to guard ourselves against error when we seek to find an answer to a question suggested by the difference between the plays and the Euphues, and between the various plays themselves. This question is — do Lyly's plays indicate a gradual change in his style, a tendency to the abandonment of Euphuism?

Partly in order to obtain results that may help us to a reply to this question, partly, in order to analyse the Euphuism of each play separately (a work not before attempted), we take up the plays one by one in the chronological order generally assigned to them.

1) The Woman in the Moone: — This, the first of Lyly's plays, attracts our interest chiefly because it is his only play in verse, and is reputed to have been written before the Euphues.

If we look to find Euphuistic characteristics in its verse, or aught that will remind us of the author of Euphues, we are rewarded by but little that is definite. Examples of parisonic antithesis and parallelism occur frequently to be sure, but their character is such that they might readily be paralleled from Tottel's Miscellany. Notable instances however are the long sequence of parallels in Act. I.,[1]) where Nature endows Pandora with the qualities of the various divinities, and the following sequence of antitheses: [2])

Ste. Sweet hony words, but sawst with bitter gawle.
Iphi. They drawe me on, and yet they put me back.
Lear. They hold me up, and yet they let me fall.
Melos. They give me life, and yet they let me dye.

In the following instances, balance is marked by transverse alliteration:

"Each *f*ish that *s*wimmeth in the floating sea
Each winged *f*owle that *s*oareth in the ayre". [3])
"Use all these *well*, and Nature is thy *f*riend
But use them *ill*, and Nature is thy *f*oe". [4])
"Mine eares *d*elight to heare of *s*overaigntie
My tongue *d*esires to speake of princely *s*way". [5])

Other similar examples are forth-coming, with numerous cases of euphonic alliteration, simple and transverse. Occasionally

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[1]) Fairholt: Lilly's Dramatic Works, II, p. 157.
[2]) Ib. p. 167.
[3]) Ib. p. 155. Also euphonic alliteration in "*f*loating *s*ea".
[4]) Ib. p. 157. (Annomination plus alliteration.
[5]) Ib. p. 162.

repetition is used quite in accordance with its use in the Euphues. e. g.

> "Even now beginneth my furie to retyre
> And now with Stesias hence wil I retyre", [1])

and also annomination. —

> "For you she raves that meant to ravish her". [2])

In these and similar examples we catch unmistakable glimpses of the Euphuist.

More noteworthy are the few passages in prose. [3]) Of the briefest. and spoken by the clumsy rustic Gunophilus, they show not the slightest trace of Euphuism. until one reaches the closing sentence of the final speech. Here after speaking for a moment in his accustomed fashion. Gunophilus suddenly quotes from the Latin, and delivers himself as follows: — "Gravity in a woman is like to a gray beard upon a breaching boies chinne, which a good scholemaister would cause to be clipt. and the wise husband to be avoyded". This is Euphuism pure and simple, and if we are to believe that the "Woman in the Moone" was written before the Euphues, is sufficient to prove that Lyly, though already master of the Euphuistic style, had not yet conceived, or had no reason to put into execution, the idea of writing plays in prose. But the evidence on which this play is credited as Lyly's first seems to us rather slight when we consider it is the only one in verse; it may be to this fact perhaps that he refers in his Prologue. [4]) The "Campaspe" and "Sapho and Phao" were first printed in 1584; the "Woman in the Moone" apparently only in 1597.

2) Campaspe: — As this is undoubtedly Lyly's first wrrose play and written within three years of the publication whe

the d[1]) Ib. p. 175.
tween t Ib. p. 206.
Lyly's p Ib. pp. 183, 198, 203.
dency to t rologue to Woman in the Moone: Fairholt, II, p. 151:

> *"The first he had in Phoebus' holy bowre*
> *But not the last, unlesse the first displease".*

of the Euphues — probably in 1583 — we find as we may expect that the author makes all the use he can of the style which had won him such popularity. Both Prologues and both Epilogues are in the highest degree Euphuistic in style, in use of illustrative similes, and in allusions to classical history, mythology, and fabulous natural history. The Euphuism of the dialogue is throughout precisely that of the romances. The comic characters display none of that quickness and snappishness of word-play, that raciness and smack of natural rascality, which characterises the Halfepenies of his later plays. Their speeches are long drawn out, and their jokes for the most part artificial and elaborate. We find two quite exceptional uses of Euphuism with a humorous intention, e. g. in the speeches of Alexander's chamberlain [1]) and in the laughing exhortations of the courtesan Lais. [2]) Two scenes only are entirely free from Euphuism — Act. II. Sc. 1. a conversation of servants, and Act. V. Sc. 1, where a song, dance and tumbling are introduced. In one passage [3]) also, as in other plays, Lyly uses alliteration for comical effect; the passage may be quoted as it contains Lyly's definition of a quip: —

Psyllus: No, verily! why, what's a quip?

Manes: Wee great girders call it a short saying of a sharpe wit, with a bitter sense in a sweet word.

Psyllus: How canst thou thous divine, divide, define, dispute, and all on the sodaine?

Manes: Wit will have his swing; I am bewitcht, inspired, inflamed, infected.

Particularly to be noted are the number of set speeches precisely similar in contents and character to the discourses of the Euphues. [4])

3) Sapho and Phao: — With this play, though written

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[1]) Fairholt. I, p. 101.

[2]) Ib. p. 141: Lais speaks of the "new found tearme called valiant".

[3]) Ib. p. 117.

[4]) Ib. pp. 94, 110—112, 126—128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 140. In that upon pp. 110—112, occurs the only case of oratorical response (p. 111).

shortly after the Campaspe, we begin to find a simplification of Lyly's style. This is due to a quickening of the dialogue; the speeches are uniformly shorter, use is less often made of illustration and example and only once or twice of simile. There are a greater number of set speeches than in the Campaspe (9 : 15), but in general these are markedly different in character,[1]) and much shorter. No such trains of antitheses occur as on p. 135 of the Campaspe. The comic characters Criticus and Molus are Euphuistic in their brief scene in the first act, but in the two succeeding scenes in which they appear, there is a briskness and sparkle in the dialogue prophetic of the later plays.

A new element also discovers itself. In the Euphues, as we have seen, figurative allusions and expressions are employed only in illustrations and examples. Here we begin to find them used purely for ornament, for picturesqueness as well as emphasis. Cases like the following cannot be found in the Euphues:

"Envie never casteth her eye low, ambition pointeth alwayes upward, and revenge barketh only at starres".[2])

"Leade a lambe in thy hand, and a fox in thy head, a dove on the backe of thy hand, and a sparrow in the palme".[3])

"Love lodgeth sometimes in caves".[4])

"You weepe rose-water, when you aske; and spit vineger, when you have obtained".[5])

Quite of a part with this is the diction of the dreams — purely poetic conceptions — which Sapho and her ladies relate to one another. The style in which these are written though one of straightforward description, is quite consonant with their poetic character, and distinctly not Euphuistic, although the motives of two of them are drawn from fabulous natural history. These may serve as examples:

Mileta. I dreamed last night (but I hope dreames are contrarie), that holding my head over a sweete smoake, all my haire blazd on a

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[1]) Four of them are not Euphuistic.
[2]) Ib. p. 157.
[3]) Ib. p. 179.
[4]) Ib. p. 192.
[5]) Ib. p. 205.

bright flame. Methought Ismena cast water to quench it: yet the sparkes fel on my bosom, and wiping them away with my hand, I was all in a goare bloud, till one with a few fresh flowers stanched it. And so stretching myselfe as stiffe, I started, it was but a dream.[1])

Favilla. Methought going by the sea side among pebels, I saw one playing with a rounde stone, ever throwing it into the water, when the sunne shined; I asked the name, he saide, it was called Abeston, which being once hot, would never be cold; he gave it me, and vanished. I forgetting myselfe, delighted with the faire show, would alwaies shew it by candlelight, pull it out in the sunne, and see how bright it would looke in the fire, where catching heate, nothing could coole it: for anger I threw it against the wall, and with the heaving up of mine arme I waked.[2])

4) Endimion: — This famous allegory — for allegory it is entirely apart from its possible reference to Elizabeth and Leicester, and a very poetic and beautiful one — stands apart from Lyly's other works.

The style is, in general, unmistakably Euphuistic, but with a distinct difference. This is felt at once in the rhythm which is flowing and without those abrupt stops and pauses, which result from the use of brief, accurately balanced antitheses in sequence. How great a difference there is, may be discovered by turning from its pages to those of the Campaspe. In the Endimion there is a lengthening of the sentence-clauses, and by no means general neatness and precision of balance. The style is marked throughout by a peculiar sweetness and smoothness; following no doubt upon the indubitably poetic character of its inspiration, Endimion's speeches have invariably what may almost be termed a lyrical quality. Even Sir Tophas, the Miles Gloriosus, a broadly farcical character, is not entirely out of tune with the general harmony. There is a fanciful extravagance in his conception, and the poetic diction of the play is preserved in many of his speeches with a whimsically humorous effect. Finally throughout there is no trace of Lyly's usual sententiousness.

Endimion's relation of his dream[3]) it may be noted, is, as was the case with the dreams in "Sapho and Phao" not

[1]) Ib. p. 200.
[2]) Ib. p. 203.
[3]) Ib. p. 68.

Euphuistic. The poetic use of metaphor and hyperbolical expression. discovered in the last play, occurs also here, e. g.:

"I am none of those wolves that barke most when thou shinest brightest".[1])

"Thus maist thou see every vaine, sinew, muscle, and artery of my love".[2])

"No Tellus; thou knowest that the stately cedar, whose top reacheth unto the cloudes, never boweth his head to the shrubs that grow in the valley; nor ivie that climeth up by the elme, can ever get hold of the beames of the sunne".[3])

"It is their propertie, to carrie in their eyes, fire and water, teares and torches".[4])

"If no slumber will take hold in my eyes, yet will I imbrace the golden thoughts in my head, and wish to melt by musing".[5])

"Thou mightest have commanded Tellus whom now instead of a mistris, thou shalt finde a tombe".[6])

"I fear Tellus will repent that which the heavens themselves seemed to rewe".[7])

"You being a captaine, who should sound nothing but terrour, and sucke nothing but bloud".[8])

In Actus Quintus, Scaena Secunda,[9]) occurs a notable use of alliteration in balanced sequence for humorous effect:

Top. First, with a great platter of plum-porridge of pleasure, wherein is stewed the mutton of mistrust.

Epi. Excellent lovelap.

Top. Then commeth a pye of patience, a hen of honey, a goose of gall, a capon of care, and many other viands; some sweet, and some sowre; which proveth love to bee as it was said of, in olde yeeres, *Dulce venenum.*

Epi. A brave banquet.

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[1]) Ib. p. 19.
[2]) Ib. p. 20.
[3]) Ib. p. 22.
[4]) Ib. p. 24.
[5]) Ib. p. 28.
[6]) Ib. p. 29.
[7]) Ib. p. 30.
[8]) Ib. p. 34.
[9]) Ib. pp. 69—70.

5) Gallathea: — The Euphuism of this pastoral although peculiarly marked by those features which we have referred to as characterising Lyly's dramatic Euphuism, is by no means so constant in quantity as in previous plays; the Euphuistic passages, though so markedly Euphuistic, are mingled with others non-Euphuistic in character, and the comic element plays a very significant part. The play opens with dialogue quite simple and natural in character. In the second scene occurs the following passage.[1]) not only non-Euphuistic, but distinctly poetic in its inspiration: —

Cupid. What is that Diana? a goddesse? What her nymphs, virgins? What her pastimes, hunting?

Nymph. A goddesse? who knowes it not? Virgins? Who thinkes it not? Hunting? Who loves it not?

Cupid. I pray thee, sweete wench, amongst all your sweet troupe, is there not one that followeth the sweetest thing, sweet love?

Nymph. Love? good sir, what meane you by it? or what doe you call it?

Cupid. A heate full of coldnesse, a sweet full of bitternesse, a paine full of pleasantnesse: which maketh thoughts have eyes and hearts eares: bred by desire, nursed by delight, weaned by jelousie, kilde by dissembling, buried by ingratitude; and this is love, faire lady, will you any?"

Here the familiar influence of Petrarch, direct, or through his imitators, makes itself plainly apparent.

In the second act five soliloquies occur all of which are Euphuistic. The dialogue is practically non-Euphuistic; only five pointed antitheses are discoverable. Of the rest of the play, it is impossible to attempt a quantitative analysis. Marked Euphuistic forms frequently occur, but in close conjunction with the simpler, poetic diction — here however we are not taking into account Lyly's use of mechanical devices — that we propose to do later. To discover how closely the Euphuistic blends with the simpler diction in these acts, the conversation of the nymphs[2]) may be examined, or the dialogues in which Cupid appears.[3])

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[1]) Ib. I, p. 223. Cf. Euphues, p. 304, where the same motive is treated in Euphuistic style.

[2]) Ib. p. 241 ff.

[3]) Ib. p. 257 ff.

Poetic picturesqueness of phrase occurs similar to that before noted, but more marked still is an orotund quality, a magniloquence, in one or two of the soliloquies and long harangues, hitherto strange to Lyly. This is the case in Tyterus' speech.[1]) and Haebe's.[2]) Here a quasi-poetic influence gives colour to the Euphuistic form, instead of causing a change of diction — producing nevertheless an unmistakable difference in the character of the images employed, and their use. Metaphor is no longer used for illustration or argument from analogy, but for descriptive detail.

6) Mydas: — Precisely what we found in Gallathea, we find in the Mydas, save that here, while the parallelistic and antithetical forms are preserved, there is manifest decrease in the use of mechanical devices — a fact which had not disclosed itself in previous plays in the mere reading. Here also is more constant use of inflated metaphor. We give examples of this:

"Digging mines of gold with the lives of men";[3]) "Ambition hath one heele nayled in hell, though she stretch her finger to touch the heavens";[4]) "I have written my lawes in blood, and made my gods of gold: I have caused the mothers' wombes to bee their children's tombes cradles to swimme in bloud like boates, and the temples of the gods a stewes for strumpets";[5]) "He may as wel dive to the bottome of the sea, and bring up an anchor of a thousand weight, as plod with his gold to corrupt a people so wise";[6]) "All his mines doe but guild his combe, to make it glister in the warres".[7])

It may not be amiss to add a few examples of purely poetic use:

"Love is sweet, and the marrow of a man's mind";[8]) "Such vertue is there in gold that being bred in the barennest ground, and trodden under foot, it mounteth to sit on princes' heads";[9]) "Justice herselfe,

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[1]) Ib. p. 220.
[2]) Ib. pp. 265—266.
[3]) Ib. II, p. 19.
[4]) Ib. p. 19.
[5]) Ib. p. 25.
[6]) Ib. p. 47.
[7]) Ib. p. 47.
[8]) Ib. p. 7.
[9]) Ib. p. 7.

that sitteth wimpled about the eyes, doth it not because shee will take no gold, but that shee would not bee seene blushing when she takes it";[1]) "Ambition hath but two steps, the lowest bloud, the highest envie";[2]) "Yes, report flies as swift as thoughts, gathering wings in the aire, and doubling rumours by her owne running".[3])

A full third of the play is devoted to the low comedy element, which, as is not the case in previous plays, is brought into natural connection with the thread of the main story through the barber Motto's disclosure of Mydas's secret.

7) Mother Bombie: — In this play, Lyly well nigh abandons his Euphuism, — not that we do not find the use of parallelism and antithesis, but that they rarely take accurately Euphuistic form. The more marked examples moreover are simply quotations from the Euphues. The exceptional nature of this play is due to its uniformly farcical character; when a serious love-scene is in question,[4]) the diction is for the moment unmistakably Euphuistic.

8) Love's Metamorphosis: — Collier[5]) said of this play that "it has not the recommendation of the ordinary, though affected graces of his (Lyly's) style". With this it is impossible to agree. Its Euphuism is far more marked than that of Mother Bombie, and almost as marked as that of Mydas, with which play it is quite comparable, as we shall see, in the use of mechanical devices. Nevertheless, here as in the Gallathea, but to greater extent, we find many passages not Euphuistic in character, written in what we have called for convenience the simpler poetic diction, e. g. the conversation of the nymphs,[6]) and the vivid description of Famine.[7])

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[1]) Ib. p. 8 f.
[2]) Ib. p. 19.
[3]) Ib. p. 45.
[4]) That of Mæstius & Serena, ib. p. 103.
[5]) History of Dramatic Poetry, III, p. 189.
[6]) Fairholt, II, p. 217.
[7]) Ib. pp. 223 f.

In the dialogue also there are many brief non-Euphuistic passages. This style, an uneven blend as it is of the Euphuistic and poetic dictions, continues throughout. The low-comic, non-Euphuistic element is entirely lacking.

Here we will close our detailed examination of the Euphuism of Lyly's plays, apart from his use therein of mechanical devices. With the "Maids Metamorphosis" we need not concern ourselves. It may be regarded as a point definitely settled that Lyly was not its author, and even if he were, its consideration would yield us nothing, for the few prose scenes it contains are comic and non-Euphuistic.

The Euphuism of the plays is, as we have said, a simplified Euphuism. There is a uniform precision in the art of the Euphues — every passage is a complex, so to speak, of Euphuistic devices, the artist constantly straining to use all his resources. In the plays he employs them singly or in simple combinations. Lyly undoubtedly preserves his Euphuism, and employs it to the very end, at times in a most marked form, but more and more interruptedly. From the Endimion on, there is a perceptible change and one that makes itself felt more and more both in quality and quantity. There is an increasing tendency to give up that precision and neatness of form which mark the Euphues, and a new element discloses itself, that of purely poetic expression, leading structurally to the use of a simpler diction. Artificial and precise elegance of form is disregarded, and the aim is to give picturesque and vivid impressions by the use of bold metaphor, synecdoche, and hyperbole.

The progress of this change is well illustrated and proved by an examination of the use of mechanical devices in the several plays. We tabulate results for the sake of convenience. The devices noted are the various forms of alliteration as used for balance-marking — to these we add allusions drawn from the classics and from fabulous natural history.

	Pages	Allit. Single Balance	Allit. Bal. Sequence	Allit. Trans.	Annom.	Cons.	Repetit.	Rime	Class. Allusions	Fab. Nat. Hist.
Campaspe	63	70	3	26	4	6	6	2	22	5
Sapho and Phao . . .	60	65	4	15	4	8	5	6	10	22
Endimion	82	70	6[1])	12	3	16	5	1	1	6
Gallathea	60	42	2	11	2	15	6	1	10	8
Mydas	66	21	0	3[2])	2	1	1	1	6	2
Mother Bombie	75	19	1	1	1	3	1	1	0	0
Love's Metamorphosis .	45	28	1	2	2	9	0	0	0	2

Reading these columns from top to bottom in the order of the plays, we plainly see that Lyly was tending to give up the use of artificial devices. This becomes still more plain when the lengths of the plays are considered. Endimion with a third more pages than the Campaspe has the same number of single alliterative balances and annominations and half as many cases of transverse. It has, to be sure, over twice as many cases of consonance, but whereas there can be little doubt as to intention in the use of balance-marking alliteration or annomination, it is often impossible to say whether consonance is not an inevitable and accidental result of the use of parison.

We spoke of the fact that comic scenes are necessarily not Euphuistic as one to be taken into consideration in weighing results. If on this ground adversely to our hypothesis we are forced to throw Mother Bombie out of reckoning, we are on the other hand enabled to bring Mydas and

[1]) These six occur in one place, and are used for humorous effect, cf. passage quoted, p. 94.

[2]) Two of these are not pure cases: — (end-cons. & allit.) "lovely mistresse-heavenly musique" (II, p. 39); (allit. & repetition) "monarch world-mocke world" (ib. p. 45).

Love's Metamorphosis into closer connection for correct comparison. The latter has a third fewer pages, but one third of the Mydas is given up to low comedy, so that for our purposes they are equal in length.

If cases of quotation from the Euphues were taken into account as not proper to the period of Lyly's style under consideration, the numbers having reference to the earlier plays, being considerable, would not be materially decreased, while in the case of those of the latter, the shrinkage would be notable. As regards the allusions drawn from fabulous natural history, carefulness advised that every possible case should be taken into account though a number are not essentially Euphuistic, belonging instead to the common stock of the age. [1])

Desisting from further examination of details — if then we consider the fact as indubitable that Lyly was giving up his use of mechanical devices, it is not to be referred to the exigencies of dramatic composition: plainly, for example, he could have employed his artifices as well in Love's Metamorphosis as in Sapho and Phao. If in the later plays we feel that Lyly is still Euphuistic, the explanation is that while abandoning the use of artificial devices he still held to antithesis and parallelism. Even these he employs with anything but his old constancy, and to parison no longer pays careful attention — its occurrence is largely an accident of the use of antithesis. If, finally, we find in these later plays occasional brief passages more or less markedly Euphuistic, it is simply because Lyly reverts for the moment to his old trick and habit of workmanship, or else they prove on examination to be shreds and patches from the Euphues.

[1]) E. g. the cedar tree, the chameleon's lack of lungs &c., to be found in Tottel's Miscellany and elsewhere. The two cases credited to Love's Metamorphosis are similar: the Polypus, II, p. 231, and Bird of Paradise, ib. p. 241.

IV.

Conclusion.

It remains for us to give what rough completeness we can to our survey of the subject, partly by a summary of results, partly by regarding certain special aspects and relations of it. We shall in a brief and simple way define and characterise Euphuism, sketch its history in connected fashion, and determine as nearly as may be its effects, temporary and enduring, upon our literature.

Defined for the moment simply by its effects, Euphuism was an influence which developed and brought into general use between the years 1532 and 1590 a style of marked and unmistakable character. Two points must be clearly understood. The dates are Landmann's; he fixed upon the latter because of the importance he ascribed to the publication of the Arcadia. We must of course regard them simply as approximate. Euphuism was not extinct in 1590 — it did not vanish wraith-like at the appearance of the Arcadia. Many publications distinctly Euphuistic appeared after that date. It would be better to say that about the year 1590 the formal peculiarities of the Euphuistic style began to be given up.

The second point to be clearly understood and held in mind is that Euphuism busied itself with form only. It

exercised almost no effect upon the character or quality of the content. It in no way affected the purity of the language. A practical consequence of this is that we are to look for its effects, temporary or enduring, only in the matter of form.

The style it produced is to be recognised because of its constant systematic use of certain structural principles together with certain ornamental devices and artifices for the heightening of emphasis. Landmann draws attention to a particular feature declaring that "transverse alliteration in conjunction with parisonic antithesis" is the "indispensable criterion" of the presence of Euphuism. While accepting this as a very excellent indication of the possible presence of Euphuism, we can scarcely admit it to be an indispensable criterion. North, Lodge, Lyly's later plays, for example, when judged by this test could not be considered Euphuistic and yet they are felt in the reading to be unmistakably so. On the other hand, Fuller displays not only this feature of the Euphuistic style but others as well, and yet he as unmistakably is not Euphuistic. Euphuism, in fact, evidences itself in any particular passage or author, by an impression upon the reader which is complex — due to the effect of the combined use of various mannerisms of structure with certain devices — and a Euphuistic character is not to be affirmed or denied of any prose because of the presence or absence in it of any one, or two, or more of these. It is when all are used methodically in conjunction in certain combinations that the peculiar quality of the Euphuistic style makes itself felt.

The appearance of this style in English literature was not due to any single, direct act of imitation or invention — on the other hand we are not to accept too lightly the impression easily derivable from Landmann's presentment of the facts, that this style was the result of a nicely gradual development.

In defining Euphuism, we spoke of it simply as an influence, purposely omitting to assert a foreign origin for it. In such a definition a distinct misconception is involved

unless the convenient term "influence" is plainly understood to denote a tendency which has taken upon itself a definite character and direction. A number of false assumptions are made by those who say out of hand that Euphuism took its rise in the influence of Guevara. Euphuism took its rise in a tendency, natural to that period of England's development, in the first place to refine prose-style, in the second to enrich it. The production of the Euphuistic style is referable to this, not specifically to the influence of Guevara. He did not both create a taste and satisfy it. What he did was to help supply the Euphuistic style with some of its marked features. We are justified in speaking of a true Euphuistic influence only with reference to a time when that style had begun to exhibit an individual character and demand admiration and imitation.

In Henry the VIII's time, it was not artificial graces England strove for, but for clearness and verbal accuracy. To be sure, there are evidences of some cultivation of the faculty of arrangement, and of neatness and precision of finish, but the distinction of the styles of Berners, More, Elyot, Robynson, Ascham, is that of perfect limpidity and lack of ambiguity. Berners, Bryan and Elyot, were by no means markedly affected by Guevara in point of the adoption of specific features of style. Guevara's excellence no doubt appealed to them, but they rather tried to succeed as well than to analyse and imitate his methods. It may be definitely said that until North's "Dial of Princes" (1557), there is but one marked feature of style which may be ascribed to Guevara's influence, and that makes itself evident only occasionally — i. e. use of balanced antithesis. Even here there must be a reservation. The literary activity of Henry the VIII's time was not due to the inspiration, did not expend itself in the translation or imitation of one man. Italian and French influences must be borne in mind, and the influence of classical study. No doubt, the use of balanced antitheses was largely owing to Guevara's example — but also we hold its use in Italian verse must have had an influence. Moreover the estimated importance of North's mediation in this partic-

ular, in furthering and giving pronounced character to Guevara's influence, notably diminishes, when we consider for example, such a quotation as the following from Ascham, not before, we believe, quoted in this connection. Writing in 1550 to John Sturm, he says [1]) of Elizabeth: "She approved a style chaste in its propriety and beautiful by perspicuity; and she greatly admired metaphors when not too violent, and antitheses when just, and happily opposed. By a diligent attention to these particulars, her ears became so practised and so nice, that there was nothing in Greek, Latin or English prose or verse, which, according to its merits or defects, she did not either reject with disgust, or receive with the highest delight." The reader will perceive Ascham's own use of antithesis, and the use of alliteration, notably of transverse alliteration, so naturally suggesting itself, on the part of the 19th century translator. Here, as we perceive, propriety and perspicuity are prime considerations, metaphor and antithesis, secondary. It may be well to give examples [2]) of Elizabeth's use of antithesis to show how highly developed its use was even at this time: — "Like as the rich man that daily gathereth riches to riches, and to one bag of money layeth a great sort till it come to infinite: so methinks your majesty, not being sufficed with so many benefits and gentleness shewed to me afore this time, doth now increase them in asking and desiring where you may bid and command; requiring a thing not worthy the desiring for itself, but made worthy for your highness' request. My picture

[1]) Whole works I, Part. I, p. 192: "Orationem ex re natam, proprietate castam, perspicuitate illustrem, libenter probat. Verecundas translationes, et contrariorum collationes apte comissas, et feliciter confligentes, unice admiratur. Quarum rerum diligenti animadversione aures ejus tritae, adeo teretes factae sunt et judicium tam intelligens, ut nihil in Graeca, Latina et Anglica oratione vel solutum et pervagatum vel clausum et terminatum, vel numeris aut nimis effusum aut rite temperatum occurrat, quod non illa inter legendum ita religiose attendit, ut id statim vel magno rejiciat cum fastidio vel summa excipiat cum voluptate". For the translation above, giving the substance of this passage, see Aikin, vol. I, p. 95

[2]) Ib. p. 101.

I mean: in which if the inward good mind toward your grace might as well be declared as the outward face and countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment. but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it . . . Of this also yet the proof could not be great. because the occasions have been so small; notwithstanding, as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds. which now I do write them but in "words". These and similar letters written seven years before North's "Dial of Princes" shew that the use of antithesis need not be ascribed particularly to his influence.

We come now to what may be styled, relatively speaking, the Euphuism of North. Landmann has said that North displays far more than his predecessors the specific elements of Guevarism and Euphuism. This is certainly true, but we are not to understand that North is Euphuistic in the sense that Lyly is Euphuistic. In scattered passages we note a Euphuistic flavor — chiefly in the introductory epistles — but this is perceived to consist simply in the use of one or two features of style. which we have learned to regard definitely as Euphuistic — i. e. parisonic balance, and occasional simple alliteration to mark balance. Morley said of Lyly that. had he employed Guevara's style, we should never have heard of Euphuism. The remark is much more clever than conclusive — we can apply it however slightly changed to North. Had it not been for Lyly, we may say, nothing certainly would have been heard of North's Euphuism on the one hand, or his indebtedness to Guevara for stylistic character on the other. The antithetical style is certainly not his peculiar acquirement and property at this time, and his use of alliteration is in no way sufficient to excite the reader's attention as in itself a notable feature. Only those who have read Pettie and Lyly will perceive North's occasional Euphuism and see that he probably contributed directly to the foundation of the Euphuistic style: 1) through occasional use of parisonic balance; 2) through occasional use of simple alliteration and consonance to mark balance; 3) through use of figurative allusions in argumentative illustration

North's translation was followed by a number of others, which prove Guevara's popularity, but contain nothing to show that his influence had anything further to do with the formation of the Euphuistic style. Till now more particular attention was paid to matter than to manner; this is true of North despite his care for his style. It is in Pettie's "Pallace of Pleasure", published twenty years after the first edition of the "Dial of Princes", that the Euphuistic style pronounced and unmistakable appears. Rhetorical artifices which in North were means occasionally used for an end, are in Pettie the end in themselves. Furthermore, Pettie adds new features, for instance the use of allusions to fabulous natural history, and the oratorical response. In his pages, as Landmann and Koeppel inform us, is found every feature of the Euphuistic style. Between North and Pettie it must be understood was no gradual development.

In Lyly we find the results of the development summed — nothing more. North's influence, as regards style, was not sufficient to inspire imitation in those who followed him during two decades in the translation of Guevara. Pettie alone caught at his suggestions and reduced his occasional use of certain devices into a system; this system in other ways he consistently developed. North used certain devices occasionally; Pettie and Lyly apply them constantly. Lyly added nothing; he differs from Pettie only in that he exhibits a slight increase in formal perfection, particularly in the use of parisonic balance. Pettie's style did not suffice to make him a notable success.[1]) Lyly, scarcely surpassing him in style, made that style admired by the character of his theme and matter — by what has been called the "sententious force and persuasive morality" of his "extraordinary masterpiece".[2]) as well as by the interest of its personal application to the time.

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[1]) But there were six editions of his work between 1576 and 1613, Pettie himself speaks of his fame, and Greene used his characters, cf. Koeppel's Stud. z. Gesch. der ital. Nov. p. 27 f.

[2]) Ward's English Poets, I, p. 403.

The history of the Euphuistic style closes with Lyly though not that of the movement. Lyly had many imitators but they added nothing; changes were in the direction of simplification. Greene is credited by Gosse as having made Lyly's matter and manner "acceptable to a less exacting taste".[1]) Nash and Greene made practically no use of certain features — allusions to fabulous natural history for instance, which Lodge on the other hand employs as late as 1590, in the "Rosalynde". Regarding this work, the question is curious concerning certain correspondences we note between it and the Endimion, whether Lodge borrowed from Lyly or Lyly from Lodge. Lodge was the most complete Euphuist, perhaps, with the exception of Gosson. About 1590, however, there was a general abandonment of the marked and peculiar features of Euphuism, its spirit of scrupulous neatness only being preserved, with an occasional use of balanced antithesis and of alliteration. This we believe we have shown even in Lyly's own case, in the plays.

The year 1590 gave England the "Arcadia" and, if Landmann's view is to be accepted, a current of "Arcadianism", also taking rise in Spain, cut here across that of Euphuism. This point is the one at issue between Landmann and Schwan. Schwan would predicate an Italianistic influence contemporaneous with the Euphuistic — taking its rise in the Petrarchists and gathering strength until it found its expression in the Arcadia. It will be remembered that he rests his proof largely upon the abundant evidence we possess of the use of "inke-horne termes", terms Italianate, of which Euphuistic prose shows nothing.

With regard to this proof the following questions suggest themselves:

1) In what way was this tendency to the adoption of inkhorn terms specifically "Italianistic"?

2) What distinguished it from the general tendency during the whole century towards the adoption of new words of every sort?

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[1]) Ward's E. P. ib.

3) What distinguished these "Italianistic" terms from other new coinages? Were they in part the ink-horn terms or only the dark words, spoken of by Puttenham? What were these dark words? Was it only they which were spoken at Court?

4) If Sidney's "Arcadia" shows this "Italianistic" influence, why does he too bewail the tendency to use "so far-fet words that many seem monsters, but must seem strangers, to any poor Englishman"? [1])

In fact, as will be seen, Schwan's suggestion leads nowhere. These "inkehorne termes" were simply due to the pedantry of the Universities "where Schollers use much peevish affectation of words out of the primative languages", [2]) and to their use by "men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters". The strange terms of other languages were brought in by "Secretaries and Merchaunts and travailours". The "darke wordes . . . dayly spoken in Court" [3]) appear simply to have been foreign words of fashionably affected form.

These questions, however, it must be remembered, are aimed only at the proof Schwan offers, not at his hypothesis. Let us now direct our attention to Landmann's rebuttal of Schwan's criticism. It takes the form of a foot-note, [4]) and expresses a regret that Schwan should have reintroduced the word "Italianism" into the discussion, a term which he "flattered himself he had removed in this sense". In regard to this reply it may be said, that it is very possible "Arcadianism" is the better term (though somewhat question-begging just at present) — and it is very true that Landmann's proof is unexceptionable that the "Arcadia" took its inspiration from Montemayor's "Diana". — but the point at present is rather how far the "Arcadia" was formed on the Spanish model in style as well as content. Considering that the burden of proof rests on Landmann, it is to be regretted that in his latest work he did not give us evidence more explicit than these

[1]) Defence of Poesie.

[2]) Puttenham (?), Art of English Poesie, p. 157 f.

[3]) Ib. p. 158.

[4]) Euphues, Introduction, p. XIV.

statements: "That Sidney's prose is influenced by Spanish prose i. e. Montemayor's even a superficial comparison will show clearly";[1]) "The style is the same in both".[2])

We may briefly present the matter thus:

1) Precisely what historical significance does the Arcadia possess?

Landmann and Schwan agree that it represents the abandonment of the old, or Euphuistic style, and the formal inauguration of a new.

2) Whence was this new style?

Schwan, as we have seen, declares that it was Italianistic in origin, that it had been winning its way since 1553, and now won its final victory in the "Arcadia"; the "common infection" Sidney confessed he was tainted with was this "Italianism". Landmann, on the contrary, maintains that this new style was entirely new and was acquired with much else from Montemayor: the infection, Sidney spoke of, was Euphuism — but there are nevertheless no traces of formal Euphuism in his work.

3) Was then Sidney affected by the prose of Montemayor? The presumption is too strong to permit us to believe otherwise.

4) But only by the prose of Montemayor? Is Sidney's style specifically Spanish? In disproof of the hypothesis of an Italianistic influence, is it possible to prove that Sidney's style shows features that are definitely Spanish and not Italian? Can Landmann properly affirm the existence of a genuine distinct "Arcadianism", purely Spanish in origin?

It is on grounds such as these that Schwan's position begins to become strong. It will be remembered that he finds the fountain-source of his "Italianistic" influence in Surrey and Wyatt. It avails little that Landmann challenges him to name a "prose writer and the English imitator to whom his socalled Italianism is due".[3]) A sharp cutting asunder of, so to speak, prose-influence and poetry-influence is an absur-

[1]) Ib. p. XVI, Note.
[2]) Ib. p. XXXI.
[3]) Landmann, Euphues p. XIV.

dity. That a poet like Sidney, with every line of Surrey and Wyatt at his heart, and writing prose essentially poetic in character, addressed to a sister he adored — that he must of an absolute necessity owe his style simply to the imitation of a Spanish model is simply unthinkable. Accordingly Landmann's theory suggested the following questions:

1) Is the style of the "Arcadia" any more distinctively Spanish than Italian?

In answer let us compare Landmann with himself:

p. XIII.	p. XXVIII.
"The metaphorical diction of the Italian lyric".	"in Sidney's Arcadia . . . the excessively metaphorical language".
"Circumlocutions".	"Circumlocutions for simple expressions".
"Personifications of inanimate objects".	"Bold personifications of inaminate objects".
"Imaginative transference of qualities which objects do not possess . . . as weeping paper".	(in quotation) "Most blessed paper . . . happy messenger . . . thy baseness . . . mourn boldly, my ink".

2) In particular, in what way are the elements of style in Sidney's "Arcadia", given p. XXVIII, specifically Spanish — viz. endless, tedious sentences, fondness for details, descriptions of the beauties of rural scenery?

3) Where did Sidney get his fondness for playing upon words?

4) Is there no more significance to be attached to Sidney's use of the title "Arcadia" than that he may have taken it from Sannazaro?

These questions, it must be remembered, do not aim to disprove Montemayor's influence upon Sidney. They only aim to ascertain just what it was apart from matter and general character that Sidney took from Montemayor, in order to see

whether Landmann has the right to speak of "Arcadianism", as if a second setting in of Spanish influence affected prose form definitely and unmistakably, as the influence of Guevara affected it. And this question of course has interest for us only so far as it concerns the possibility that there was a second influence at work contemporaneous with Euphuism.

Nothing notable or individual, it seems to us, can be detected in Sidney's style, that can be declared specifically Spanish. It is a straight-forward narrative style, so far as structure is concerned. Sidney was not thinking of the form of his sentences as he wrote. Its individual quality proves on analysis to be due to Sidney's use of figurative language; his clauses while direct and simple are lengthened by circumlocutions. The attention is attracted not by any peculiarity of form, but by bold personification and vividly picturesque metaphor. Knowing that Sidney's taste was formed in an Italian school,[1]) are we to believe that his fondness for these was due simply to Montemayor?

If with Schwan finally we are ready to admit as probable some influence proceeding from Italian sources (even contemporaneous with Euphuism), we of course cannot do so on the ground of the general use of strange and foreign coinages. Schwan was led to this idea no doubt by his desire to explain the true aim of the satire in "Love's Labour's Lost". Needless to say we cannot ascribe this word-coining to an Italian influence, or use it in proof of such influence. Schwan does not show how it appears in any literary work. It was in any case the literary groundlings who used these terms — the preachers and schoolmasters, secretaries, merchants, and travellers, as Puttenham tells us, and with them the pedantic courtiers.

The probable view seems to be that a taste for boldly picturesque metaphor, hyperbolical expression and personification, took its rise in the study of Italian verse and prose

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[1]) For the character of Sidney's debt to Petrarch, see Koeppel, Stud. z. Geschichte des engl. Petrarchismus im XVI. Jahrh.

and made its influence more and more felt until it found its full expression apart from verse in the "Arcadia". Glimpses of this appear even in the Euphuists themselves. In Pettie we find expressions so thoroughly Sidneyesque, so to speak, as "the tempest of my just displeased mind hath driven your suit against the rough rocks of repulse". In the Euphues, as we know, figurative allusions are always argumentative, but of Lyly's plays "Sapho and Phao" was written before, and the "Endimion" probably in the year 1590, and in both these we traced the beginnings of a new, non-Euphuistic use of the metaphor. In Lodge's "Rosalynd" we find the same blend of Euphuism with a new element. This work is declared by Landmann to be Euphuistic in form and "Arcadian" in content. Published in the same year with the "Arcadia", why is it necessary, to drag in as Landmann has to do a supplementary hypothesis to the effect that Lodge had seen the Arcadia and been influenced by it — this in order to credit Sidney as the first exponent of a so-called "Arcadianism" of Spanish origin?

The discussion of this point leads naturally to the questions which really originated it — did Lyly and Euphuism affect Shakspeare, and did Shakspeare parody Lyly? The question, it seems to us, is simple to answer. Euphuism, as we took care to note, is a matter of diction, of form, of style, and nowhere in Shakspeare do we find a Euphuistic diction, save in the single instance where Euphuism appears to be parodied. In brief, it is possible that Euphuism may have exercised some formative influence upon Shakspeare in his youth, but it at least gave no distinctive quality to his style. A quantitative analysis would be simply impossible.

As regards Jonson's Fastidious Brisk, so long considered a parody on the strength of the authority of Drake, Hallam, and Fairholt, to whom by the way any form of 16th century affectation was Euphuism — it is impossible to believe Jonson had Euphuism particularly in mind (cf. p. 8: in the same play there is a pointed reference to the Arcadia).

We must agree with Landmann that Shakspeare did not parody Euphues in "Love's Labour's Lost", and that

the only passage in which he did so was "I Henry IV", 2, 4. His intention there is clearly proved by his use of the famous chamomile metaphor [1]) which seems to spread everywhere — particularly over the pages of the critics — in a way that does great credit to Lyly's felicitous description.

If here we finish with the immediate and temporary effects of Euphuism upon our literature, what effects were there which were enduring? We now no longer deal with the Euphuistic style — its independent and individual character began to disappear rapidly as we know about 1590 — we deal with its separate elements.

The acquirement on the part of a people of its rhetorical forms might worthily be made subject of inquiry. Clearly with the Euphuists arose the constant and understanding use of antithesis and parallelism. Before their time there is no marked indication of a persistent tendency to the use of these devices in prose; prose literature consisted either of simple narrative, or of works of polity, theology, instruction, made up substantially of straightforward assertion with occasional simple arguments from example and analogy. The classics taught Guevara and were teaching England — and doubtless the Bible, with its wonderful oriental use of these forms, would have lent its aid. [2]) But as it was, Guevara's example taught the Euphuist, and the Euphuist, i. e. Pettie, first made their constant use a principle. Surely this is noteworthy when we consider how important a feature they are of English prose style; we need only run over the name of Bacon, Burton, Fuller, Cowley, Temple, Swift, Johnson, Junius, Burke, to suggest the importance of the balanced antithesis alone. We purposely use the word "balanced". The arti-

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[1]) Copied perhaps from Pettie, cf. Koeppel: Stud z Geschichte der ital. Nov., p. 28.

[2]) See the rhymed tractate "Rede me and be nott wrothe &c.", of William Roy and Jerome Barlowe, printed at Strasburg in 1528. The introduction is full of antithesis and parallelism, due simply to the use of Scripture (cf. Arber's Reprint, 1871).

ficiality of Euphuism was due in greatest part to its devices to enforce emphasis. As might be expected precisely in proportion as these were volatile through their artificiality, their disappearance was more or less complete. Rime, repetition, annomination, consonance, — these vanished. The occasional use of alliteration (even transverse) as the helpful accompaniment of parison, and the constant use of parison as a most fitting accompaniment of antithesis and parallelism obtains to this day.

Examples might be given—they are common enough all through the first half of the 17th century—that would seem to indicate that some influence, permanent though slight, remained from Euphuism. I cite the notable case of Fuller.

Morley, it will be remembered, in his first article long before Lyly's style had been analysed, followed Marsh in wrongly instancing Fuller and Browne as "euphuistic". Morley referred to their use of conceits, figurative allusions and illustrations, not to their style. Browne in no way attracts our attention. Fuller however is interesting because he makes constant use not only of antithesis and parallelism with parisonic balance, but also often of simple and transverse alliteration precisely in Euphuistic fashion. Of this interesting feature of Fuller's style we give examples: [1])

"O whither will my mind sail, when *dis*temper shall steer it? whither will my fancy run, when *dis*eases shall ride it?" (p. 6); "In that day either lighten my *b*urden or strengthen my *b*ack" (ib.); "Must the new *f*oe quite jostle out the old *f*riend? May I not with him *c*ontinue some *c*ommerce of *k*indness? . . . Yet how can I be *k*ind to him without being *c*ruel to myself and thy *c*ause"?" (p. 7).

"Yet though I cannot *ch*ant with the nightingale or *ch*irp with the blackbird, I had rather *ch*atter with the swallow" (p. 8); "Within a little time I have heard the same *pr*ecept in sundry *pl*aces, and by several *pr*eachers *pr*essed upon me . . . Surely this is *f*rom thy *pro*vidence and should be *f*or my *pro*fit" (ib.).

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[1]) Good Thoughts in Bad Times.

So for the first two and a half pages. Note the following: — "The low*er* the *m*embers, the coars*er* the *m*etal. The *f*urther off the time the more un*fit*" (p. 10); "Former *wi*ckedness or present *w*ant . . . I would have fed his *p*erson, and starved his *p*rofaneness, not of my seeking, but of thy sending" (pag. 11).

"When I cannot be *f*orced I am *f*ooled. He cannot *con*strain if I do not *con*sent" (p. 16); (a play on words) — Had that which I desired been *done*, I had been un*done*" (p. 18); "Formerly he had *t*old it with his *t*ongue, but now with his *t*ears: formerly he *t*aught it with his *w*ords, but now with *w*eeping" (p. 33); "I have *c*onquered and *k*illed, subdued and slain, *m*aimed and *m*ortified the deeds of the flesh" (p. 88); "*Cr*oaking in my judgment, *cr*eeping into my will and *cr*awling into my affections" (p. 93).

Let us note a few marked cases of transverse: — "Let me labour to *ex*ceed them in *p*ains who *ex*cel me in *p*arts" (p. 14); "Or *prai*seth for *f*ormer or *pray*eth for *f*uture favours" (p. 30); "But when either on the the *fl*at of an *ordinary temp*er or in the *fa*ll of an extra*ordinary temp*tation, we lose the view thereof. Thus, in the sight of our soul, heaven is dis*covered*, *covered*, and re*covered*; till though *l*ate, at *l*ast, though slowly, surely, we arrive at the *h*aven of our *h*appiness" (p. 76); "What I *f*reely *t*endered, God *f*airly *t*ook" (p. 87); "If accepting my *home*ly *d*iet, he will not refuse my *home d*evotion" (p. 89).

Though these cases — few among many — might have come from the Euphues, Fuller as we need scarcely reaffirm was no Euphuist.

Passing on, we must not limit our attention only to specific effects. Apart from these, if Euphuism notably affected one period of English literature it must in a broad sense have permanently affected it. If then we consider it in its broader relations, we perceive that Lyly and Sidney, though they represent different schools of rhetoric, both played a part in a common movement extending through the whole of the 16th century into the 17th. We are not here joining with

Morley in the opinion that Euphuism was one phase of a worship of conceits extending from Chaucer's time to Dryden's. What we mean is that England through Berners, Elyot, Ascham, North, Pettie, Lyly and Sidney was learning a certain lesson. What this lesson was we understand when we find Nash in his prefatory letter to Greene's Menaphon referring to "our greatest Art-masters deliberate thoughts" — unmistakably meaning Lyly personally or his school — and Webbe in his "Discourse of English Poetrie" delivering himself in this wise: "Among whom I thinke there is none that will gainsay but Master John Lilly hath deserved moste high commendation as he hath stept one steppe further therein [amendment of our speeche] than any either before or since he first began the wyttie discourse of his Euphues".[1]) In a word — England was learning the value of conscious attention to form, and what is more, was testing and trying what canons of form should be accepted. This as clearly appears in Elyot's early experiments in word-coining as in the surprising numbers of rhetorical works and the innumerable discussions of rhetorical matters in prefatory epistles, introductions &c., later in the century.[2]) In our analysis of the Euphuistic style, we were careful to point out the fundamental simplicity of the Euphuistic rhetoric—a simplicity due to the fact that its development represents the experimental effort of two minds only. Owing to this simplicity we are sure Euphuism taught its lesson all the more surely. It gave England but one canon of form—but better than this, it taught England the value of such canons. We endeavored to bring out the absolute falsity of the notion that Euphuism was a sort of wilful superficiality and affectation and to show how orderly and consistent in spite of its faults the Euphuistic rhetoric was. Lyly strove after clearness first, then after force, aptness of illustration, balance, rhythm; his vices are the vices of ignor-

[1]) p. 46.

[2]) Berners himself says, "I know myselfe insuffycient in the facondyous arte of rhethoryke". (quoted by Lee, "Boke of Duke Huon &c." p. XLIII in illustration of Berners's modesty).

ance, or half-knowledge, — artificiality, that is, an art which does not conceal itself, and extravagance, in his case largely due probably to over-anxiety in elaboration. His thought and care may be illustrated by one little point. He even pays attention to his paragraphing, the art of which was just beginning to be understood—a matter which Sidney acknowledges he was careless about, and Bacon observed only in half-careful fashion by marking his paragraphs in the full blocked page with a conventional symbol.

Finally, since the point has been referred to—is Euphuism as a movement to be compared to Marinism, Gongarism, Preciosity? Only perhaps as all are movements leading to a greater refinement, a more certain knowledge of art, its methods and its ends; in no way as regards character and the immediate effects produced. Morley would have us believe Euphuistic literature to be stylistically at least the mere froth of a fermenting age. This it emphatically was not. Its artificiality is not empty, its extravagance is not vapid. It did not spend itself in word-tinkering, torturing of conceits, in formless bombast. Its excesses merely display how anxious and eager the effort was to attain ends thoroughly worthy—clearness, precision, force, rhythmic melody, formal consistency.

Appendix I.

Prologue to Endimion (Fairholt, I. p. 4):

Most high and happy Princesse,
We must tell you a tale
Of the Man in the Moone,
  Which if it seeme ridiculous for the method,
  Or superfluous for the matter,
  Or for the meanes incredible,
For three faults
We can make but one excuse.
  It is a tale
  Of the Man in the Moone.

It was forbidden in olde time
To dispute of *Chymera*,
  Because it was a fiction.
Wee hope in our times
None will apply pastimes,
  Because they are fancies;
For there liveth none under the sunne
  That knowes what to make
  Of the Man in the Moone.

Wee present neither comedie, nor tragedie,
  Nor storie, nor any thing,

But that whosoever heareth may say this,
Why here is a tale
Of the Man in the Moone.

Philautus's reply to Euphues (p. 50):

Friend *Euphues* (for so your talk warranteth me to term you)
I dare neither use a long processe, neither a loving speach,
least unwittingly I shold cause you to convince me
of those things which you have already condemned.

And verily I am bold to presume upon your curtesie,
since you your self have used so little curiositie:
perswading my selfe that my short answere will worke as great an effect in you,
as your few words did in me.

And seeing we resemble
(as you say) each other in qualities,
it cannot be yat the one
should differ from the other in curtesie,
seing the sincere affection of the minde
cannot be expressed by the mouth,
and that no art can unfold
the entire love of ye heart,
I am earnestly to beseech you
not to measure the firmenesse of my faith.
by ye fewnes of my wordes,
but rather thinke that the overflowing waves of good wil,
leave no passage for many words.

Triall shall prove trust,
heere is my hand, my hart, my lands
and my life at thy commaundement.
Thou maist wel perceive that I did beleeve thee,
that so soone I did love thee:
and I hope thou wilt the rather love me,
In that I did beleeve thee.

Either *Euphues* and *Philautus* stoode in neede of frindshippe
or were ordeined to be friendes:
upon so short warning, to make so [soone] fine a conclusion might seeme in mine opinion
if it continued myraculous,
if shaken off, ridiculous.

Appendix II.

(Alliteration in Prose. — The Balanced Style and Fabulous Natural History in the Thirteenth Century. — Nineteenth Century Euphuism.)

Alliteration occurs in Middle English prose generally in impassioned passages — see e. g. the "Meditatio", edited by Ullmann in Engl. Stud., VII, p. 454. It may be used to give distinction to particular words i. e. emphasise their logical relation to the whole thought, but is seldom used to emphasise the logical relation of two or more words to each other. The single general exception is words in formulaic pairs, as e. g. "true and trusty", "made or marred", or the familiar catchword "not for the learned but for the lewd".

We wish to call attention to a notable special exception, the "Ayenbite", Dan Michel's translation (1340) of Frère Lorens' "La somme du roi" (1279). It is remarkable that Lorens makes constant use of parisonic constructions and very interesting to note that the Englishman, who translates literally, not infrequently emphasises the balanced words by alliteration [1]):

"Ase me ssel loki mesure ine wordes: alsuo me ssel loki

[1]) Morris: Ayenbite of Inwyt.

mesure ine hyer*þe*" (p. 256): "*Þ*et yzye*þ* *þ*et mot ine *þ*e o*þ*res eye, and ne yzye*þ* naht *þ*ane refter in hire owene eye" (p. 175): "O men, ne bye*þ* naht *þ*yestre, ne bya*þ* naht ontrewe" (p. 270).

And one or two examples with alliteration:

"Hit ys wel ssort ine *w*ordes: and wel lang ine *w*ytte. Liht to zigge an sotil to onderstonde" (p. 99); "Ele est moulte couerte en paroles. e mout longue en sentence. legiere a dire e soutiue a entendre";[1]) "*Þ*et is *þ*et me by delyvred of alle *kueade*: and volveld of alle *guode*" (p. 99); "Cest que on soit deluires de tous maus e raemplis de tous biens" (ib.): "Zette*þ* zuo moche hire *h*erte and hire *h*ope" (p. 6); "Yef *þ*ou wylt libbe vri*liche*, lyerne to sterve gled*liche*" (p. 70); "be *wyll*e ne be *wil*ninge" (p. 242). Noting these uses of antithesis, and with it the habit Lorens has of piling up his illustrative allusions a half dozen at a time, it is impossible not to feel that we have in this thirteenth-century author unmistakable anticipations, prefigurements, of the "stilo alto". We may perhaps perceive here the truth that it is much too easy an explanation to refer a man like Guevara, a style like the "stilo alto", simply to the influence of the Renaissance. However great such a man as Guevara may have been, however extraordinary his individual accomplishment and influence, he must have been in great measure the creature of his age in order to have left so definite an impression upon it. In a word, his age must have prepared him, while it profited by him. The beginnings of the movement we are studying lie back of Guevara and before the Renaissance.

There is notable difference between a mere heaping together of homilies or tractates upon the virtues and a work like Lorens's which taking the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Commandments as its scheme or skeleton, endeavors to furnish its readers with a complete body of faith, apparatus of religion, and manual of conduct. Narrative composition naturally

[1]) Varnhagen in Engl. Stud., I, p. 384. Two examples are ample to show character of translation.

takes care of itself in a rough way as regards the matter of formal unity, but the attainment of it in didactic works was immensely more difficult. The world indeed was three hundred years or so learning how to do it, half that time in fact learning to conceive of it as a possibility, until the classics finally enforced a moral and afforded a model. Works like Lorens's must be regarded as the exercises in plain hand preparatory for the flourishes of the Guevaras of a later day. Old and new, the books of both are books royal, books for the king, mirrors of the world. From one into the other the set homily and tractate pass — not the form only in the set discourses, but the Simon Pure theological homily itself, to remain indeed so long that several are found in a volume confessedly written for the tiring-room of Elizabethan dames.

In brief, just as one is obliged, in order to explain one of Pinero's dramas, to go back through the interlude to the miracle-play, so to fully explain the modern novel or essay, one must go back finally, through the Lylys, Norths and Guevaras, to the homilists like Lorens and Maurice de Sully.

Lorens's use of allusions to natural history should be referred to as suggesting Lyly if not Guevara. They are drawn of course from the bestiaries, but are used precisely as Lyly uses them — the "adder called aspis", the adder Serayn, the beast Hyane, the Coccyx or cuckoo, the lynx, chameleon, salamander and turtle. All of these but one or two are used by Lyly. Lorens's use of them serves to show how early this class of allusions became popular in France.

The temptation to add here a specimen of 19th century Euphuism, as a corollary to p. 77, n. 1, is too strong to be resisted. I am indebted for it to Prof. Herbert E. Greene, of Johns Hopkins University. It is from a religious newspaper, the "Congregationalist" for 1893 — an exact reference would be to no purpose:

"Six sorts of people at least would be helped by a pledge in the ordinary church prayer-meeting:

1. The pastor. On Sunday he is expected to preach,

on Friday evening to prod. Is he scholarly? Others are silent because he has said so much. Is he suggestive? Others are silent because he has said so little. His management, mood, method, message, make, or mar, the meeting. He is Atlas under the prayer meeting world, and for his bent back needs the pledge as a plaster, &c."

I could not consider this little essay complete unless I gave myself an opportunity to thank Professor Breymann for prompting me to enter upon it, and to express my indebtedness for his kindly and generous aid in the way of suggestion and correction. A similar acknowledgment is due Professor Koeppel, who while reviewing my manuscript, kindly corrected many slips and suggested the reconsideration of a number of statements, thus assuring my work, so far as such incidental correction permitted. the benefits of his accurate scholarship and critical acumen.

Lippert & Co. (G. Pätz'sche Buchdruckerei), Naumburg a. S.

MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

VIII.

DIE SUFFIXHALTIGEN ROMANISCHEN FLURNAMEN GRAUBÜNDENS.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1894.

DIE SUFFIXHALTIGEN ROMANISCHEN

FLURNAMEN GRAUBÜNDENS,

SOWEIT SIE JETZT NOCH DEM VOLKE BEKANNT SIND.

I. TEIL:

LIQUIDEN-SUFFIXE.

VON

DR. AUGUST KÜBLER.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1894.

Dem Andenken

meines Onkels Max

gewidmet.

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Wichtigste Abkürzungen.

A. = Alpe.
B. = Bergeller Thal.
berg. = bergamaskisch.
bresc. = brescianisch.
d. = deutsch.
Dem. = Deminutivum.
Diss. = Dissentis.
E. = Engadin.
Fam.N. = Familien-Name.
Heinz. = Heinzenberg.
kl. = klein.
Kons. = Konsonant.
l. = lateinisch.
lad. = ladinisch.
M. = Münsterthal.
M-L. = Meyer-Lübke.
ml. = mittellateinisch.
N. = Name.
O. = Ort.
oberl. = oberländisch.
obwald. = obwaldisch.
O.N. = Ortsname.
O.E. = Ober-Engadin.
Pers.N. = Personen-Name.
piem. = piemontesisch.
r. = rätisch.
schw. = schweizerdeutsch.
surs. = sursclvisch od. obwaldisch.
-th. = thal.
tir.d. = tirolerdeutsch.
U.E. = Unterengadin.
urk. = urkundlich.
urspr. = ursprünglich.
V. = Val, Thal.
vl. = vulgärlateinisch.
westr. = westrätisch.
zw. = zwischen.

Inhaltsverzeichnis.

I. Teil: Liquiden-Suffixe.

I. Abschnitt: Namen, welche lateinische L-Suffixe enthalten.

	§	p.
Einleitung		1
A. Suffixe mit einfachem l:		
a) In l. Proparoxytonis:		
α) Mit ml. Tonverschiebung.		
1. *-ŏlus, -a* (*-ĭŏlus, -ĕŏlus*):	1	9
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 9.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 14.		
β) Ohne Tonverschiebung.		
2. *-ŭlus, -a* (u. *-ŏlus, -ĭlus, -ĕlus*):	15	23
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 23.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 27.		
3. *-ācŭlus, -a*;	24	33
4. *-ĭculus, -a; -ĕculus, -a; -ĭculus, -a*:	26	34
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 34.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 36.		
5. *-ŭculus, -a; -ŭculus, -a*:	34	37
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 37.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 39.		
6. *-cŭlus*:	40	39
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 39.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 40.		
7. *-bĭlis u. -ĭlis*:	42	40
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 40.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 42.		
b) In l. Paroxytonis:		
8. *-ālis*:	48	42
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 42.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 44.		
9. *-ēlus; -ēla; ēlis*;	51	48
10. *-īlis*:	53	49
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 49.		
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 49.		

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B. Suffixe mit geminiertem l:

1. *-éllus, -íllus:* 56 50
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 50.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 53.

2. *-úllus:* 65 61
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 61.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 61.

II. Abschnitt: Namen, welche Nasal-Suffixe enthalten.

A. Ableitungen mit M-Suffixen:

1. l. *-ámen:* 67 61
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 61.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 62.

2. l. *-īmen, -úmen:* 69 63
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 63.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 64.

3. l. *-íssimus, -ímus, -ésimus:* 72 65
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 65.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 65.

B. Ableitungen mit N-Suffixen:

1. *-ánus, -a:* 74 66
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 66.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 68.

2. *-ínus. -ēnus. -ínus:* 81 77
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 77.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 80.

3. *-túdinem, -áginem, -úginem. -íginem:* 89 95

4. *-ó, -onis, m.:* 93 97
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 97.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 98.

5. *-ío, -ionis. f.:* 96 107
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 107.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 108.

6. *-áneus, -óneus, -íneus:* 98 108
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 108.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 109.

7. *-érnus, -a:* 102 110
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 110.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 111.

III. Abschnitt: Namen, welche R-Suffixe enthalten.

1. *-súra, -túra:* 104 111
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 111.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 113.

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2. *-sór. -tór:* 106 115
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 115.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 117.
3. *-sórius, -tórius:* 108 117
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 117.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 118.
4. *-aris, -árius:* 111 119
I. In weströtischen Appellativen p. 119.
II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen p. 122.

Einleitung.

Wenn die Ortsnamenforschung, wie unter andern Hildebrand[1]) hervorgehoben hat, lange Zeit von vielen mit Geringschätzung behandelt worden ist, so mag das einerseits darin seinen Grund haben, dass dieses Gebiet der vergleichenden Sprachforschung hauptsächlich von Dilettanten, von Männern der Wissenschaft aber, wegen der zu überwindenden Schwierigkeiten, nur selten bebaut wird. Andrerseits unterschätzt man häufig den Nutzen, den die Onomatologie für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte, für Geographie und selbst Naturgeschichte abwirft, wofern sie auf richtiger Grundlage sich erhebt. Die folgende Arbeit soll, so hoffe ich, etwas zur Beseitigung jenes Vorurteils beitragen, in erster Linie dadurch, dass sie die rätischen Ortsnamen in einem richtigeren Lichte erscheinen lässt als bisher. — Es seien mir vor Allem einige unerlässliche Vorbemerkungen gestattet!

Die Ortsnamen sind den Geschöpfen der Natur vergleichbar. Die Pflanzen weisen beispielshalber eine grosse Mannigfaltigkeit hinsichtlich der Zeit auf, während der sie sprossen und blühen. Welch ein Unterschied zwischen einer Eiche, die hundertjährigem Stürmen trotzt, und einem Veilchen, dessen Blütenstiel schon nach dem ersten Lenze sich zur Erde beugt! Ganz ähnlich verhält es sich mit den Ortsnamen. Die einen strahlen Tausende von Jahren im Ruhmes-

[1]) cf. *Gröber's Zschr.* 1884, VIII, 326.

glanze der Geschichte; andere sind nach wenigen Menschenaltern versunken und vergessen. Je grösser die Zahl der Personen, in deren Munde ein Ortsname lebt, desto grösser ist seine Lebenszähigkeit. Die fünf Weltteile, die weiten Meere mit ihren grossen Inseln, scharfabgegrenzte Teile der Kontinente, wie Italien, Weltstädte, wie Rom, haben nicht so leicht eine Umtaufung zu gewärtigen, wie kleinere Orte, deren Name nicht einmal eines grossen geschichtlichen Ereignisses, eines Sprachenwechsels bei seinen Bewohnern oder des Eindringens eines fremden Volkes bedarf, um einem andern Platz zu machen: ein rein lokales Ereignis genügt bisweilen. So führt das in Nordtirol bei Lermoos gelegene Mittewald, seitdem im 15. Jahrhundert eine verheerende Schneelawine daselbst niederging, den Namen Lähn. Die Namen bewohnter, wenn auch kleiner Orte haben wiederum eine weitaus grössere Lebensfähigkeit als jene von Feldern und bebauten Gründen, diese dagegen eine grössere als diejenigen öde liegenden Landes oder von Wald und Weide oder von Alp-Abteilungen, welch' letztere, oft nur den Jägern und Hirten bekannt, meist 100, ja 50 Jahre nach ihrem Aufkommen wieder der Vergessenheit anheimfallen oder anderen weichen. So wäre es z. B. ein vergebliches Bemühen bei der gegenwärtigen Bevölkerung Tirols all die Benennungen von Jagdgründen erfragen zu wollen, wie sie das im Statthalterei-Archive zu Innsbruck aufbewahrte, von *Carl v. Spaur* um 1500 angelegte *„Gejaidbuch des Kaisers Maximilian“* aus allen Teilen jenes Landes anführt. [1]) Namen unbebauter und zugleich schwer zugänglicher Plätze im Gebirge sind nur dann langlebiger, wenn etwa eine Grenze über sie hinläuft; deshalb braucht man sich nicht zu wundern, dass der drei Staaten und Sprachen scheidende Ortler im 12. Jahrhunderte schon so hiess.

Wie leicht die Namen von Alp-Abteilungen wechseln, beweist folgender Fall. Einst traf ich auf einer Alpe einen Ötzthaler Hirten, der wegen seiner Schwerhörigkeit die hundert

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[1]) cf. *Gsaller's* „Studien aus d. Stubaier Gebirgsgruppe“, in d. *Zschr. d. D. Ö. A. V.* XVII. 1886, 127 ff.

Namen, die innerhalb seiner Trift lagen, der einheimischen Bevölkerung nicht ablauschen konnte. Er wusste sich jedoch Rat; in 14 Tagen schuf er auf eigne Faust für die ganze Weide eine neue Nomenklatur, welche zum Teil so treffend war, dass die Thalbewohner sie für die alte in Kauf nahmen. In den höchsten Alpenregionen sind somit die Namen am kurzlebigsten. Nur noch ein Beispiel, das nebst anderen im Bereiche meiner eigenen Erinnerung liegt. Auf der österreichischen Generalstabskarte bezeichnet der Name *Tschierfeck* eine steile Partie des „*Obern Ortlergletschers*“ in Tirol. Der Name klingt uralt und hält doch nur das Andenken des Jägers *Tschierf* aus dem Münsterthale fest, der bei einer Wette, allein auf die Spitze des Ortlers klettern zu wollen, an besagter Stelle durch heftige Dysenterie zum Umkehren genötigt wurde, ein Ereignis, das vor wenigen Jahren erst stattfand.

Zeigt der Kanton St. Gallen[1]) einen von Süden nach Norden stark abfallenden Prozentsatz — 50 bis 0 % — an romanischen Flurnamen den alemannischen gegenüber, so hängt das wohl weniger von dem einstigen Prozentsatze der romanisch sprechenden Bevölkerung oder deren Besiedlungsverhältnissen ab, als vielmehr nach dem bisher Gesagten in erster Linie von der langsamen, im Laufe der Jahrhunderte von Norden nach Süden vorschreitenden Germanisierung des Kantons. Genügten also vier Jahrhunderte,[2]) um 50 % der Flurnamen durch deutsche zu ersetzen, so ist man zu der Annahme berechtigt, dass unter den jetzigen Flurnamen St. Gallens — und dieselbe Behauptung darf man für ganz Rätien aufstellen — höchstens ein ganz verschwindend kleiner Prozentsatz von solchen erhalten sind, welche ihre Entstehung der wohl schon vor 1400 Jahren ausser Gebrauch gekommenen Ursprache Rätiens verdanken.

Es ist deshalb nicht am Platze, Namen von Feldern,

[1]) cf. *Götz. Rom. Ortsnamen* p. 11 f.

[2]) Wofern uns die Verhältnisse der Nachbarländer Uri, Prättigau und Vorarlberg, wo das Rätische im 15. Jahrhunderte noch gesprochen wurde, zu diesem Schlusse berechtigen, so kann auch im Kantone St. Gallen das genannte Idiom nicht früher erloschen sein.

Wiesen und kleinen Ortschaften abgelegener Thäler, die fast alle guten romanischen oder germanischen Klang haben, aus dem Keltischen herzuleiten, wie vor etlichen Jahren ein *S. H.* im „Tiroler Volksblatte“ für die Gegend am Arlberge, und 1893 ein Anonymus in der gleichen Zeitung durch den Aufsatz „Das Celtentum in Obervintschgau“ für das obere Etschthal darzulegen sich bemühte.

Von den Namen der grösseren Ortschaften indessen erscheinen viele selbst in den ältesten Urkunden in so dunkler Gestalt, dass sie immerhin Schöpfungen der alten Rätier sein mögen, deren Sprache aber kaum eine keltische war.[1]) Die Ortsnamen Graubündens bleiben somit in dieser Arbeit, welche nur auf sicherem, romanischen Gebiete sich bewegen soll, wie es die Flurnamen bilden, unberührt. Dadurch trete ich allerdings in einen gewissen Gegensatz zu manchen Forschern, die sich lediglich mit den Namen grösserer Ortschaften befassen. Wie sehr sich dieselben auch Mühe geben, die Schreibweise der betreffenden Namen in den Codices zurückzuverfolgen, so wird diese Methode, die man die historische nennen kann, sich nicht lohnen, wenn sie sich nicht mit einer andern verbindet, die ich vorläufig die philologisch-statistische nennen will, und an die ich mich bei dieser Untersuchung vorzugsweise halten werde, da ich mich dabei ja nur mit Flurnamen beschäftige. Ein Werk, das vorzugsweise Namen bewohnter Orte behandelt, aber dennoch auf genauem Studium der einschlägigen Mundarten und Flurnamen beruht, ist Schneller's geniale Arbeit über die Namen des Lägerthales. Ihr nahe kommen Buck's rätische Namenforschungen. Götzinger, wie schon bemerkt, bewegt sich innerhalb der Flurnamen eines nunmehr deutschen Gebietes. Ganz mit modernen, mittelrätischen Flurnamen, und deshalb die noch zu erörternde philologisch-statistische Methode befolgend, beschäftigt sich Alton, der aber das Sichere selten vom nur Wahrscheinlichen und dieses selten vom Dunklen trennt, überdies manch Unglaubhaftes in Bezug auf Suffixe aufstellt.

Es ist durchaus nicht meine Meinung, mit den folgenden

[1]) cf. *Steub* „Zur rät. Ethnol. p. 22 ff.“, u. *Windisch* in *Gröber's* Grundriss d. rom. Philol. I, 289 ff.

Namendeutungen an das Ziel des Erreichbaren gelangt zu sein oder im einzelnen stets das Passendste getroffen zu haben. Selbst bei einer durchgängigen, urkundlichen Zurückverfolgung der behandelten Flurnamen wäre das Ergebnis kein bedeutend sichereres gewesen, was ich um so eher behaupten kann, als ich Versuche in dieser Hinsicht an mehreren Orten angestellt habe. Es mögen dadurch vielleicht im Durchschnitte 5 % der Namen mehr aufgehellt werden. Auf die historische Methode musste ich somit verzichten: 1. weil es für einen Menschen unmöglich ist, diese Arbeit bei den Tausenden von Namen, die mir durch die Hand gingen, vorzunehmen; 2. weil nur ein geringer Bruchteil in Urkunden aufzufinden ist; 3. weil, wie oben dargethan wurde, bei vielen das Alter kein grosses sein kann.

Diesem Mangel half die Anwendung der philologisch-statistischen Methode ab. Erstens unterzog ich nämlich den gesamten rätischen Wortvorrat unter Berücksichtigung der einschlägigen Lautgesetze einer etymologischen Prüfung; zweitens strebte ich die Prinzipien zu erkennen, nach denen der Alpenbewohner seine liegenden Güter benennt, und, um später durch Vergleichung möglichste Sicherheit zu gewinnen, befasste ich mich zunächst mit der Namengebung der deutschen Alpen, dann mit derjenigen der an Graubünden angrenzenden italienischen und der nächsten französischen Alpenthäler; drittens suche ich nicht einzelne Namen zu erklären, sondern eine möglichst grosse Anzahl eines weiten, zusammenhängenden Gebietes, so zwar, dass mir meist ganze Kategorien von Namen zur Verfügung stehen, was allein schon der Untersuchung eine nicht zu verachtende, statistische Basis verleiht; viertens nahm ich selbst zahlreiche Örtlichkeiten in Augenschein, um bei einer jeden zu prüfen, wie ihr der Name zu Gesichte stehe;[1])

[1]) Dabei war allerdings zu bemerken, dass auch Namenverschiebung von einem Orte oder Grundstücke zum andern stattfinden kann. Bergesgipfel werden selten nach ihnen selbst zukommenden Eigenschaften, sondern meist nach andern, unter ihnen liegenden Punkten benannt, und Alpen wieder gerne nach bewohnten Orten, während das Herabsteigen von Namen, früher kaum üblich, lediglich der modernen, alpinen Begeisterung vorbehalten war und man erst jetzt es liebt, Gasthäuser und Villen nach nahen Bergspitzen zu taufen. —

fünftens berücksichtigte ich bei jedem Namen die Mundart der Thalschaft; sechstens zog ich die Arbeiten anderer Onomatologen, soweit sie mir gewissenhaft schienen, zu Rate; siebentens versuchte ich die Namen selbst kategorienweise und im Zusammenhange mit grammatischen Untersuchungen zu erklären.

Ihrer Bildungsart nach lassen sich nämlich drei Gattungen von Flur- und Ortsnamen unterscheiden:

1. solche, die aus einem einfachen Nomen bestehen, wie Ulm (= Ulmenwald), Berg, Stein etc.;

2. zusammengesetzte, die hauptsächlich gebildet sind aus a) Subst. + Subst., wie Augsburg = Augustaburg; b) Adj. od. Zahlwort + Subst., wie *Beaumont* = Schönberg, Zweibrücken, Fünfkirchen; c) Subst. + Adj. od. Zahlw., wie *Rochefort* = Starkenfels, *Cima Dodici* = Zwölf-Uhr-Spitze; d) Präp. + Subst., wie r. *Surrhin* = Am Rhein, r. *Traunter-Awas* = Zwischen d. Wassern; e) Verb. + Subst., wie r. *Chatschaluf* = Ort, wo man den Wolf jagt, r. *Chantamerl* = Ort, wo die Amsel singt;

3. abgeleitete, wie d. Pasing = bei den Nachfolgern des *Paso*, it. *Desenzano* = Gut des *Decentius*, frz. *Orléans* = Ort des *Aurelius*.

Die erste Klasse umfasst die weitaus am verständlichsten klingenden Namen. Die der zweiten sind der Bedeutung nach die gehaltvollsten, verdunkeln ihre Form nicht so leicht und stellen in germanischen Ländern das grösste Kontingent. Die der dritten Klasse sind die ältesten und darum auch am schwierigsten zu deuten; der Zahl nach herrschen sie in romanischen Ländern vor; soweit sie nicht Deminutiva, Augmentativa oder Kollektiva sind, gingen sie meist aus ehemaligen, attributiven Adjektiven hervor, die entweder von Anfang an substantivisch auftraten oder deren zugehöriges Substantiv erst später verloren ging.

Aus diesem Grunde, dann auch, weil im Rätischen das Suffix meistens den Ton hat, und somit der die Grundbedeutung tragende Teil des Wortes leicht verkümmert, ändern die rätischen Flurnamen im grossen Ganzen viel schneller ihren Klang als die deutschen. Aber gerade diese Schwierigkeit hat mich, nachdem ich zuvor schon viele Hunderte von

ausschliesslich der 1. und 2. Klasse angehörenden, rätischen Flurnamen untersucht und dadurch gleichsam einen Schlüssel gewonnen hatte, um die Rätsel der übrigen zu lösen, bewogen, meine Aufmerksamkeit auf die 3. Klasse, d. h. die suffixhaltigen Flurnamen Graubündens zu richten. So sei denn der Versuch, dieselben, trotz der spärlichen Vorarbeiten auf diesem Gebiete, im Anschlusse an eine übersichtliche Darstellung der westrätischen Suffixe zu erklären gewagt, eine Darstellung, welche für das wirkliche Verständnis der betreffenden 3. Klasse unerlässlich ist.

Über die Bedingungen und Prinzipien, unter denen meine Arbeit zu stande kam, dürfte nun kein Zweifel mehr walten, und infolgedessen auch ebensowenig darüber, dass man Aussprüche, wie sie z. B. in der geschichtlichen Einleitung zu Otto von Pfister's „Führer durch das Montafon" enthalten sind, nur mit Bedauern hören wird. Dort wird der Stab über die gesamte Namensforschung gebrochen und verächtlich darüber gelächelt, dass der Eine den Namen des Ortes Galthür im Paznaun von *collis durus*, der Andere hingegen von *cultura* ableitet. Der gestrenge Censor hätte bedenken sollen, dass der Wissenschaft ein gut motiviertes *aut — aut* mehr gilt, als das Bestreben, etwas zweifelhaftes als Thatsache hinstellen zu wollen; sodann, dass selbst die unantastbare Mathematik es nicht unter ihrer Würde hält, sich mit der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung abzugeben, deren Wert kein imaginärer ist, sondern unter den Händen von Versicherungsgesellschaften etc. sogar die greifbare Gestalt von Gold und Silber annimmt; endlich, dass „wahrscheinlich" zu den steigerungsfähigen Eigenschaftswörtern zählt, deren Superlativ die mannigfaltigsten Abstufungen zulässt. — Was das als *corpus delicti* beigebrachte *Galthür* betrifft, so dürfte es einem Kenner des Rätischen sofort klar sein, zu welchem der beiden *aut* er hinneigen muss. Abgesehen davon, dass Galthür seiner rauhen, abgelegenen Lage halber — in einer im Pfarrwidum dortselbst aufbewahrten, lateinischen Urkunde des 14. Jahrh. heisst es *Cultura* und wird als *locus eremiticus* bezeichnet — kaum sehr früh besiedelt wurde, das Wort *collis* aber dem Westrätischen fehlt und hier durch

collina, crista, cant, muot, bott etc. ersetzt wurde, erscheint auch *durus* nur selten in rät. Flurnamen, und dann meist in Verbindung mit Feld und dgl., da es im Rätischen „brachliegend" bedeutet. L. *collis durus* hätte r. *Coldür* ergeben und nie r. *Cultüra*, wie die Engadiner den Ort jetzt nennen, auch nie d. *Galtüre*, wie er bis auf die jüngste Zeit herab urkundlich vorkommt und auch in dem eben aussterbenden Walserdialekte des Ortes selbst heisst, während die Apokope des *e* erst der nunmehr siegreich von Norden eindringenden, bajuwarischen Mundart zu verdanken ist; ferner sind r. u. it. Flurnamen, wie *Cu(l)türa, Coltura* nach Dutzenden zu zählen, auch gibt es noch ein r. *cultüra*, bebautes Land, Flur.

Es erübrigt noch, über den zu behandelnden Stoff zu sprechen. Die Zahl der in Graubünden derzeit im Gebrauche befindlichen Flurnamen ist, abgesehen von den Detail-Namen, auf mindestens 20,000 zu schätzen, wovon mir 8000 aus den interessantesten Teilen des Kantons zur Verfügung stehen. Mit denen des Misoxer und Bergeller Thales beschäftige ich mich weniger eingehend, weil deren Mundarten fast nichts rätisches, bezw. viel lombardisches enthalten. Von jenen 8000 Namen finden ungefähr 4000 im Folgenden eine direkte Verwendung, so gross ist die Zahl der suffixhaltigen Namen Graubündens, von denen freilich manche zugleich den Zusammengesetzten zuzuordnen sind. Im ersten Teile seien nur diejenigen, welche l. Liquiden-Suffixe enthalten, behandelt, denn ihre Menge verhält sich zu derjenigen der übrigen suffixhaltigen wie 2 : 1. — Die Namen folgender Gemeinden Graubündens fanden dabei Berücksichtigung:

I. Westlich von Chur bis zum Wallis: *Somvix, Brigels, Waltensburg, Ruschein, Flond, Luvis, Villa, Igels, Vigens, Vrin, Vals*,[1]) *St. Martin, Levgiein, Duvin, Pitasch, Riein, Laax, Trins.*

II. Von Chur südlich bis zum Scheitel der Alpen und östlich bis an das Quellgebiet des Inn: *Felsberg, Rhäzüns, Ruaun, Savien, Präz, Rotels, Scharans, Thusis, Andeer, Malix, Churwalden, Ober-Vatz, Surava, Tiefenkasten, Stürvis, Mons, Salux, Tinzen, Stalla, Bivio, Alveneu, Filisur, Bergün.*

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[1]) In den spatiiniert gedruckten Orten spricht man jetzt Deutsch.

III. Im Flussgebiete des Po: a) Misoxer Thal: *Roveredo, Lostallo, Soazza:* b) Bergeller Thal: *Soglio, Vicosoprano, Bondo, Stampa, Castasegna.*

IV. Engadin oberhalb des Ofenpasses: *Silraplana, Celerina, St. Moritz, Pontresina, Samaden, Campovasto, Zutz, Scanfs.*

V. Engadin unterhalb des Ofenpasses und Münsterthal: *Zernetz, Süss, Larin, Guarda, Ardetz, Schuls, Sins, Fettan, Remüs, Schleins, Strada, Samnaun, Spiss,*[1]) *Martinsbruck, Cierfs, Fuldera, Valcava, Lü, Lalusai, St. Maria, Münster, Taufers.*

Ein Drittel dieses Namenschatzes sammelte ich selbst von Ort zu Ort, entweder aus dem Munde hierzu besonders sich eignender Personen, oder aus Katastern, Matrikeln etc. Das zweite Drittel verdanke ich gütigen Mitteilungen von seiten des katholischen und protestantischen Klerus aus allen Teilen des Kantons. Den Rest bilden Ergänzungen aus einer Sammlung von bündnerischen Flurnamen im Besitze der rätoromanischen Gesellschaft zu Chur. An den mir schriftlich überlieferten Formen wagte ich nichts zu ändern, berücksichtigte aber bei der Erklärung eines Namens die orthographischen Eigentümlichkeiten des betreffenden Gewährsmannes. War eine Transskription nötig, so bediente ich mich der bei Meyer-Lübke üblichen, die von jener der Gartnerischen Grammatik wenig abweicht und für meine Zwecke genügt. Das Studium der Graubündner Flurnamen bildet die notwendige Vorstufe für die Erklärung der rät. Ortsnamen, weshalb ich mich nicht scheue, auch jene hier anzuführen, die ich nicht deuten kann und die etwa anderen erwünschtes Material sind.

A) 1. l. · ŏlus, -a (-ĕŏlus, -i̯ŏlus).

I. In westrätischen Appellativen.

§ 1. Das l. Suf. *· olus, -a* erhielt sich im klassischen Latein selbst nur nach *r*, wobei es eine ältere Form von *· ŭlus -a* darstellte; es besass ferner noch die Fähigkeit, sich

[1]) Spiss und Taufers gehören schon zu Tirol.

an Subst. u. Adj. der 1. u. 2. Deklination anzufügen unter der Bedingung, dass ein *e* oder *i* vorausging, z. B. *filius — filiolus*; *ebrius — ebriolus* (*cf. Mir. p.* 7, u. *Schwabe: De Dem. Graec. et Lat.*) In der späteren Latinität fühlt man *-iolus, -a*, und nicht mehr *-ĭŏlus, -a* als Suf. und bildet deshalb Dem. wie *animaliolum, coroniola;* das Suf. verliert den Begriff des Kleinen und Niedlichen und wirkt schliesslich nur mehr formal erweiternd. Seit dem frühen Mittelalter rückte der Hauptton derartiger Ableitungen auf das *ŏ* des Suffixes vor, ein Vorgang, der auf verschiedene Weise zu erklären versucht wurde. Diez — Gramm. I, 199 — begründet denselben mit der Vorliebe des Romanen für den Diphthong *ió* und seine Abneigung gegen *ío, ía.* Mirisch[1]) widerlegt diese Ansicht durch Hinweis auf it. *allegría* u. dgl.; nach ihm sei es der Zweck der Accentversetzung gewesen, die Herkunft eines Deminutivs besser erkennen zu lassen; so hätte z. B. ein **aranjólus* besser zu *vl. aránja* gepasst als ein *araniolus.* Nach Willenberg jedoch — *Zschr. f. neufr. Spr. u. Litt.* III, 1882, p. 562, u. *Rothenberg* p. 63 — sollte dadurch dem Suf. grössere Schallfülle verliehen werden, um den Verfall zu verhüten, dem ein tonloses Suf., das zudem nicht mehr bildungsfähig sein kann, ausgesetzt ist. Schwan (in seiner altfr. Gr.) hält die Tonversetzung für die Folge der Konsonnifizierung des Hiatus *-i*, wogegen auch Mussafia auftrat.[2]) Neumann[3]) erklärt sich ebenfalls gegen Schwan und kommt dabei der Ansicht Willenbergs nahe; ihm schliesst sich auch Meyer-L. — *Gr.* §§ 593, 598 — an. Eine neue Hypothese bringt Cohn — p. 243 —, indem er eine vl. Gemination des *l* und dadurch bewirkte Tonversetzung annimmt, wogegen Schwan[4]) richtig bemerkt, *ǫ* wäre dann gedeckt geworden und hätte sich anders entwickeln müssen.

Erfreuen wir uns auch noch nicht der Lösung dieses Rätsels, eines ist sicher: auch im Rät. spielte das Suf.

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[1]) cf. p. 28 ff.

[2]) cf. die Ansichten Hornings in *Zschr. f. r. Ph.* VII, p. 572, u. die von Meyer-L. in *Zschr. f. r. Ph.* VIII, p. 238.

[3]) cf. *Zschr. f. r. Ph.* XIV, p. 547 f.

[4]) cf. *Zschr. f. neufr. Spr. u. Litt.* 1891, XIII, p. 192 f., p. 201.

-iólus — statt *-iolus, -éolus* — eine Rolle und zwar keine unbedeutende, wenn wir die unten angeführten Flurnamen überblicken.

In den wenigen Fällen, wo l. *-ŏlus, -a* unbetont blieb, synkopierte dieses Suf. sein nachtoniges *ŏ* und ging, wie im Franz., mit *-ŭlus* gleichen Weges — cf. § 15 ff. Tonwechsel indessen war Regel und diese Fälle seien zunächst betrachtet.

§ 2. Die westlich vom Albula häufig für l. **-iólus* auftretende Form *-i̯el* (geschr. *-iel*) setzt die Zwischenglieder *-*i̯ólu, *-i̯úolu *-i̯üel, *-i̯iel* voraus, deren Diphthong durch das auslautende *u* der l. Akkus.-Form bedingt ist, wie aus *M-L.* §§ 152, 186, u. *Gartn.* §§ 45, 46 erhellt; z. B.

1. oberl. *ansiel*, junge Ziege, — l. **haediolu;* cf. *M.-L.* § 291;

2. oberl. *bigniel*, kl. Waschzuber, — l. *balneolu;* cf. it. *bagnuolo;*

3. oberl. *cavriel*, eine Eulenart, — l. *capreolu;* cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 1622.

4. surs. *clavaziel*, Bergstall, aus l. **clavatiolu;* cf. r. *clavau*, Stadel, u. unten § 14 No. 29;

5. oberl. *kigniel*, Hündchen, — l. **caniolu;*

6. oberl. *kilschiel*, Strumpf, — l. **calceolu;*

7. oberl. *kischiel* — l. **caseolu;* cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 1705.

8. Diss. *lintsi̯el*, oberl. *lanziel* — l. *linteolu*;

9. surs. *persiel*, Gesimse, — l. *paradisiolu;* cf. § 3 u. § 14 No. 76 u. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 5881;

10. oberl. *pigiel*, Fusssocke — l. *pediolu*; cf. wal. *picior*, Fuss, u. *Du Ca. pedioli, pedules;*

11. oberl. *pariel* u. *priel*, Kessel, aus ml. *pariolu* zu kelt. *pair, per*, Schüssel, auch hl. Graal; cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 5896;

12. surs. *rudiel*, Radfelge, — l. **rotiolu;* cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 6994;

13. oberl. *tarschiel*, Strick, zu r. *tretscha, id.*; cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 8356;

14. r. *gugliel*, grosse Nadel, — l. **(a)cuc(u)liolu*; cf. *Kört. l.-r. W.* 125; *Gröb. Z.* XI, 267; *Rom.* XV, 452; *Herr. Arch.*, LXXXVII, p. 106.

§ 3. Als Plural des Suffixes erscheint in den Büchern des berührten Gebietes *-éuls,* das nach *Gartn.* § 46 in Dissentis *-ọ́ults,* und in Schweiningen *-ọ́ults* lautet und geradenwegs auf l. *-(i)ọ́los* zurückgeht. Diese vom Sing. differierende Entwickelung des l. *ọ́* beruht nach *M.-L.* § 186, und *Gartn.* § 45 auf dem Einflusse des folgenden *o*-Vokales im l. Plur. Akk. auf *-os;* z. B.

1. Diss. *lintsọ́ults,* oberl. *lanzéuls* — l. *linteólos;* cf. § 10.

2. Schweiningen *andzọ́ults* — l. **haediolos.*

3. Diss. *perséuls* — l. **paradisiolos;*

4. obw. *calschéuls* — **calceólos.*

Anm. In allen diesen Fällen gab es einen ursprünglichen Plur. auf *-i̯éuls, -i̯óults,* dessen *i̯* durch vorhergehenden Palatal assimiliert wurde.

§ 4. Der Plur.-stamm des Suf. auf *-éul, -ọ́ul* etc. — cf. § 3 — hat an mehreren Orten des berührten Gebietes in einigen Fällen den alten Sing. auf *-iel* verdrängt, wohl wegen seltenen Gebrauches der betr. Wörter im Sing. So gibt *Gartn.* § 46 für Schweiningen *andzọ́ul* und *kaltšọ́ul.* Weitere Beispiele:

1. oberl. *pignieul,* kl. Tanne, — l. **pineolos* zu *pineus, -a;* cf. it. *pignolo,* Zirbe, und *Du Ca. piniola;* cf. *Mirisch* p. 19.

2. oberl. *barscheul,* Tragriemen, — cf. l. *brāchĭŏlum,* Sessellehne.

3. r. *chireul,* Milbe zu r. *chira, chüra,* Motte.

Anm. Oberl. *aveul,* Biene, — zu l. **api̯ólos-, raveul,* Krautkräpfchen, — zu l. **rapi̯ólos* von *rapum* —, bei denen der Ausfall des *i̯* durch keinen Palatal sich rechtfertigt, müssen auf einem sekundären Plur. in *-*euls,* statt *-i̯euls,* beruhen.

§ 5. Als dialektische Nebenformen, welche ebenfalls aus dem Plur. sich erklären, sind folgende oberl. Wörter anzusehen:

1. *raviúl* — *rapiolos;*

2. *chirúl* — durch Attraktion über **chiriul;* cf. *chireul* § 4;

3. Mit Palatal vor dem Suf.: *calschul,* Strumpf; *cagnul,* Hündchen; *pignul,* kl. Tanne.

§ 6. Surs. *pignell,* kl. Tanne, dessen Plur. auf *-euls*

endigt, geht somit auch auf l. *-iolum* zurück; es handelt sich hier um Verschiebung des früheren *iel* — cf. § 2 — zu *-i̯él*; cf. *Cohn* § 243 ff.; *Meyer-L.* im Litbl. V, 17.

§ 7. L. — **iŏlu* wird im obersten *E.* zu *i̯ol* und *i̯oul*; cf. *M-L.* § 184; somit l. **apiolu*, **rapiolu* zu *O. E. aviól, raviól.* — Mit vorhergehendem Palatale assimiliert sich auch hier das *i̯* des Suf.; z. B.

O. E. bratschol — l. *brachiolu*; *figlióul*, Patenkind — l. *filiolu.*

§ 8. In den übrigen Teilen des Engadins erscheint *-iólus* als *-i̯öl*; *ö* steht hier als aus l. *ŏ* hervorgegangen in einem r. Oxytonon vor einfachem Kons.; cf. *Gartn.* § 48; z. B. *E. aviöl; chavriöl; O. E. padriöl*, Trichter, zu l. *patera?* cf. *Körl. l.-r. W.* 5944.

Anm. Auch hier bedingter Schwund des *i*: *pijöl, O. E. püjöl*,[1]) Socken — l. *pediolu: uschöl*, kl. Fallthüre — l. *ostiolum*; cf. *Körl. l.-r. W.* 5794;

E. scrigniöl, Schrank — l. **scriniolu.*

§ 9. Bildungen auf *-aröl*, dem it. *-aruolo*, nfr. *-erol* entsprechen — cf. *Diez Gr.* II p. 282 — sind selten, während im Franz. halbgelehrte Wörter dieser Art häufiger vorkommen; cf. *Cohn* p. 260 ff., und *Mirisch* p. 19; z. B. *E. barcharöl*, Schiffer; *E. bognaröl*. Waschzuber, zu r. *bogn*, Bad; *E. pischaröl*, Betts.. cher; cf. it. *pisciare* u. it. *pisciarello*, blassroter Wein.

§ 10. Das *E.* weist die Pluralformen *-(i)oelts* und *-(i)ous* statt **-(i)óls* auf, diese die ältere, jene die jüngere aus dem Sing. neugebildete; z. B. Samaden *uzoelts* zu *uzoel* = **haediolus*; cf. *Gartn.* §§ 46, 48; *U. E. chatschous* — l. **calceolos; linzous* — l. *linteolos*; *avious, aviölts* — l. **apiólos.*

§ 11. Die weibl. Form des Suf. hat sich im ganzen Kantone fast unverändert als *-ióla*[2]) — cf. *Gartn.* § 46 — erhalten; das *ŏ* widerstrebte nämlich überall der Diphthongierung zu *ie*, was nach *M.-L.* § 186 dem Einflusse des folgenden *a* — im Gegensatze zu folgendem *i* oder *u* — zu verdanken

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[1]) Hier *ü* durch labialen Einfluss; cf. *M.-L.* § 35, *Gartn.* p. 198.
[2]) *i* hat dasselbe Schicksal wie beim Mask.

ist. Im *E.* erscheinen davon die mundartlichen Variationen *-ola, -óula* und *-ogla,* für die man auf *Gartn.* § 48 hinweisen kann — l. *ŏ* in r. Paraxytonis vor einfachem Kons., z. B.

Diss. *andzola,* Schwein. *andzōlę,* Samad. *uzógla,* Schleins *azōla, U. E. asoula* — l. **haediola; E. figlioula,* oberl. *figliola* — l. *filiola*; oberl. *nitschola, E. nitschoula,* Haselnuss — l. **nuceola*; cf. *Mirisch* p. 19, u. *Kört. W.* 5663.

Anm. 1. In r. surs. *pignóla,* kl. Tannen, und andern Wörtern auf *-(i)ola* muss dieser Ausgang als Koll. Plur. zu einem Mask. auf *-iolus* aufgefasst werden.

Anm. 2. Attraktion des *i* an die vorhergehende Silbe fand statt bei:

E. cuderóula, chüdiroula, gr. Kessel — l. **caldariola;* cf. *Kört. W.* 1501; *gartirola,* Reibeisen, zu r. *grattar,* kratzen, germ. **krattôn;* cf. *Kört. W.* 4575; *lattaroula,* Milchspeise — l. *lactariola;* cf. *Cohn* p. 260 ff., u. fr. *laiterol* u. it. *lattajuola,* Milchfrau; *virola* — l. *variola;* cf. *Kört. W.* 8580.

§ 12. Suf.-Wechsel lässt sich vermuten bei *U. E. faschöl* etc., it. Bohne, aus l. *fasĕlu,* gr. *φάσηλος* — cf. *M.-L.* § 17; doch eher von it. *fagiuoli;* cf. *Kört. W.* 6110.

§ 13. Ausser den bereits angeführten Wörtern — und diese sind sämtlich Substantiva; Adjektiva wie im Ital. finden sich keine — haben sich nur wenige mehr auf *iólus* im Westrät. erhalten, wo überhaupt dieses Suf. die Fähigkeit, neue Bildungen ins Leben zu rufen, verloren hat. Auch der ursprünglich ihm innewohnende deminutive Sinn ist allenthalben erloschen; bei manchen, wie z. B. bei *chüdiroula* — cf. § 11 — ist das Suf. sogar augmentativ geworden. Die lat. Stammwörter sind fast ausnahmslos Substantiva; nur *pischaröl* — § 9 — u. *tagliola* — cf. § 11 — gehen auf Verba zurück.

II. In bündnerischen Flurnamen.

§ 14. 1. L'acla dils ansauls (Tiefenk.) = der Maiensäss der kl. Ziegen; *acla,*[1]) schw. d. Maiensäss, ist eine Art Voralpe, d. h. ein Ort, wo man im Mai sitzt; *ansauls*[2]) ist Plur. zu *ansiel;* cf. *Schn.* p. 31 *campus.*

[1]) Von l. *áccola;* cf. *Pallioppi* p. 6. [2]) Hier *-auls* statt *-ųls.*

2. Aguagliöls[1]) (Silvapl.) = kl. Bäche, aus **auqualiólos* von l. *aqualis*; cf. *U. E. aguaigl*, Bach, u. tir. d. *Wahl m.*, Bewässerungsgraben; cf. *Buck* XII *aqua*.

3. Airóla (Soazza) von l. *arĕŏla*, Gartenbeet; in Italien viele Orte wie *Airola, Airole, Ajola;* urk. ein *Ariola* bei *Odorici J.* 958; cf. No. 51; cf. *Kört. W.* 719.

4. Aríal[2]) (Alven.) aus **airólus* zu l. *area*, Tenne, ebene Fläche; cf. it. *ajuolo*, Vogelherd u. O. *Airolo* am St. Gotthard.

5. Bagníal (Stürvis), Bagniel (Präz), Bignial (O. Vatz), Bigniel (Trins) von l. *balneolum*, kl. Bad.; in Ital. viele *Bagnolo*.

6. Biglíel (Waltensb., Somvix, Levgiein, Ruaun) = kl. Trog aus r. *begl, bügl*, Trog; dieses aus l. **(al)veŏe(u)lu?*; cf. *Schn.* p. 2. *Albi*; cf. *Pall.* p. 118.

7. Bosciol (Lostallo) zu r. *böṣch*, Baum?

8. Braggiole (Brusio) = kl. Brachfelder zu r. *brachar*, brechen, d. h. pflügen, ohne zu säen; cf. *Pall.* p. 112.

9. Braiel (Mons) cf. No. 8.

10. La Prada de Brinzouls (Tiefenk.) = die Wiese von Brienz; dieser O. urk. als *Brienzols* bei *Moor* I. J. 1221.

11. Cabbiolo[3]) (Lostallo) = kl. Höhlung zu l. *cavea*; cf. *Alton* p. 42 *Gábia*.

12. Cadgianoel (Vicosopr.) = Haus des kl. Johann; cf. *Alton* p. 44 d. N. *Janál* aus *Johannes*; cf. *Schn.* p. 242 d. N. *Zanol, Zanollo*; ferner über die *Ca*-Namen *Muoth* p. 26 f.

13. Calcairola (Soglio) zu *ml. calcaira*, Kalkofen; cf. *Schn.* p. 28; in Ital. viele O. wie *Calcariola*; cf. No. 1477.

14. Champagnoula (Celerina) = kl. Flur; ein *Pradum in Campaniola* bei *Moor* I J. 766; ein *la Campaniola* bei *Odorici* III. J. 772; 6 *Campagnola* im it. *P. L.*

15. Campascöl (Brusio) spr. — *ṣöl* aus l. *camp(us)* + *-ace(us)* + *-(e)ól(us)*; cf. *Mirisch* p. 26.

16. Canasauls (Levgiein) = „Kitzbühl“ zu r. *con*, Hügel, + *asauls*, kl. Ziegen; cf. *Alton* p. 32: *Chanacia*, dieses aber von l. *canna*; cf. *N.* 20.

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[1]) cf. *Pall.* p. 26. [2]) Hier und sonst *-ial* für *íęl*; cf. § 2. [3]) Hier und sonst *-olo* nur italianisierte Schreibung des Suffixes.

17. Chamütschöl (St. Maria M.) zu r. *chamuotsch*, Gemse.

18. Canariel (Somvix) cf. *Du Ca. caneria = arundinetum*, Binsenfeld; auch viele it. *Canera, Cannara* (*P. L.*).

19. Crest-Candaul (Waltensb.) = hoher (*aul*) Eck (*cant*) — Bühl (*crest*)?

20. Chanschaschoulas (Fettan) = *chants-asoulas*, „Kitzbühl"?; cf. No. 16.

21. Carasole[1]) (Roveredo) nicht = *caro sole*, wie mein Gewährsmann glaubt, sondern zu l. *quadruvium*, Kreuzweg, wovon auch it. O. wie *Carrobiólo* (*P. L.* u. bei *Odorici* J. 1220).

22. Carditschola (Präz) zu r. *quadra*, Feldparzelle + *-icióla* (cf. *Götz.* p. 40, u. *Schn.* p. 33 *Carestel*, u. p. 131), od. zu l. *carduus:* cf. No. 26.

23. Ils Careuls (Degen) zu r. *quader*, Steinblock; cf. it. O. wie *Caroli*.

24. Cargiel (Andeer); cf. No. 23.

25. Cargnola (Tiefenk.) zu r. *(in)carna*, Winkel, eingehegtes Grundstück, aus l. *cardinem*.

26. Carola (Chur) = *quadrola* zu r. *quadra;* cf. No. 22.

27. Val Cavarnola (Vigens) = „Höhlen-Thal" zu r. *caverna*.

28. Cavazolas (Degen) zu r. *cavazola*. Achsenvorsprung u. Ackerrain, eig. kl. Kopf; cf. *Götz.* p. 21 *capitium*; cf. No. 131.

29. Clavaziel (Vrin) = kl. Heustadel; der Flur N. *Tlavadiel* aus l. **tabulateólum* (cf. *Muoth* p. 36) spräche für die Ableitung von r. *clavau*, Stadel, aus l. *tabulatum* (cf. *Götz.* p. 79. *Tablat*); cf. § 2.

30. Cortiole (Brusio) zu l. *c(o)hortem*, Viehhof; cf. *Schn.* p. 47 *Corte*, u. *Götz.* p. 57 *Gártis*.

31. Crischól (Zernetz) zu r. *crusch*, l. *crucem*.

32. Cugniel (Scharans, Lufis), Cungnial (Präz) von l. *cuneolus*, Zwickel zw. 2 Bächen, Winkel; in Ital. viele *Cognoli, Coniolo, Cugnioli;* cf. *Schn.* p. 44 *cóni*.

33. Cungiroula (Celerina) zu r. *cuogn*, l. *cuneus;* cf. No. 32.

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[1]) *-ole* hier it. *Plur. f.*

34. Curtgiroula (Mons) Dem. von r. *cultgira*, Flur etc., aus l. *cultura*.

35. Curtschaniel (Malix) zu r. *curtschin*, Baumgarten, aus l. **chorticinum*.

36. Dandengiels (Somvix) = **de-intus alneolos*. In den kl. Erlen?

37. Darvagniols (Salux) zu r. *darvun*, Bergbach, aus l. *draconem*; cf. *Rosa: dragú*.

38. Davigliel (Villa) = **ad aqualiolum?* cf. No. 2.

39. Dirolas (Waltensb.) = **ad arcolas* (cf. No. 3), od. zu r. *dir*, hart, brachliegend.

40. Discholas (Remüs) zu r. *dascha*, Tannenzweige, bresc. *dasa* (bei *Rosa*) = *ramo verde d'abete*.

41. Dremola (Lostallo) = **de retrum molam*, hinter d. Mühle.

42. Fairolas (Vrin) aus **fagariolas* = kl. Buchenbestände; cf. it. O. *Fararu, Favari, Fararo*, alle eher von *fagus* als von *faba*, wie ich auch *Pfüffers* nicht mit *Götz.* von *faba*, sondern trotz der urk. Schreibung *Favarias* von *fagus* ableite, was lautlich gut geht und dem Sinne nach vorzuziehen ist; auch in Deutschland kaum *ein „Bohnenfeld"*, aber Hunderte von *Buch, Buchau, Buchwald, Buchach*.

43. Las Fanolas (Alven.) nach m. Gewährsm. von *favuogn*, Föhn; eher doch zu d. *Pfanne*, grödn. *fana*.

44. Farirola (Filis., Bergün etc.) = kl. Schmiede, zu l. *ferraria*.

45. Fascholla (St. Maria M.) zu r. *fascha*, l. *fascia*, Binde, schmale Wiese; cf. l. *fasciŏla (G.)*, kl. Binde, u. *Schn.* p. 54 *Fassóle*.

46. Fastinous (Guarda) Plur. des Dem. von r. *fastaigen*, Rinne zum Herablassen des Holzes, von l. *fastigium*; cf. *Schn.* p. 178.

47. Gandajöla (Bondo) zu r. *ganda*, Steinhalde, *Val Camonica ganna;* cf. *Götz.* p. 57; *-ajöla* hier lomb. für l. **-ariola*.

48. Giazöl (V. Cava M.) zu *ml. gadium, gacium*, Wald; in Ital. viele *Gazzuolo Gaggiolo* etc.; cf. *Buck* XII. *gualdus: silva Gazolo* etc.

49. Graviroulas (Scanfs) zu r. *grava*, Kies; cf. *Buck* XII. *grava*, *Alton* p. 43 *Grávola*.

50. Griatschouls (Scanfs) zu r. *grava* + Suf. *-aceolus* im Plur.?

51. Laróla (Mons) = *illa* + *areola*, cf. No. 3.

52. Larschöla (V. Cava M.), Coll. Plur. von *larschöl* = l. **lariceolu* zu *larix*, Lärche.

53. Lizöl (Bondo) aus **lagaröl* = **lacuciolu* — ein See dieses Namens bei *Moor* II. *Nachtr.* — od. zu r. *lozza*, Schlamm, aus l. *lutea* — cf. *Zösm.* p. 9 *Ludesch* — od. zu ahd. *loz*, Looswiese — cf. *Schn.* p. 33 *Campo Lusso* u. *Du Ca. lizzus*.

54. Madanüel (Vals)[1]) u. Midinauls (Brigels) zu r. *meida*, *meidia*, Heuhaufen auf d. Bergen, l. *meta*.

55. Mafascioli (Brusio) von einem Fam. N., dieser zu *Matthaeus*; cf. *Schn.* p. 241.

56. Mandola (Vicosoprano).

57. Mariöl (Zutz) nicht mit d. O. *Maruel* (Walserth.) u. *Mariol* (Ultenth.) — cf. *Buck* XII. 217 f. — vom l. Gentil N. *Marius*, eher von r. *mar*, Meer u. Pfütze — cf. *Du Ca. mara* — od. von dem bei *Schn.* p. 239 vermuteten **mar*, Felsblock — cf. *Götz.* p. 65, 66 u. *Zösm.* p. 9; cf. No. 86.

58. Marmarola (Brigels, Degen) = Marmorbruch aus l. **marmoreus:* in Ital. Orte wie *Marmiróla*.

59. Marschiel (Ruaun) zu r. *marsch*. faul, l. *marcidus:* cf. *Schn.* p. 32.

60. Mortiröl (Taufers M.). Murtariel (Tinzen), Murtaröl (Cierfs M.) Murteröl u. Murteróus (Zernetz) zu r. *E. murtér, mortér*. höchste Alpenweide, Krummholzregion; dieses. nach meiner Ansicht, von l. *murta*, Myrte — cf. auch *Du Ca.* — + *-arium*, bezeichnete zunächst „einen mit Myrten bewachsenen Ort"; der altrömische O. *Murtariae* — bei *G.* — hatte seinen N. von der Myrte; cf. *Buck* XII *mortarium*; in *V. Camonica* nennt man die Alpenrosen *mordéne* (aus **murtinae*); l. **myrtillus* wurde auch auf die Heidelbeere — *vaccinium* — übertragen; der Morteratsch-Gletscher bei Pontresina heisst so nach einem nahen *murtér*; cf. No. 61.

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[1]) Der d. Dial. v. V. bewahrte das alte *üel*.

61. Laviner Murtiröl (Scanfs) = „Lawinenrinnsal der kl. hohen Alpenweide"; cf. No. 60.

62. Muttatschols (Samn.) zu r. *muott*, Bühl + *-aceolos.*

63. Nischöl (Fettan) = *in osteolu*, in der Öffnung; cf. § 8.

64. Nigleuls (Vrin) zu r. *ägla*, l. *ilicem*, Steineiche?

65. Padanöl (M.) zu it. *pedana*, unterer Rand eines Kleides, Fuss eines Berges — ähnlichen Sinn hat it. *falda* — kaum zu it. *pédina*, Riegel od. dem rätselhaften *pétina* bei *Buck* XII. od. *pátena*, Pfanne.

66. Panazolla (Ruschein) Koll. Plur. von l. **piniciolus*, kl. Tanne, od. = *pineta* + *-iola?*

67. Panols (Stürvis) zu *pinus?*

68. Lavinér digl Pariel (Filis.) = Lawinengang des Kessels.

69. Parniel (Malix).

70. Pazólas (Malix) = „kl. Flecken" zu *ml. petium*; cf. it. O. *Pezzole.* —

71. Pazoula (Guarda) = kl. Flecken; cf. No. 70.

72. Pizziel (Scharans) zu *petium;* cf. No. 70; viele *it. O. Pezzolo.*

73. Pignolla (Vrin), Koll. Plur. von l. **pineolus*, kl. Tanne; cf. No. 67.

74. Pignola (Bondo) cf. No. 67 u. 73.

75. Pigniel (Vrin) = l. **pineolus;* cf. No. 67 u. 73.

76. Perveseuls (Vrin) = l. **paradisiolos* zu *paradisus* — cf. § 2 No. 9 u. § 3 No. 3 —, das nach *Du Ca.* im *ml.* vielerlei bedeutete; cf. fr. *parris*; schr oft in r. Namen — cf. *Schn.* p. 83 *inferno* —; in Ital. viele *O. Paradiso, Paradisoni* etc.; *Proveis* im Nonsberg nach *Steub* aus **Paradisium.* In den d. Alpen oft Örtlichkeiten, wie „in den Himmeln" (am Aggenstein), „im Rosshimmel" (Galthür), „im Gemsenhimmel" (Plansee), diese alle sind schönes Weidegebiet, bezw. schwer zugängliche Stellen.

77. Plantisolas (Bergün) = „Jungholz" aus **planticiolas* zu r. *planta*, Baumstamm.

78. Planziel (Vrin) zu *ml. plantum*, Baumgarten *(Du Ca.).*

79. Planzolas (Duvin) von l. *planitia*, Ebene + *-iolas.*

80. Plattoulas (Campovasto) zu *platta*, Platte; cf. *Götz.* p. 33, u. *Schn.* p. 115, 122.

81. Plaziel (Filis.), Plazöl (M. Celer., Ardetz) zu r. *plaz* aus l. *platea;* cf. *Schn.* p. 121; in Ital. viele *Piazzolo.*

82. Pozzol (Lostallo) = l. *puteolus*, kl. Brunnen; cf. *Götz.* p. 39, *Schn.* p. 129, *Alton* p. 55; in Ital. viele *Pozzuolo;* cf. No. 95.

83. Pranzariöla (Vicos.) = l. **planitiariola?* — cf. *Alton* p. 56 *Pranseróres* — kl. Ebene; cf. No. 79, 84, 91.

84. Crest Pranzollas (Präz); r. *crest* = Hügel, eig. Kamm; *pranzollas* aber wie *Branzoll* an d. Etsch u. Schloss *Pranzoll* im Eisackth. durch Dissimilation aus **planitiolas*, bezw. *-um;* cf. No. 79, 83, 91.

85. Pratschós (Taufers M.) = l. **praticiolos* zu *pratum*, Feld.

86. Praumarielz (Vigens) — Feld d. kl. Pfützen; cf. No. 57.

87. Prazós (Ciefs M.); cf. No. 85.

88. Prazöl (Fuldera M.) = kl. Feld. cf. 85, 87.

89. Priel (Waltensb.) = Kessel; cf. No. 68.

90. Prau Priel (Flond) = Kesselfeld; cf. 68, 89.

91. Prinzeuls (Laax); cf. 84.

92. Prischóls (Bergün) = l. **prensiolos* zu *prensum* von *prendere*; it. *presa* — cf. auch *Du Ca.* — bedeutet in den Alpen eine Örtlichkeit, wo Holz gefällt wurde, zugleich auch ein gewisses Flächenmaass bei Waldrodungen; daher die vielen *Presa, Prese* etc. in Ital.

93. Prosansols (Surava) = **pratos* + **haediolos*, Kitzfelder; cf. No. 1.

94. Pumola (Duvin) = *apud molam?* cf. 41.

95. Puzzôs (Campov.) Plur., zu l. *puteus*; cf. 82.

96. Rancigliolas (Duvin) zu l. *rumex* fr. *ronce*, Sauerampfer — cf. *Schn.* p. 139 —; kaum zu *ml. runeus* od. ahd. *wranc*, gekrümmt.

97. Ransauls (Ruaun).

98. Rasola (Churw.) zu l. *rasus*, eben, platt; cf. *Du Ca. rasum* 3, fr. *rez-de-chaussée*, it. *raso* von l. *radere.*

99. Raversoi[1]) (Vicos.) zu l. *versare*, umpflügen; cf. it. *riversare*; in Ital. O. wie *Reverso*.

100. Ravigliel (Bergün) = Hahnenkamm — zu l. *ruga*? — cf. *Du Ca. ruba* = *ruga*.

101. Razöl (M.) zu *ml. raza* (*Du Ca*) = *fossa, canalis*; zu *arrogium*?

102. Reazous (Guarda) = Kitzbach? — *rivus* + **haediolos*; cf. 1. 93.

103. Riciöla (Castas.) zu l. *arrogium*, Wassergraben — cf. *Buck* XII *arrogium*; cf. tir. d. *Ritschn* = Wassergraben (Botzen).

104. Runcajöla (Stampa) zu *ml. runcus*, Rodung; cf. it. O. wie *Roncajola*.

105. Runchiola (Vigens) zu *ml. runcare*, roden.

106. Rungtgiel (Tinzen) zu *runcus*; cf. 104.

107. Sagliolas (Salux) zu r. *saglia*, Graben am Rande eines Ackers; cf. lad. *sala*, Rinne.

108. Plan Schauls (Surava) = **planiciolos* cf. 84.

109. Sasolas (Lufis) Plur. vom Koll. zu l. *saxum*; cf. it. *Sassuolo*.

110. Zanziola (Vals).

111. Pleun Schigiels (Somvix) zu r. *schitg*, dürrer Baum, — aus l. **exsuctus*, also „Ebene der kl. Dürren".

112. Sclivigiouls (Tiefenk.).

113. Settagiol (Lostallo), in d. Nähe ein Settaggio; dieses aus l. **sectaticum* (?), zu l. **sectare*, Heu mähen; cf. r. *sétter*, Schnitter, aus *séctor*.

114. Sinitols (Stürvis) = **signatólos*, kl. gezeichnete Grundstücke — cf. *Schn.* p. 128 f. —, kaum zu *sinus* — cf. *Schn.* p. 34 f.

115. Sinols (Filis.) zu l. *signum*, Zeichen.

116. Siséul (Alveneu) zu l. *saxum*; cf. No. 109.

117. Somtriel (Duvin) = **summum triviolum*, beim obersten Steig od. ganz oben beim Steig; r. *somm*, zu oberst; l. *trivium* lebt in r. *truig, trutg* u. tir. d. *Troja*, Viehpfad, fort; sonst könnte der N. von *coemeterium* od. mit d. fr. *sentier* u.

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[1]) *-oi* ist lomb. Plur. von *-ólus*.

it. *sentiere* von l. *semita*, Steig kommen; wie auch der Bach *Seteröl* am Gardasee von **semitariolu*. — cf. 135, 137, 562 f.; cf. *Gröber* in *Wölffl. Arch. f. l. L.* V. 465.

118. Sumnaul (Brigels) = kl. Saumweg; cf. surs. *saumna*, Saumweg.

119. Tagiola (Bondo) = kl. Hütte; cf. lomb. *teggia*, Hütte; cf. *Buck* XII *attegia*, u. *Schn.* p. 174, u. cf. No. 126.

120. Via della Tagliola (M.), = Weg des Baumstrunks zu r. *t.* = B., Hackstock; cf. 133, 134.

121. Ils Taglious (Guarda) Pl. von r. *tagliöl*, Prügel, zu *tagliar*, schneiden.

122. Tamül (u. *Tamuel*, Vals) A., zu r. *tumma*, Bergkuppe.

123. Tarschials (O. Vatz) = schmale Streifen Landes; cf. r. *tarschola*, Zopf, zu it. *treccia*.

124. Plang Tarscholas (Stürvis); cf. 123.

125. Tärziel (Scharans); r. *t.* ist ein Grundstück, das 3mal im Jahr gemäht wird; cf. l. **tertiolus* u. *Schn.* p. 56, u. *Mörisch* p. 9.

126. Tegiolas (Waltensb.); cf. 119.

127. Teolas (Vigens) zu r. *tiola*, Kienholz; dieses eher aus l. *taedula* (*Du Ca.*) = *parva taeda*.

128. Tersiel (Alven.); cf. 125.

129. Tganfola (Tiefenk.) zu l. *cannabis*, Hanf.

130. Tgiariel (Brigels) zu **kar*, Felsenmulde; cf. *Schn.* p. 39.

131. Tgavazola (Mons); cf. 28.

132. Davostigiolas (Salux) = hinter d. Sennhütten; cf. 119 u. 126.

133. Tigliolla (Vrin); cf. 120, 121.

134. Tiliolas (Samn.); cf. 120, 121, 133.

135. Triel (Villa) = l. **triviolum*, kl. Steig; cf. 117.

136. Tsches-aul (Vrin), hier kaum Suf.; eher = *caesum altum* „Hoher Hag"; bresc. *sesa* (aus l. **caesa*) = Verhau, Hecke, eingehegter Ort. Wie man den Berg *Schesaplana*, der auf d. Sprachgebiet gelegen ist, nicht einmal nach r., sondern nach it. Ortographie *Scesa plana* schreiben kann u. ihn trotzdem vom fr. *chaise* als „ebener Sitz" erklärt, ist unbegreiflich. Dieses etymolog. Verrenkungskunststück brachte wohl ein

einflussreicher Mann aus Seewies im Prät. fertig, der ausserdem noch in den Flurnamen dieser Gemeinde sämtliche Götternamen des Olymp u. der Walhalla entdeckt hat! Am ehesten bedeutet *Schesaplana* „breiter Hag".

137. Triós (Ardetz), Plur. von **triviolus*; cf. No. 135.

138. Valseuls (Alven.) = *valliciolos*, kl. Thäler?

139. Vazzola (Lostallo) zu it. *vazzo*, Furt, od. r. *vezz*, Tanne l. *radium*, bezw. **abeteus* od. zu r. *vat*, Bergterrasse.

140. Walerola (Taufers M.) zu **aqualis*, Bach + *-arióla*; auch im Algäu N. wie „*kleines Bachtl*" d. h. Bach-Thal; cf. 2.[1])

A) 2. l. -ŭlus, -a (nebst -ŏlus, -ĭlus, -ĕlus).

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 15. Es sei hier der lat. Wortausgang auf -ŭlus, *-a* behandelt, soweit er nicht den Suf. *-áculus*, *-éculus*, *-ículus*, *-úculus*, *-cŭlus* — cf. § 24 — 41 — angehört; mit ihm fielen der Ausgang auf -ŏlus, *-a*, z. B. in *diábolus*, mit Ausnahme des Falles, wo er dem Suf. *-éolus*, *-iolus*, angehört — cf. § 1 ff. —, ferner jener auf -ĕlus, *-a*, z. B. in *angelus*, schliesslich der auf -ĭlus, *-a*, und derjenige, der aus ursprünglichem *-ŭlus* durch Metathese entstanden war, wie in *stúmilus* aus *stimulus*, *stupila* aus *stipula* — cf. M.-L. § 28 —, lautlich zusammen; von jenen Fällen aber, in denen -ŭlus, -ŭla mit *-ellus*, *-a* wechselte — cf. § 56—64 —, sei hier zunächst abgesehen.

Die genannten -ŭlus *-a* etc., in denen der Nachton-Vokal grösstenteils ja schon in vulgärlateinischen Zeiten elidiert worden war — cf. M.-L. § 29 — finden wir in Graubünden meistens durch -*el*, das Fem. durch -*la* wiedergegeben, wobei der Vokal des Mask.'s nur als Stütz-*e* aufzufassen ist und desshalb auch nach *r*, z. B. in *scherl*, fehlt.

Beispiele: a) Maskulina:

1. r. *anzerkel*, Dachtramen, — l. **in -circulu;*

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[1]) cf. *Buck* XII *grumus* u. *palatium*, wo O. N. auf *-iólus* aus d. fr. Schweiz nachgewiesen sind.

2. r. oberl. *aungel.*, U. E. *anguel* — durch Metathesis; cf. M.-L. § 288 — l. *angelu*;

3. oberl. *bischel*, Teuchel, — l. *fistula* von r. *bist*, Baumstamm, beeinflusst;

4. r. *combel, chiembel*, gehäuft, — l. *cumulu*;

5. *giavel* — l. *diabolu*;

6. *gróffel* — l. *caryophyllum* — cf. *Kört.* 1699; *Gröber* in *Wölffl. Arch.* II 433; *Bugge* in *Rom.* III 147.

7. *módel* — l. *modulu*;

8. surs. *triembel*, Espe, — l. *tremulu*;

9. *tribel, trebel*, geizig, — l. *tribulum*, eine Distelart?

10. E. *scherl, schierl*, Tragkorb, — l. *gerulu*;

b) Feminina:

1. *ampla*, Lampe, — l. **lampula*;

2. *anfiarla*, Zweig, — l. *in* + *ferula*;

3. *aigla, airla* — l. *aquila*;

4. *buorla*, Schneeball, — zu l. **burra*, fr. *bourre*;

5. U. E. *brocla*, kl. Gebse, neben r. *brocca*, Kübel;

6. *brancla*, Handvoll, neben *brauca*, Hand;

7. oberl., U. E. *crousla*, Schneckenhaus, zu l. *corrosa* zu *corrodere*; cf. fr. *creux*;

8. *farcla* — l. *falcula*;

9. *franzla* — l. **frimbia* für *fimbria*; cf. *fringe;*

10. *frausla*, Hagebutte, neben *frosa* zu l. *fragea* = fr. *fraise.*

11. *frogla*, Hagebutte, — l. *fragula.*

12. U. E. *fronsla*, Zweige, aus **fronza* = l. *frondea?*

13. r. *furmicla*, Ameise, — l. *formicula*; cf. lomb. *furmingla*;

14. r. *giuncla*, Jochriemen; cf. *Du Ca. jungla* = *habenae jugales*;

15. *manidla*, kl. Holz, — l. **minutula*;

16. *mingla*, Bisschen, — l. *micula*;

17. *parrengla*, Sinngrün, — l. **pervincula*; cf. fr. *parvenche*;

18. *pendla*, Uhrgewicht, — l. *pendula*;

19. *pusterla* — l. *posterula*;

20. *rensla*, Steuer, — zu l. *reddere?*

21. *rodla*, Kügelchen, — l. *rotula*;

22. *E. sembla*, Krippenreif, — l. **cingula* — cf. it. *cinghia* —, wie r. *prümbla* aus *prunula*; cf. *Kört. W.* 1889;

23. *socla*, *soula*, Sockel, — l. *socculus*; cf. *Kört. W.* 7575;

24. *stubla*, E. *sturla*, Stoppel, — l. **stupila*;

25. r. *trapla*, Falle, neben *trappa* — aus dem Deutschen; cf. *Kört. W.* 8328;

26. U. E. *trocla*, Schachtel, neben r. *trucca*, Kiste — zu d. *Truhe*;

27. r. *urchicla*, Nessel, — l. **urticula*;

28. r. *vergla*, Rute, — l. *virgula*;

29. r. *vricla*, *vrücla*, Warze, — l. *verrucula*;

30. r. *zocla*, Knollen; it. *zoccolo*, Erdkloss, fr. *soc*, d. Stock; cf. *Du Ca. zucheus*, *zucus*, *zoca* = *truncus*; aber *Kört. W.* 1746.

Anm. Durch Synkope des nachtonigen *u* tritt manchmal das *l* dieses Suffixes an ein ursprüngliches od. sekundäres — aus *t* herrührendes — *c*, mit dem es sich zu *l'* od. *y* verbindet; cf. *Gartn.* § 200 *vetulus*.

§ 16. Das kombinierte Suf. *-ottel*, dessen it. Vertreter *óttolo* produktiver war, ist im Rät. selten: z. B. *furbazzottel*, Gauner, zu r. *furbazz*; cf. it. *furbo*.

§ 17. Vor dem Ausfalle des Nachtonvokales fiel das intervokalische *c* in folgenden Wörtern, in denen das *ŭ* des Suffixes sich erhalten hat:

1. *miula*, *meula*, O. E. *mievla*, Bisschen, — l. *micula* — cf. M.-L. § 38, 102, 103;

2. *picula*, Pech, — l. *picŭla*; cf. *Kört. W.* 6123.

3. *soula*, Sockel, — l. **soccula*.

§ 18. Der Ausgang *-el*, *-la* zeigt im Weström. vereinzelt Wechsel mit dem beliebten *-en*, *-na* — cf. § 87 —; z. B.

1. *E. büschen* neben *bischel* — cf. § 15;

2. *Heinz. chicchen*, Hosensch.. sser, l. **caculus*? cf. it. *cácole*, Ausscheidung triefender Augen, zu l. *cacare*;

3. *E. mouden* neben *model*; cf. § 15;

4. *pitschen*, klein, neben *piccolo*;

5. *puppen*, *poppen*, Kehle, Kropf — l. *pŭpulu*? cf. 6480 bei *Kört.*; cf. l. *pupilla*;

Anm. 1. Ähnlicher Wechsel bei oberl. *ansemmen*, zusammen — l. *in-simul*;

Anm. 2. l. *scandula* — cf. *Körl. W.* 7209 — ergibt das *Heinz.ische schelna*, Schindel, durch Metathesis **scan(du)la* — **scalna*;

§ 19. Auch für den analogen Wechsel von *-el, -la* mit *-er, -ra* gibt es im Weström. einige Belege:

1. r. *lavánder* u. *fandra*, Lavendel, — l. **lavandula*, Dem. zu *lavanda*, dieses zu *lavare*; cf. *Diez W. B.* I p. 245;

2. *quacra*, Wachtel — *ml. quácula*; cf. *Körl. W.* 4595, u. *Mackel* p. 74.

Anm. Eine ähnliche Metathese wie bei *schelna* — cf. § 18 — findet bei r. *cóller*, Haselstaude, statt; es kommt nämlich aus l. **cóllirus* statt *córylus, córulus*; cf. afr. *coldre.*

§ 20. Nur bei gelehrten Wörtern wird der Nachtonvokal bewahrt:

z. B. *pirola*, Pille — l. *pilula.*

§ 21. Westr. *-el, -la* führt nicht immer auf l. *-ĕlus, -a* zurück; es kann ferner noch entstanden sein aus:

1. l. *-ĭlis: ütel — utilis*; cf. § 46;

2. l. *-or, -ur* durch Dissimilation: z. B. *árcel*. Achse — l. *árbor*; *marmel*, Marmor, — l. *mármor*; *surfel* — l. *sulphur*;

3. l. *-ru(m)* durch Dissimilation: *cricel* — l. *cribrum*;

4. l. *-itu(m)*: oberl. *cumbel* — l. *cúbitu* — cf. *Diez W. B.* I p. 146;

5. l. *-lu(m)*: *dubel* — *duplu*;

6. l. *-idus*: *tuorbel*, trübe — l. *turbidu*;

7. l. *-ale(m)*: *ségel* neben *E. ségal* — l. *sécale*: cf. *Körl. W.* 7327; *Gröb. Z.* XV. 501;

8. d. *-el, -et: uaibel* — d. *Weibel*; *tozzel* — d. *Dutze(n)d*; *cula* — d. *Kugel*; *strirla* — d. *Streifen*; *kanzla* — d. *Kanzel* etc.

9. aus Verbalstämmen:

zierchel, Unkraut, zu l. *sarculare*, jäten.

§ 22. Bei einer grossen Anzahl derartiger Wörter lässt sich der Ursprung nicht sicher ermitteln:

z. B. *rembel*, Pfahl; *chambla*, Motte; *acla*, Maiensäss.

II. In bündn. Flurnamen.

§ 23. 141. Acla (Schmitten, Vrin, Samaden etc.) = Maiensäss; cf. 1 u. *Buck* XII *acla*, ferner bei *Rosa* das Wort *agrogn* (aus *V. Camonica*) = *monti con stalle, alpe* etc.

142. Si l'acla (Somvix) = auf dem Maiensäss; cf. 141.

143. Aclabiet (Ruschein) = M. des *Biet* od. *Biert*, dieses r. Fam. N. (zu ahd. — *berht*); cf. *Muot* 40, 41 u. No. 141.

144. Aclas (Scharans, Alven.), Plur. von *acla*; cf. 141.

145. Ándoi[1]) (Soazza); cf. it. O. wie *Ándolo*, *Ándali* u. Pers. N. *Andelbertus* von d. *Antperaht* — cf. *Schm.* p. 235.

146. Isla (Ruaun, Levg., Trins etc.) häufiger N., bedeutet seltener Insel als Au d. h. Land am Wasser, aus l. *i(n)s(u)la* über **isela* entstanden; cf. die vielen *Ischia* in Ital., Bad *Ischl* u. den O. *Ischgl* im Pazn., der im Marienberger Urbar als „*Ischgla sive Augia*“[2]) vorkommt; cf. *Schm.* p. 84 *Ischia* u. *Götz.* p. 62 *Islebêll*, das ich als „Schönau“ erkläre.

147. Islas (Silvapl., Scanfs etc.), Eigslas (Bergün), Eislas (Filis.), Igsles (Zutz) = l. *insulas*; cf. 146.

148. Isola-Persa (Pontres.) = verlorne Au; cf. 146.

149. L'Oisla (Surava) = *illa* + *insula*; cf. 146.

150. Las Oislas-miez (Surava) = „die Mitter-Auen“; cf. 149.

151. Oragiudacla (Ruschein) = aussen unter d. Maiensäss — cf. 141 — aus l. *fora(s)-jus(um)-d(e)-acla*.

152. Orlis (Malix) = an den Rändern; cf. it. *orlo*, Saum, r. *ur* zu l. *ora*; cf. *Du Ca. orlum*.

153. Ortivla (Lü M.) = Brennessel, od. eher mit Suf.-Wechsel aus l. **hortiva*; cf. *Gröb.* in *Wölffl. Arch.* VI. 148.

154. Urezzatiola (Samn.) aus r. *urezza*, steiler Abhang, + r. *tiola*, Kienholz; cf. 127.

155. Las Urticlas (Somvix) = in den Brennesseln; cf. 153.

156. Crap d'Evla (Salux) = Adlerstein; cf. § 15.

157. Pra Bavel (Süss).

158. Le Bettole (Brusio) = die Schenken, aus l. **bib(i)tulae*.

[1]) *-oi* ist lomb. Plur. — [2]) *ml. augia* von d. *Au*. —

159. Val birgel (Trins) zu ahd. *brugil*, Obstgarten; cf. *Buck* XII *Bergell.*

160. Fontauna de bischels (Levg.) = Teuchelquelle; cf. § 15.

161. Pra della botla (Lü M.) = Feld des Hügels; zu r. *botla*, Hügel; cf. fr. *bouter*, ahd. *bôzen*, emporschiessen, treiben.

162. Buottels (Celerina), Plur. des Dem. von r. *buott*, Hügel; cf. 161.

163. Chadangels (Bergün) u. Chadaunquel (Silvapl.) aus l. *casa* + *angelus* = Haus der Engel, bezw. des Engels; dieses wohl Abkürzung des Pers. N.'s *Angilbertus* — cf. *Muoth* p. 26.

164. Acla da Capaul (Brigels) = Maiensäss des C.; dieser Fam. N. aus *casa* + *Paulus.*

165. Val Carpettla (Stürvis) und ils Carpettels = Th. d. kl. Steine, bezw. d. kl. Steine, zu r. *crap*, Stein; cf. *Götz.*, p. 60.

166. Cengal (Bondo, Castas. etc.) = Felsen u. Weide darüber, Grasband; cf. *Götz.* p. 23, *Schn.* p. 41, 166, *Alton* p. 31, *Cendles*, welch letzteres den Einwurf *Götz.'s* gegen *Schn.* wieder aufhebt, allerdings gegen *M-L.* § 490; ich halte dieses dem *ml. cingulum* (*Du Ca.*) entsprechende Wort nicht für keltisch, sondern nehme Sinnesmischung von l. *cingulum*, Gürtel, Band + l. *singulus*, allein stehend — cf. *lomb. singul*, Felsblock — an.

167. Chengels (Bivio) Plur. von r. *chengel*, Fels; cf. 166.

168. Cingla (Somvix), Koll. Plur.; cf. 116.

169. Clavau dúbel (Duvin) = doppelter Stall; cf. 29, wo *clavau* aus l. *tabulatum* abgeleitet, aber auch Einwirkung v. l. *clavis* — das bei *Du Ca.* im Sinne von „eingeschlossener Ort" sich findet — nicht unmöglich; cf. 29, 446 f.

170. Cógol (Soazza) zu r. *cucc*, Stein u. bresc. *cogol* = *sasso rotondo*; cf. *Buck* XII *cucullus*; cf. bair. *Kochel*, tir. *Kogel.*

171. Cóller (Flond) = l. *corylus.*

172. Bosch da Cóler (Castas.) = Haselbusch; cf. 171.

173. Cólers (M.), Plur. v. *corylus*; cf. 171.

174. Denter Cóllers (Levg.) = zw. d. H.; cf. 171.

175. La Cólra (Fettan), Koll. Plur. zu No. 171.

176. Coldra (Fettan); cf. 175, u. *Schn.* p. 43, *Buck* XII *corylus.*

177. Uaul Cólera (Riein) = Haselbuschwald; cf. 175.

178. Fontauna della chongla (Lü M.) — Quelle der kl. Kanne.

179. Coul (Stürvis) zu r. *cúcel,* Grotte, überhängender Felsen; cf. it. *córolo,* Lagerplatz fürs Vieh unter Felsen; hier wohl Mischung von *carus,* hohl und *cubare,* liegen; cf. 184, 185.

180. Crimmels (Zernetz), Plur. zu l. *grumulus*, kl. Hügel, von l. *grumus,* Abhang, zu dem *Buck* XII *grumus* auch *Grimsel* stellt; cf. *Schn.* 83 *Grúmel.*

181. Crieppel (Filisur) = Felsblock; cf. *Gartn.* p. 5.

182. Cripla (Cierfs M.), Koll. Plur. zu 181.

183. Cristapendel (Celerina) = r. *crista,* Kamm, + r. *pendel,* alles was hängt, Abhang; cf. *Schn.* p. 114 *Petra pendula* = hangender Stein.

184. Cûel zoppa (Cierfs) aus r. *cuel* — cf. 179 — u. Koll. Plur. von r. *zopp, zupp,* Hanfröste, eig. „Pfütze"; cf. it. *zuppo* durchnässt; cf. 550.

185. Cufel (Felsb.), Cul (Samn., Zernetz); cf. 179.

186. Plandacúles (Samn.) = Ebene bei den Grotten; cf. 179.

187. Cúvel grond (Lü. M.) = gr. Grotte; cf. 179.

188. Platt Cúver (Levg.) = Platte + Grotte; cf. 179 u. *Götz.*, p. 59 *Gófere.*

189. Dácla (Ruschein) = l. *ad* + r. *acla*; cf. 1.

190. Dángal (Castas.) = l. *ad* + *angulum*, Winkel.

191. Dealfs (Tauffers M. u. Samn.), derartige N.en bei *Buck* XII *Tabr.*, von ahd. *delban,* graben, abgeleitet; ich denke eher an r. *ter,* Fichte, aus l. **taedus,* dessen Dem. *tae(d)ulus* ein **terl, *telc* ergeben hätte; cf. 127, 154, 243.

192. Fora dellas Diálas (Cierfs) = „Loch der Feen"; r. *diala* aus **diabola* ist ein weibl. Alpengeist; cf. 193.

193. Crapp dellas Diólas (Salux) = „Stein der Feen"; cf. 192.

194. Val dal Diavel (Zernetz) = Teufelsthal.

195. Disla (Vrin) = *ad insulam*; cf. 146.

196. Fórcla (Alven.) etc. = Engpass., Kluppe, aus l. *furcula*; cf. *Götz.* p. 25; cf. 197, 200.

197. Forcla Surláі (Pontresina) = Kluppe über dem See; cf. 196.

198. Fraschlas (Levg.), Fréigslas (Bergün) = Hagebutten.

199. Funtana merla (Fettan) = Amselquelle.

200. Fuorclas (Vrin), Plur.; cf. 196.

201. Guaduóttel (Lavin); cf. r. *aquadóttel*, Wasserleitung u. *Du Ca. aquaeductulus.*

202. Manédels (Ruschein) = kl. Grundstücke aus l. *minutulos.*

203. Marmels (Stürvis) Plur. von r. *marmel*, Marmor.

204. Fora dels marmels (Cierfs), Marmorloch.

205. Maróchel (Alven.); südtir. *marocco*, Bergrutsch, Trümmerfeld, u. *Schn.* p. 95.

206. Medres (Remüs) u. Miedra (Vrin) zu l. **metula*, kl. Heuhaufen?

207. Nauschtgel (Somvix) zu r. *nausch*, böse — aus l. *nausea.*

208. Néislas (Tiefenk.) = *in insulas*, in den Auen; cf. 147.

209. Pro di niával (Surava) = Nebelfeld.

210. Páischtels (Zernetz) = Weiden; Plur. zu l. *pasculum.*

211. Pascolo (Roveredo) = l. *pasculum.*

212. Pendles (Samn.) = Abhänge; Plur. zu l. *pendulum;* cf. *Schn.* p. 114, u. cf. No. 183.

213. La Penslas (Süss) u. Penzlas (Silvapl.), Plur. von r. *pensla*, Dachtraufe, Zinne, Rand, zu l. *pénsilis;* dieser N. stände besser bei Suf. *-ĭlis.*

214. Pérgola (Brusio) = Laube.

215. Porclas (Scharans) Porclis (Trins) = kl. Pforten, Lücken, zu l. *portulas.*

216. Provízel (Celer.) = Feld des *Vizel*; dieser Fam.N. aus ahd. *Wezilo*; cf. *Muoth* p. 44.

217. Réufla (Somv.) zu r. *rovna.* Erdsturz, Verb. Subst. von *rovinar*, verwüsten; cf. 922.

218. Via del Romûtel (M.) = Eremiten-Weg.

219. Rumbéttel (Alven., Brigels); cf. 218.

220. Rúnkel (Castas.) zu *ml. runcus*, Rodung; cf. *Schn.* p. 140, 141, 218, *Götz.* p. 42, *Alton.* p. 59.

221. Sáusla (Fettan) = kl. Sulz d. h. Salzauswitterung an Felsen; zu r. *salsa*, Sauce, Sulz, zu l. *salsus*; cf. it. O. wie *Salse* u. d. O. wie *Sulz*; cf. No. 601, 730.

222. Il Schaingel (Stürvis) = Stein; cf. No. 166.

223. Scheflas plaunas (Alv.) = *silvas planas*, breite Wälder; ein *Silva Plana* schon bei *Moor* I. J. 766; cf. No. 750.

224. Schegvel (Bergün) = Pfiff, zu l. *sibilare*; so kenne ich in Tir. eine Örtlichk. „*am Schnall*" vom „Schnellen d. Peitsche"; cf. 226.

224a. Schentgels (Vrin) = Steine; cf. 166, 222.

225. Pléun da Schlondas (Levg.) = „Schindelboden", d. h. Ebene, wo zu Schindeln passendes Holz wächst; r. *schlonda* durch Metath. aus l. *scandula*.

226. Döss del Schûbel (M.) = Rücken des Pfiffes; cf. 224.

227. Il Zerkel liber (O. Vatz) = der freie Kreis.

228. Sérlas (Campov.), Plur. von r. *serla* — zu l. *serare*, schliessen —, das meist „Gehege", bisweilen auch „Engpass, Schleuse" bedeutet u. Dem. zu r. **sarra*, **serra* ist — cf. *Buck* XII *sara* —; in Ital. viele O. *Sárola*, *Sérole*, *Sérle*; bei *Moor* I. J. 1156 ein *curtim de Serlis*.

229. Servíezel (Remüs) = r. *ser*, Herr, + *Viezel* — cf. 216 —; cf. *Muoth* p. 25, 44.

230. Séssels (Razen) = kl. Felsen; aus l. *saxulos*.

231. Spadla (Sins) = Schulter d. h. Bergvorsprung: N. wie „Achsel" u. Ächsele" (Dem.) auch oft in den d. Alpen; cf. it. Orte wie *Spadola*.

232. Spatla bella (Präz. Süss) = „schöne Achsel", Spatlas (Süss), Spedlas (Celer.); cf. 231.

233. Stabal (Bondo), Stafel (St. Martin), Stagels (St. Maria M.), il Stavel (Alven., Trins), Stävel (Vals), Stavels (Guarda), Stevel (Celer.), Stevels (Zutz), zu l. *stabulum*, Lagerplatz fürs Vieh.

234. Stabalchot (Zernetz) = *stabulum calidum*; cf. 233.

235. Stavel-crap (Somv.); cf. 233 u. r. *crap*, Stein.

236. Stábel-véder (Vrin) = l. **stabulum* + *veterem*, alt.

237. Stavel-vegl (St. Maria M.), Staval-vigl (O. Vatz) = l. **stabulum* + *retulum*.

238. Stiefal (Tinzen) zu r. *Stiefel* = *Cristóforus* — cf. *Muoth* p. 42.

239. Stribla bella (Cierfs M.) u. S. lunga = schöner, bezw. langer Streifen; cf. 240.

240. Striblas (V. Cava M.) = schmale Güter cf. 239.

241. Suschíetels (Süss); so heissen die Einwohner von r. *Síosch*, Süss, welcher O. an *ml. susta* — zu *substare* —, Unterstandsort, Holzschoppen erinnert; cf. 284.

242. Davos stúmbels (Degen) aus r. *davos*, hinter, = l. **de-abvorsum* + r. *stumbel*, Stock zum Antreiben des Viehes, = l. **stumilum*.

243. Tealf (Alven.), Telfs (Sins), Tels (M.); cf. 191.

244. Tierkel (Razen) aus l. *torculum*, Kelter.

245. Paliú tiólas (Villa) = Sumpf + Kienstöcke; cf. 154.

246. Tóbel (Andeer) zu it. *toro*, Holzriese; cf. *Schm.* p. 177, u. *Buck* XII. *Tob b*).

247. Tombel (Soglio) z. l. *tumulus*, Hügel; cf. it. Orte, wie *Tombolo*.

248. Igls Trembels (Salux) = „Espen" zu l. *tremulus*.

249. Tschangúeles (Samn.) = r. *chant*, Eck, + Plur. von *cúel*, Gufel; cf. 179.

250. il Tschengel (Waltensb.), Tschendschels (Bergün etc.), Tschengels (Felsberg); cf. 166.

251. Tschierchel (Celer.) aus l. *circulus*, cf. 227; in einem Urbare von 1270 aus d. bischöfl. Archive zu Brescia die Örtlichkeit *ad Circulum in Bornico* am Gardasee.

252. Tschengel la serp (Trins) = Schlangenfels; cf. 250.

253. Tschingels (Chur); cf. 250.

254. Tumblas (Levg.) zu r. *tumma*, Bergkuppe?

255. Palas Tumel (St. Martin) aus Plur. von r. *pala*, Kelle, Mulde — cf. *Alton* p. 51 *para* — + r. *tumel* = l. *tumulus* — cf. 247; *pala* in r. Berg. N, nicht weniger oft als

„Kelle“ in deutschen; cf. den *Köllespitz* bei Füssen, der von weiland der Königin-Mutter v. Bayern in „Höllenstein“ umgetauft wurde; cf. 398.

256. Prau Viezel (Flond); cf. *Muoth* p. 44, u. No. 216, 229.

257. Waldurtschilas (O. Vatz) = Brennesselbach; cf. 155.

258. Muttawattles (Samn.) = Matte mit d. kl. Bücheln; cf. 161. [1])

A) 3. l. -ăcŭlus, -a.

I. In westr. Appellativen.

§ 24. In diesem. im Rät. seltenen Suf., wie auch in den ähnlich gebildeten *-ĕcŭlus, -icŭlus, -ŭcŭlus*, fiel, soweit nicht Wechsel von *-culus* mit *-cĕllus* — cf. § 56 ff. — eintrat, das nachtonige *ŭ* — cf. *Diez Gr. II* p. 324 —: die Gruppe *cl* gestaltete sich dann in Graubünden zu *l'* od. *ly*, wie *Gartn.* schreibt — § 66 —; in den Büchern erscheint dafür *gl*. Somit wurde l. *-ăculu* zu r. *-aigl;* z. B.

1. *bataigl*, Glockenschwengel, — l. **batuăculu;* cf. it. *battaglio* u. *batacchio; Diez W. B. I.* 59.

2. *spuantaigl*. Vogelscheuche, — l. **exparentaculu*; cf. it. *spaventacchio;*

3. *travaigl*, Mühe, — **trabaculu.*

Anm. Der Plur. *-ăcula* fiel lautlich mit dem Plur. *-ălia* zusammen; r. *pendaglia*, Gehänge — cf. it. *pendaglia* neben *pendaglio* — setzt ein l. **pendacula* zu *pendere* voraus; cf. *Cohn* 27, 28.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 25. Es war nicht ein sicherer Beleg aufzufinden.

[1]) Zu diesem Suf. ist auch d. N. v. *Torbole* am Gardasee zu stellen, nach *Schn.* von *turba*, Schaar, meiner Ansicht nach zu it. *turba*, Torf; cf. it. *turbiera*, Torfmoor.

A) 4. l. -ēculus, -a, ĭculus, -a, u. -īculus, -a.

I. In westr. Appell. [1])

§ 26. L. *-ēculus* u. *-ĭculus* fielen in *vl. *-ęclu* zusammen, auf welche Form das oberl. Suf. *-eigl.* zurückgeht — cf. *Gartn.* § 42: l. *ē, ĭ* vor Kons.-Gruppen etc. —; z. B.

1. oberl. *soleigl*, Sonne, — l. *sŏlĭculu*;

2. *ureigl, ueigl*, Bienenstachel, — l. **acŭ́iculu*;

3. *nuscheigl*, Kern, — l. **nucĭculu*; cf. *nuciela*, Nüsschen (*G*);

4. oberl. *bardeigl*, Vorspannseil, zu fr. *bride*; cf. *Kört.* W. 1342;

5. *gateigl*, Kätzchen, — l. *cattellu* mit Suf.-Wechsel? od. eher von **cattĭculus*; cf. *Kört.* 1739.

Anm. Oberl. *ischell*, Achse, ebenfalls von *axĭculus;* cf. *Kört.* 953.

§ 27. Oberl. *-eigl* kann aber ferner noch herkommen aus:

1. l. *-ĭlium*: *cusseigl* — l. *consĭlium*;

2. l. *-ĭlis, -ĭle: nuceigl*, Viehstall, aus l. *orĭle*, jedoch liegt hier Wechsel mit *-ĭculus* vor, wozu l. *orĭcula* den Anstoss gegeben haben mag.

3. l. *-ellus*: *fumeigl*, Knecht, — cf. it. *famiglio* — aus l. **famellus* — cf. lomb. *famél*, Plur. *-ei*, Knecht —; *-eigl* aus *-ellus* deutet aber auf einen neuen Wechsel von *-ellus* mit *-ĭculus* hin; *famīlius* — cf. *Kört.* 3132 — scheint mir hier ausgeschlossen.

Anm. In einzelnen Mundarten freilich, wie nidwaldisch — cf. *M-L.* § 34 — kann *eilg* auch auf l. *ī* + *l'* zurückgehen.

§ 28. Im *E.* von Samaden bis Schleins entwickelt sich *vl. *-ęclu* zu *-ail'* — geschr. *aigl*, fällt also hier mit l. *-ŭculu* — cf. § 24 — lautlich zusammen; z. B. *sulaigl* — *sŏlĭculu; aquaigl* — **acŭculu*; *brüdaigl* (s. o.); *carpaigl*, Stein-

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[1]) cf. *Grö.Z.* II, 539; *Kört. Z.* III, 562; *Koschwitz, Phon. expérim.* p. 14 ff.

chen — *crap*; *curnaigl*, Krähe, — **cornīculu* — cf. fr. *corneille*, u. *Cohn* p. 151 ff.

Anm. Geht dem Suf. *-aigl* ein *l* voraus, so tritt Apokope des *-gl* ein von Zernetz bis Münster — cf. *Gartn.* § 63; z. B. *sulai* — *solīculu*.

§ 29. R. *-aigl* konnte ferner hervorgehen aus l. l. *-ĭlium* im *U. E.*: *cussaigl* — *consilium*; 2. l. *-ellus* (s. o.): *E. famaigl*; 3. l. *-allus* in ganz Graubünden — cf. § 56: *cavaigl* — *caballus*; 4. l. *-alis* durch Verwechslung von r. *-al* mit r. *-aigl* aus *ĭculus*: *U. E. aguaigl* — l. **aqualis*.

§ 30. Die Fem.-Form des Suffixes ist:

1. *-eiglia* (spr. *el'a* bis *-ăl'a*) für Oberl., *O. E.*, Samn. u. M.;

2. *-aiglia*, *-aglia* (spr. *al'a*) für *U. E.* von Samad. bis Schleins; hier fällt sie mit l. *-ália* u. *-ácula* zusammen; z. B.

ad 1. cf. *Gartn.* § 200 *auricula*; *purteiglia* — l. *porticula*; oberl. *treiglia*, Holzbett im Stalle, — l. *trabicula*;

ad 2. *uraglia* — *aurĭcula*; *aquaglia*, Nadel — *acŭcula*; *straiglia*, *straglia*, Gässchen — l. **straticula* — bei *Du Ca. Stratticciola* als Flur-N. aus d. J. 1048; Nebenform oberl. *streia* — cf. *Gartn.* § 65.

Anm.: *-eiglia* kommt auch von *-ĭlĭca* u. *-ĭlia*: *baseiglia* — l. *basilica*; *tschischeiglia*, Blindschleiche — l. *caecĭlia (G.)*.

§ 31. Mehrere Wörter setzen l. *-ĭculus* voraus:

1. *E. rantrigl*, Wade — l. **ventrĭculus* (statt *-ĭculus*); cf. it. *ventriglio*;

2. *fanestrigl*, Fensterläufer;

3. *O. E. ischigl*, Achse — **axĭculus*;

4. *curnĭglia*, Krähe — *cornĭcula*;

5. *lentiglia* — *lentĭcula*;

6. *E. claviglia* — *clavĭcula*; cf. Litbl. 1891 Sp. 304.

Wenn man auch *rantrill*, *clavilla* etc. findet, so liegt hier eine Verwechslung mit *-ĭlis* vor — cf. § 53, da *satill* neben *stigl (E.)* l. *subtilis* erscheint, eine Verwechslung, die zunächst durch das Zusammenfallen von l. *ĭcula* u. *ĭlia* — cf. § 54 — bedingt war; ähnliches im Afr. seit dem 8. Jhdt.; cf. *Cohn* § 154 ff.

§ 32. Folgende Wörter lassen erkennen, dass sie entlehnt sind:

1. *E. prigel, prievel* — l. *periculu*;
2. *spiegel, spievel, spejel* — *speculu*;
3. *turnigel*, Wirbelwind — **turniculu?* cf. *Kört.* 8245 bis 8247.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 33. 259. Alpilles (Süss), aus l. **alpicula* zu r. *alp*, Alpenweide; *alpi* heissen auch die Weiden in den Apenninen — cf. *Rosa: alp.*

260. Arpiglia (Zutz, etc. etc.). aus l. *alpicula*; cf. *arp* = *alpe* in *V. Soana*; cf. 259, u. *Palioppi* p. 62.

261. Arpigliettes (Süss); cf. 260.

262. L'Argeglia (Razen), Arschiglia (Filis., etc.), mit Suf.-Wechsel aus l. *argilla*. Lehm.

263. L'Arscheglia blava (Tiefenk., Surav.) = blauer Lehm; cf. 262.

264. Val digl arteigl (Andeer), zu r. *iert*, steil?

265. La Buteglia (Alven.) = „Flasche", aus l. *buticula.*

266. Ils Cucarnegls (Alven.) = „die Krähensteine" — r. *cuc* + r. *curneigl* —? cf. 273, 291.

267. Curmegl (Alven.) = **culmiculus*? zu r. *culm*, Berg.

268. Fopp dels curnigls (St. Maria) = Grube — r. *fopp*, von l. *fovea* — der Teucheln.

269. Curscheglias (Präz.), *Curscheias* (Vrin), *Curscheglcs* (Scharans), *Curschelas* (Somv.), *Curschellas* (Vig., Lufis), *Curschilla* (Roten), aus **cohorticella*, kl. Viehhof, wobei *-clla* später mit *-iglia* aus *-icula* wechselte.

270. Punt Flümai (Val Cava), aus r. *punt*, Brücke, + **flumiculus*?

271. Plam Gimeglia[1]) (O. Vatz) = *planum* + *gemella* = Zwieselebene? r. *gemella*, Zwilling u. Zwiesel d. h. gabeliger Baum od. Felsen.

272. Crapp-las-Gneglas (Salux), zu r. *crap*, Stein u. *gnegla*, eine Pflanze.

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[1]) Hier Wechsel von *-ella* mit *-icula.*

273. Guggernell (Schmitten), *Guggerniel* (Churw.); cf. No. 266.

274. Lastreia (Laax) = kl. Strasse; cf. § 30.

275. Mundegls (O. Vatz), zu r. *mundar*, aus l. *mundare*, reinigen, schwenden d. h. Güter von Steinen befreien, Wald in Weide umwandeln; auch in d. d. Alpen viele *Gschwand, Schwand, Schwendele*; cf. auch *Alberschwende* in Vorarlb., alle zu „schwenden“ d. h. schwinden machen; cf. § 62.

276. Pardeglias (Stürvis) = kl. Wiesen, aus l. **praticulas*; cf. it. O. wie *Praticchia*.

277. Pardèla (Malix), Partelias (Malix); cf. 276.

278. Porteglia-de-Cavalls (Waltensb.) = kl. Öffnung für Pferde; zu l. *porticula*.

279. Giu la Porteglia (Somv.) = unter der kl. Öffnung od. Kluppe; cf. 278.

280. Puntaglia (Ardetz), Puntaglias (Zernetz), Las Punteglias (Mons), A. Punteglas (Razen) etc. etc., zu l. **ponticula*, kl. Brücke; im Rät. hat *pons* doppeltes Genus.

281. Zevreila (Vals), urk. *Zevreira*, zu **seperare*, scheiden, = Scheide, Grenze.

282. Sirisegl (Mons) = Weichselbaum, zu l. **ceresius* + *-iculus* (für älteres *-ellus?*).

283. Streglia (Malix) = **stradicula*; cf. 274.

284. Susteigls (Lufis), zu r. *sust*; cf. 241.

285. Tarneigls (Alven.), zu **terrenus*, aper, schneefrei?

286. Valeglia (Vigens, Vrin), Valiglia (Filis.), Valieglia (Alven.), Vagleglia (Stürvis, Salux), aus l. *vallicula*, Thälchen.

A) 5. l. -ŭculus -a, u. -ūculus -a.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 34. Nach Diez — Gr. II. 326 — haben viele Substantiva auf *-ĭculus* u. *-ŭnculus* schon im Vulgärlatein das Suf. *-úculus* eingetauscht; nach Corssen freilich ist in solchen Wörtern *-úculus* oft ursprünglicher als *-ĭculus*, das erst durch

Abschwächung des stammauslautenden Vokals zu *i* entstanden wäre; cf. *Cohn* p. 228 ff.

Es weist l. *-ŭculus, rl. o̯clu*, 1. in West-Graubünden die Resultate von *rl. o̯* auf; also *-ŭculu* = *-ul'*, *-ol'* — geschr. *-uigl, -ugl;* 2. Bergün, Stalla, E. u. M. hingegen zeigen die Ergebnisse des *vl. o̯*; hier also *-ŭculu* = *-úe̯l'* u. *-uo̯l'*, geschr. *-uoigl:* cf. *Gartn.* § 53 u. 200 *genu*; z. B.

ad 1. oberl. *schanugl — genŭculu; pluigl — pedŭculu; anuigl,* Lamm, — **agnuculu: artuigl,* obere Seite des Fingergelenks, — **artuculu* (cf. *Kört.* 781; *Ascoli im Arch. Glott.* it. 1887, X, 270; *Grö. Z.* XII, 299; *Rom.* XVIII, 330; *Geijer* im *Recueil de Mémoires* etc. 1889, p. 28); *carpuigl,* gr. Stein zu *crap*; surs. *capuigl,* Gesimse, zu *caput.*

Anm. 1. obw. *aug,* Onkel, für **augl,* aus l. *avu(n)culu*; cf. *M-L.* § 467;

2. oberl. *guila, uila,* Nadel, für **aguil'a* = l. *acuícula?*

ad 2. *E. schnuoigl — genuculu; pluoigl — pedúculu; U. E. ranuoigl — ranu(n)culu.*

§ 35. Suf. *-ul'* bildet den Plur. auf *-ults, -úilts,* dagegen *-úe̯l'* u. *-uo̯l'* bilden ihn auf *-úe̯lts* u. *-uo̯ilts*; cf. *Gartn.* § 106.

§ 36. Auch die Feminina fügen sich dem § 34; z. B.

ad 1. *parmuglia,* Schlehe, — *prunucula; panuglia,* Grummetreihe, — *panŭcula;* cf. *Cohn* p. 228 ff. u. *Kört.* 5665;

ad 2. *E. parmuoglia; panuoglia; aguoiglia* — l. *acŭcula.*

§ 37. Schwer zu entscheiden ist, ob man es in folgenden Wörtern mit l. *-ūculus* od. einer rom. Variante zu *-iculus* u. *-ilia* zu thun hat — cf. *Diez Gr.* II. p. 331 —

1. *E. masdügl,* Gemisch, l. **mixtūculum*; cf. *Kört.* 5351 fr. *méteil* u. it. *mescuglio*;

2. *U. E. pejügl,* Socken, — l. *peduculus*: cf. *pijöl* (§ 8) u. it. *pedule*; aber *Körting* 5998;

3. *E. pastrügl,* Schweinefutter;

4. Filis. *trabügl,* Wirbelwind?

§ 38. Scheinbar nur gehören zu diesem Suf.:

1. *filistoclas, -uclas,* dummes Zeug, zu it. *filastrocca* u. *filare*;

2. *mazirocla,* Quaste; cf. it. *mazzero,* Kolben;

3. *E. arsücla,* Sauerampfer, aus *acidula* entstellt.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 39. 287. Buglio (Brusio), zu r. *bügl, begl,* Trog; dieses sehr oft in Flurn.; nach *Rosa* = *büül* im obersten V. *Camonica;* vielleicht mit Aphärese des *al-* aus **albeūc(u)lus*, zu *alveus*; cf. 6.

288. Bügl suot u. sura (Fettan) = oberer u. unterer Trog; cf. 287.

289. Castuglas (Razen), zu r. *costa,* Halde.

290. Crastüglias (Celer.), zu r. *craista,* Kamm; cf. 183.

291. Cukernül (Safienth.); cf. 266.

292. Fantanuglas (Razen), zu r. *fantauna,* Quelle.

293. Manugl (Laax), zu *mina,* Bergwerk.

294. Maschduogls (V. Cava) = Durcheinander.

295. Mesadugls (Vigens).

296. Foppa las parmuglias (Tiefenk.) = Grube der Schlehen.

297. Vaschnuogls (Sins) = **radum* + *genúculos.* Kniefurt? cf. d. N. wie *Kniepass.*

298. Vaüglia (Zutz und Scanfs), aus **vallucula* od. *vallilia?* [1])

A) 6. l. -culus, -a (nach Kons.).

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 40. Wo bei diesen Wörtern das Suf. nicht mit *-cellus* wechselt, fällt das nachtonige *u* u. ein Stütz-*e* tritt an seine Stelle, das im E. sogar vorangehendes *c* palatalisiert; z. B.

1. Nach *n*: *ischeinkel,* Querbalken im Stall — l. **axunculus (?);* oberl. *narunkel, O.E. guirunchel,* Niere — l. *ren(is)* + *-unculus* (Metathesis um leichterer Kons.-Folge willen);

2. Nach *r:* oberl. *curierkel, urierchel, E. rierchel,* Deckel — l. **co[o]perculum,* teilweise an *operire* angebildet; *zarkel,* Jäthacke, — l. *sarculum*;

[1]) Wegen *-uculus* in O. N. cf. *Schn.* p. 52: *Faducli* aus *fagetuculum,* u. p. 88: *Scanupia.*

3. Nach *s: Heinz. caduskel,* Hühnchen, zu l. *catus,* junges Tier; *O.E. viruschiel, viruoschiel,* oberl. *vadruskel,* Rotsucht, zu l. *carus, varius;* cf. it. *vajo,* dunkelrot.

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1])

§ 41. 299. Cinuskel (Scanfs), zu *sinus* od. *signum?* cf. 114, 115.

300. Minostgel (Salux), zu *mina?*

301. Möschel (St. Maria), Möschels (*V. Cava*), zu r. *möschel,* Moos — vom Deutschen —; cf. *mösch,* Feuchtigkeit, bresc. *mos,* Sumpf, *miss,* nass.

302. Plaun da müschel (Cierfs) = Moosboden; cf. 301.

303. Tanéschtgal (Stürvis).

304. Mot dal Varúscal (Bivio) = „Hügel mit d. kl. Flecken".

A) 7. l. -bĭlis u. -ĭlis.

I. In westrät. Appell.

§ 42. Wie im vorliterären Franz. — cf. *Cohn* 85, 86, — so wurden auch im Rät. die l. Suf. *-abilis, -ibilis, -ebilis* in oft regelloser Weise vertauscht; wie dort, so gingen sie hier mit Verben sowohl als auch mit Subst. u. Adj. viele neue Verbindungen ein. Hat aber im Franz. schliesslich *-abilis* die Hegemonie errungen, so ist es im Rät. *-ēbilis, -ĭbilis* = *cl. ebilis,* das, wie im Ital. — cf. *amorevole* —, die übrigen zurückdrängte.

§ 43. L. *-abilis* erscheint 1. gelehrt als *-ábel, -ábla: E. abominabel;* 2. volkstümlich als *-ável, -avla* im Oberl. u. *U.E.,* im *O.E.* dagegen als *-ével, -évla* — cf. *Gartn.* § 32 —; z. B. 1. oberl. *artavel, U.E. hertavel,* der Erbe; cf. *Du Ca.: hereditalis;* hier wechselte somit *-alis* mit *-abilis*; ähnliches nehme ich an bei 2. oberl. *cuminavel, U.E. cumünavel, O.E. cuminével,* Gemeinde-Grund, Allmende, aus *commu-*

[1]) cf. *Buck* XII: *lacus,* u. *Schn.* p. 1: *Agustél,* p. 33: *Carestél.*

nalis, cf. *Cohn* p. 100, sowie bei 3. oberl. *reginavel*, Königreich, das ein durch *reginus* beeinflusstes *regionalis* voraussetzen dürfte: denn *regnabilis* = *conveniens, congruus* bei *Du Ca.* kommt des Sinnes halber nicht in Betracht.

§ 44. *Vl. ebilis* erhält sich als oberl. *-éivel*, f. *-éivla* u. *E. -áivel, -aivla:* z. B. oberl. *fleivel. E. flaivel* — l. *flebilis.*

Das l. *-abilis* wurde unter andern in oberl. *abomineivel, E. abominaivel* durch *ebilis* verdrängt.

Neubildungen sind z. B.

1. oberl. *curtaseivel, E. curtaivel*, höflich — jenes von l. **chortensis* gebildet, dieses einem Suf.-Wechsel zu verdanken; cf. l. *cohortalis* bei G.; 2. *sagireivel*, sicher — ebenfalls blosse Formverlängerung, um das Adj. *sigir* — l. *securus* — von *sigir* — l. *securim* — zu trennen; 3. oberl. *sanadeivel*, gesund, — eine Formverlängerung von *sanativus* — cf. *Du Ca.*

Anm. Gelehrt sind Wörter wie *irreprehensibel.*

§ 45. Mit ein Grund für die Bevorzugung von *-áivel, -éivel* vor *-ável, -ével* ist der Umstand, dass das letztere im Rät. die Aufgabe erhielt, Ordinalzahlen aus Kardinalzahlen zu bilden — cf. *Gartn.* § 200 p. 199 —.

Zunächst fiel dem Ausgange *-arus* (in *octarus*) die Rolle zu, alle Ordinalzahlen von 4 aufwärts zu bilden; dem noch im 18. Jhdte. auftretenden *-ar* wurde erst ziemlich spät *-el* angefügt, ein ähnlicher Vorgang wie bei *sanadeivel*; es handelt sich hier somit um keinen wirklichen Suf.-Wechsel.

§ 46. Der Ausgang *-ĭlis*, soweit er nicht unter die § 42—45 fällt, teilte im Rät. das Schicksal von *-ŭlus*, dessen Feminin er auch annahm — cf. § 15 ff. —; nur in gelehrten Wörtern ist das nachtonige *i* erhalten; z. B.

1. oberl. *anduchiel, E. anduochel*, Wurst, — l. *inductĭlis;* 2. *gráschel*, schmal, — l. *gracilis*; 3. *múrel*, Vieh — l. *mobilis;* 4. *E. stierl*, einjähriges Rind, fem. *sterla* — l. *sterilis*; 5. oberl. *itel, E. ütil*, Nutzen — l. *utilis;* 6. *E. daschütel*, liederlich — l. **disutilis.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 47. 305. Comünável (St. Mar. M.), Igl Cuminával (Surava) = Allmende.

306. Fontaniblas (Scharans) = „Güter bei d. Quelle“ aus l. **fontanivas* — Anbildung von *-ivus* an *-ibilis* —; cf. *Buck* XII: *sala.*

307. Muntdastérlas (Samn.), Munnasterles (Spiss) = Berg für Jungvieh — zu l. *sterilis.*

308. Prasürável (Val. Cava) zu r. **prasüra* — l. **prensura* —, Baumschlag; cf. *-ura.*

309. Ils Ruvinavels de Valtearm (Alven.) = die Erdrutschungen des Grenzthals; Wechsel von *-alis?* cf. it. Orte wie *Rovinaglia*, zu it. *rovinare*, von l. *ruina.*

A) 8. l. -alis.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 48. Dieses Suf., mit dem auch der Ausgang der l. Neutra auf *-al* zusammenfiel (cf. *Wölfflin's Arch.* IV, 10), zeigt im Rät. denselben Vokal, wie die Vertreter von l. *palus* u. *sal* — cf. *Gartn.* § 28 u. 200 *sal* —; *-alis* erscheint:

1. als *-al* Dissentis bis Schweiningen, *U. E., M., Samn.*;
2. als *-ą̈l* in Schleins;
3. als *-el, -ęl* in Bergün, Stalla, *O. E.* bis Scanfs; cf. *M.-L.* § 222.

Im Rät. sind somit *-al* u. *-el* rein dialektische Unterschiede od. Varietäten, während die fr. Doppelformen dieses Suffixes, wie Nathan p. 2 nachweist, sich ganz anders erklären: *al* ist die gelehrte, *el* die volkstümliche Form.

Anm. 1. In Schweiningen bewirkt vorausgehender Palatal den Übergang von *-al* zu *-el* — cf. *Gartn.* § 28 —;

2. Das Fem. wird im Rät. neu gebildet durch Anhängung von *a*, ebenso der Plur. durch Anfügung von *s.* Beispiele: 1. oberl. *armal*, Rind, — l. *animal*, beeinflusst von l. *armentum*; cf. *armaillis*, Senne — im *Ranz des vaches*

— von l. **animalitius*, wie it. *malgese*, Senn, zu *malga*, Sennhütte, sich stellt, dieses aber aus *animalia*, wie it. *salga* aus *saliat*;

2. oberl. *anguál, uál*, gerade — l. *aequalis* gemischt mit l. *angulus*;

3. oberl. *itschal*, *E. atschel*, Stahl, — l. **acĭālĕ*; cf. *Körting* 109.

4. *O. E. fossel*, Graben — l. *fossale* = *fossatum*; *(Du Ca.)*

5. oberl. *giuvnal*, Jüngling — l. *juvenalis*; *(G.)*

6. *mistral*, Ammann, — l. *magistralis*; *(G.)*

7. *pusal*, Lehne. — *pausare*, ruhen.

8. *scussal*, Schürze, — aus schw. *schoss* + it. *(grembi)ale* gemischt.

§ 49. Während *-ális* im Rät. bereits erstarrt ist, hat dagegen der ehemalige Plur. des Neutr. noch die Fähigkeit, neue Wörter weibl. Geschlechtes zu bilden, denen kollektiver Sinn mit meist verächtlichem Beigeschmack innewohnt; cf. *Diez* II p. 331 u. *Carisch* p. XXIX; dieses *-ália* erhält sich überall als *al'a* — nur Schleins zeigt *ăl'a* nach *Gartn.* § 28 —, das mit l. *-ácula*, wie im Franz. — cf. § 24, u. *Cohn* p. 30 — zusammenfiel; in einzelnen Orten deckt sich jetzt l. *-alia* u. l. *ĭcula* — cf. § 30 —; z. B.

1. *fardaglia*, gr. Kälte, zu r. *fraid*;

2. *ladernaglia*, Diebsbande, — l. **latronalia*;

3. *maridaglia*, Missheirat, — l. *maritare*;

4. *marmaglia*, Gesindel, — **minimalia*; cf. *Körting* 5302;

5. *marusaglia*, Liebelei, — l. *amorosus*;

6. *marschanaglia*, faule Leute, — l. *marcidus*;

7. *muaglia*, Rindvieh. — Mischung von *mo(bilia)* + *(anim)alia*;

8. *navaglia*, gr. Schnee, aus l. *nivalia*, od. zu r. *naif* = *nivem*.

9. *preraglia*, Pfaffenpack, — *presbyter*;

10. *puraglia*, Bauernvolk, zu schw. *bur*, Bauer;

11. *risaglia*, Reisfelder;

12. *üsaglias*, Handwerkszeug; zu l. *usus*.

Anm. *M. arsaia*, brennender Durst, — *arsaglia* zu *arsum*.

II. In bündn. Flurn. [1])

§ 50. 310. Prads dels Auals (Lü M.) = Bachfelder, zu r. *ual,* Bach, von l. *aqualis* (*Du Ca.*); prov. *agual,* Rinne; cf. *Diez Gr.* II. p. 327; cf. *Buck* XII: *aqua,* u. *Rosa* p. VII.

311. Jenal (Pers. N. Samn.), nach *Muoth,* p. 39, von d. N. *Aginald*; doch da *-ald* = U. E. *-od,* so führe ich ihn auf **januālis,* zu *U. E. jenna,* Gatter, l. *janua,* zurück.

312. Irals (Cierfs, M.), Ireel (Filis.), zu r. *iral,* Tenne, ebener Platz; cf. bresc. *arál,* Kohlplatz (*Rosa*), aus l. *arealis;* d. *Hahntenn,* N. eines Passes bei Imst, nicht = „hohe Tanne", sondern „Tenn d. h. Falzplatz des Spielhahns".

313. Punt sur l'ovél da Seala (Filisur) = Sattelbachbrücke = **pontem-super-illum-aqualem de-ad-sellam;* cf. 310.

314. Chavazaglias (Zutz), Chavazaglia (Schleins) = Ackerrain = l. **capitialia*; cf. *Götz.* p. 22.

315. Ual claif (St. Maria M.) = *aqualis* + *collivius* od. *clivus*? cf. 310, u. *Schn.* p. 39 *Chiéro* u. *O. Gleif* bei *Eppan,* Tirol.

316. Tanter uals (Fettan) = zwischen Bächen — *de-inter-aquales.*

317. Urtal (Bergün) = **hortale,* zu l. *hortus*; cf. it. *ortaglia,* Küchengarten, u. *hortalia* (*Du Ca.*) u. *Schn.* p. 109.

318. Tgamons Bargiaglia (Stürvis), zu r. *tgamon,* Ruheplatz, u. r. *bargia* (cf. *Götz.* p. 50), Heustadel — dieses zu d. bergen od. Pferch.

319. Probattaglia (Andeer), = Schlachtfeld.

320. Battáglia (Sent) = Schlacht; in Ital. viele B., die meist an historische Kämpfe erinnern, wie d. Wahlstatt, Streit etc.

321. Boscaja (Castas.) = **boscalia,* Gebüsch.

322. Bovél (Thusis), Bual (Vrin, Scharans, Alven., Lü M. etc.) = Viehweide, aus l. **bovale*; cf. *Götz.* p. 51: *Bofel.*

323. Büalschi (Schmitten), schw. d. Dim. zu r. *bual.*

324. Buel (Filis.); cf. 322.

325. Caglia (Vrin), La Caglia (Duvin) etc. = Gebüsch, aus l. *boscalia,* r. *caglia;* cf. 321.

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[1]) cf. *Buck* XII: *Bergell* u. *pascuum.*

326. Procaglia (Scharans) = Staudenfeld; cf. 325; urk. bei *Moor* J. 1200 ein *agrum Intercailis*, Acker zw. d. Stauden.

327. Caglia della Bova (Levg.) = Gebüsch des Erdrutsches; cf. 325; r. *bova* zu *Du Ca. bova* 3, fr. *boue*, u. venez. *boba*, faules Zeug.

328. Chaglias (Zutz), las Caglias (Somv. etc.); cf. 325.

329. Canal (Churw., Vrin etc.), zu *canal* — f. wie im afr. —, Rinne; cf. Känel (Malix).

330. Las Canals (Präz, Ruaun etc.) = die Rinnen; cf. 329; cf. *O. Kenels* im Algäu — *Baumann's „Gesch. d. Algäu's"* p. 41.

331. Pros Chanels (Scanfs) = Rinnenfelder; cf. 329, 330.

332. Canauls (Vrin), Canols (Roten, O. Vatz), Chanols (Campov., Fettan, Bergün); cf. 330 aber alter *Plural!*

333. Chanval (Guarda, Präz etc.) = Hanffeld; cf. *Du Ca.: canabale.*

334. Caral (Tinzen, Riein, Präz), *Sur ils Carals* (O. Vatz), *Carols* (Tinzen, Stürvis), eher zu *quadra*, Feldparzelle, od. r. *quader*, Quaderstein — cf. *Schn.* p. 33, 131, — als zu *carale* = *via publica (Du Ca.)*, zu welch' letzterem aber

335. Charal (Zernetz) u. *Charral* (Guarda).

336. Carpaglia (Riein), zu r. *crap*, Stein.

337. Casal (Malix), Chasauls (Filis.), Casale (Brusio); cf. it. *casale*, Weiler, Meierhof.

338. Clausal (Vigens), zu r. *claus*, Gehege; cf. *Schn.* p. 42.

339. Communales (Spiss); cf. 305, Cumanaglias (Lufis), Cumminal (Andeer).

340. Cugnäl (Stampa), zu r. *cuogn*, Keil.

341. Quraias (Guarda) = **quadralias?* cf. 334.

342. V. Curtinaglia (Celerin.), zu r. *curtin*, kl. Hof, Baumgarten.

343. Dual (Laax, Ruaun) = „Wassergraben"? cf. berg. *dügal* = *doggia* (Rosa); cf. it. *doca*, *doga*.

344. Dutschals (Villa), zu r. *dutg.*, Wasserleitung, — aus l. *ductus*, — daher auch *Dux* in Tirol.

345. Fersal (Ruaun), zu ml. *versare*, einen Neubruch anlegen.

346. Flemals (Stürvis), zu *flumen?*

347. Foral (Chur), zu r. *fora*, Loch.

348. Funtanal (Präz), zu r. *funtauna*, Quelle.

349. Furnal (Schleins), zu l. *furnus*, Ofen.

350. Prau la Gaglias (Präz) = „Staudenfeld"; cf. 325.

351. Ganahl A. (Vals); cf. 329.

352. Giaraglia (Trins, Salux), zu r. *giraglia*, Neubruch, von r. *gir*, zu *girar*, roden; cf. *Buck* XII: *girus*.

353. Greala (Fettan).

354. Ladral (Waltensb.), zu l. *lateralis*, seitlich; cf. *Schn.* p. 136 *rivus*.

355. Lavinal (Pitasch), igl Livinal (Stürvis) = Rinnsal der Lawinen — cf. *Alton* p. 45, 46: *Lerinà* — aus l. **labinalis;* gleichbedeutend das tir. *Lähnstrich, Lähngang*, schw. d. *Zug* — cf. Züginen, eine wilde Felsschlucht bei Davos: meiner Meinung nach gehört auch der N. „*Zugspitz*", des höchsten Gipfels Deutschlands, hierher.

356. Pleun Mistral (Somv.) = „Ammanns-Boden".

357. Murtel da lai (Bergün) = hohe Alpenweide beim See; cf. 60; dieses *murtel* aus **murtalis*, zu l. *murta*.

358. Nisals (Lufis) u. Nosal (Soazza), zu r. *nas*, Felsvorsprung, von l. *nasus*.

359. Nurtal (Razen) = *in hortale;* cf. 317.

360. Panaglia (Salux, Tinzen), Panaglias (Präz), Plan da Panaglias (Fettan), Panaja (Bivio), zu l. *pinus*, also = schlechte Tannen.

361. Panaja (Bivio); cf. 360.

362. Pardaglias (Stürvis, Mons, Andeer etc.), zu l. *pratum*, somit „schlechte Wiesen".

363. Pardanal (Laax) u. Parnal (Guarda) = l. *pratinalis*.

364. Parnal (Guarda); cf. 363.

365. Partal (Malix) = *pratalis*; cf. it. Orte wie *Pratale*.

366. Paschiaiglias (Andeer), zu r. *pasch*, Weide, aus l. *pastum*.

367. Pednal (Fettan), *Petnal* (Süss), zu it. *pedana*, Saum, Fuss eines Berges.

368. Platajas (St. Maria M.), zu *platta*, Platte; cf. *Götz.* p. 33.

369. Puzal (Trins), zu r. *puozz* = l. *puteus*; cf. it O. *Pozzale*.

370. Ramasal (Vigens), *Rumasal* (Brigels) = l. **eremitialis*? zu *eremita*; cf. *Schn.* p. 135 *eremucius*.

371. Rivenal (Vrin), zu *röven*. Rain; cf. Rosa: *ravinal, riinal*, Felder beim Haus in *V. di Scalve*, u. *ml. rapinalia*. Weide beim Haus.

372. Roncaia (Soazza) = l. *runcalia*, zu *runcus*, Rodung.

373. Bleisrudäl (Stampa), zu r. *bleis*. Bleiss, steile Halde u. r. *rudäl*, Geleise, Furche.

374. Runchols (Filis.), zu l. *runcale* von *runcus*; cf. 372, 377.

375. Runaglia u. Runaglias (Flond), zu r. *runar* — aus l. *re-* + *unus* — zusammenschleppen, Haufen machen; cf. it. *ragunare*.

376. Runcagla (Razen, Somv.): cf. 372.

377. Runcal (Samn., Präz, Trins etc.) Rungal (Spiss), Rungnal (Tinzen), Runtgial (Stürvis); cf. 374: bei *Moor* I. J. 766 urk. ein *agrum Roncale*.

378. Sarual, urk. Surval (Razen) = über d. Thal.

379. Sials (Trins) *Sial* (Laax, Tinzen) = l. **secale*, zu r. *sega*, Bergmahd, von l. *secare*; cf. 383.

380. Spadals (Bivio), Spadel (Tiefenk.) = l. *hospitale*, d. Spital.

381. Spinel d'giat (Celerin.) = „Katzenbuckel", zu l. *spinale*.

382. La Spizzala (Alveneu) = „die Zäune", zu r. *spizzal*, Zaun aus Pfählen.

383. Sturäl (Stampa) = l. **secturale*? zu *sectura*, von *secare*, nähern: cf. 379.

384. Zuals (Samn.) u. Sugál (Samn.), zu l. *jugum*, Joch, Bergeinsattelung; cf. Schn. p. 81.

385. Tegiallo (Brusio), zu r. *teggia*, Hütte; hier *-allo*, wie sonst so oft, italianisirtes *-al* aus *-alis*.

386. Pro la tgaglia (Salux) = Staudenfeld, Sot Tgiaglia (Mons) = unter den Stauden; cf. 325.

387. Igls Tganvals (Tiefenk.) = Hanfäcker; cf. 333.

388. Punt Tial (St. Maria M.), zu r. *punt*, Brücke, u.

nach Meinung d. Einheimischen r. *teál*, Lichthalter — l. **taedalis* — meiner Ansicht nach zu r. *tev*, Tanne — aus l. **taedus* — od. zu r. *tea*, Sennhütte; cf. 191.

389. Tigial (Tinzen); cf. 388.

390. Tgenals (Sins); cf. 330.

391. Tiral (Sins), zu r. *iral*, Tenne? cf. bresc. *tiréna*, Reihe *(Rosa)*.

392. Viäl (Castas.) = Weg, aus l. *rialis:* viele it. *Viale*.

393. Survial (Stürvis) = „Obsteig"; cf. 392.

394. Vial della Motta (Cierfs M.) = Weg d. Matte; cf. 392.

395. Vinal (Ruschein), zu *rena*, Erzader; cf. Buck XII: *rena* u. *Du Ca. rena*, 2. 3. 6.

396. Wanal (Samn.), zu ml. *bannalis* von d. Bann.

397. Vargauls (Vrin), zu *virga*, Rute.

A) 9. l. -ēlus, -ēla, -ēlis.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 51. Von diesen Suffixen weist das Rät. nur spärliche Spuren auf: z. B.

1. oberl. *camèl* — für **cil?* —. *O.E. chameil* = l. *camēlu*;

2. oberl. *candeila*, *U.E. chandaila* = l. *candēla*.

Anm. *fischela*, it. Bohnen. ist als Koll.-Plur. von **fischel* = *faselus* aufzufassen.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 52. Hierher gehörige Namen waren nicht zu entdecken.

A) 10. l. -īlis.

I. In weström. Appellativen.

§ 53. Dieses Suf. erscheint

1. als *-il* (nur selten): *uril*, Stall, — l. *orile;*

2. als *-ill* (diese Form ist die gewöhnliche) meist im Oberl.: a) in Subst.: oberl. *badill* — l. **batīle*; cf. *Körl.* 1079: oberl. *fanill*, Heuboden, — l. *foenile*; *nuvill*, Stall, — l. *orīle; runill*, Schlittsohle, — zu *runar*, schleppen; cf. it. *ragunare*, sammeln; b) in Adj. *satill* — l. *subtilis;*

3. als *-igl* hauptsächlich im *E.:* diese Form wohl von r. *-iglia* = l. *-ilia* abstrahirt: a) Subst.: *badigl, nurigl:* b) Adj.: *stigl.*

4. als *-i* im *U.E.*, z. B. *uri, ori, ui* aus *orile.*

5. als *-eigl*; cf. § 27.

§ 54. L. *-ilia*, Plur. Neutr. zu *-ile*, findet im Rät. unter der Form *-iglia* u. *-eglia* (Surs.) — hier *e* durch Einfluss des folgenden Palatals — eine ähnliche Verwendung wie *-aglia* aus *-alia*: z. B.

1. oberl. *mattaniglia*, Kinder, zu r. *matt*, Knabe; cf. *Gartn.* § 107;

2. *E. preiriglia*. — cf. r. *preiraglia*;

3. *E. sterniglia*, einjährige Ziegen, surs. *sterleglia*, zweijähr. Ziegen. zu l. *sterilis:*

4. *utschiglia*, Geflügel, *-auc(ell)ilia;*

5. *E. vermiglia*, Gewürm, *vermaniglia*. Ungeziefer, zu l. *vermis*; das letztere stellt eine Mischung von **vermīlia* + **minimalia* dar;

6. *marmaniglia*, Ungeziefer, ist eine Mischung von **minimalia* + **vermīlia.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1]

§ 55. 398. Piz Badile (Bondo) = „Kellespitz"; cf. 255; *badile* hier im Sinne von *pala.*

399. Carpeia (Soglio) = **carpiglia*, zu *crap*, Stein.

[1]) cf. *Schn.* p. 103 *Noriglio.*

400. Cascnil (Stampa) = **casicinile;* cf. it. *cascina,* Käsekammer; in Ital. O. wie *Cascinale.*

401. Cavril (Stampa), von l. *caprile,* Ziegenstall, Ziegenweide; in Ital. sehr viele *Caprile*; in Tirol mehrere *Gfrill* u. im grossen Walserth. ein *Garfüllen,* alle = *caprile.*

402. Fanels (Somvix), aus *fœnile*; *Fanella* (Vals) Koll.-Plur. hierzu; cf. *Moor* I. J. 766: *ager ad Feniles.*

403. Flin urk. *Fuil* (Bondo) = *fœnile*; ebenso Flin (Soglio); cf. God Flin (Scanfs) = Heustadel-Wald.

404. Fundrils (Waltensb.).

405. Ganill (Vals), zu *canile?* cf. it. O. wie *Canili.*

406. Panadeiglias (Ruaun), zu l. *pinetum* + r. Plur. von *-ilia.*

407. Purschils (Zutz), aus *porcile,* Schweinstall; in Ital. mehrere O. *Porcile.*

B) 1. l. -ĕllus -a; -ĭllus -a.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 56. Zu den Wörtern auf *-ellus* gesellten sich bereits im Vulgär-Latein durch Suf.-Wechsel sehr viele auf *-ŭlus* u. *-ŭlus*; z. B. *annellus* aus l. *annŭlus* — cf. *Cohn* p. 17, 24, 25, u. *Diez Gr.* II p. 366 —, sowie manche auf *-ĭllus* — cf. *M-L.* § 115.

Westlich vom Albula tritt jetzt l. *-ĕllu* unter der Form *-i* auf, das auf folgende Weise entstanden sein kann. Da nach *M-L.* § 545 l. *-llu* = westr. *-lú*, z. B. l. *caballu* = r. *kavalʼ* — cf. *Gartn.* § 200 —, so hätte sich *vl. -ęllu* zu r. **-ęlʼu* gestaltet. Nach *M-L.* § 152 entwickelt sich aber *vl. ę́* vor auslautendem *u* od. *i* der nächsten Silbe zu r. *ié* od. *e*; z. B. obwald. *ié,* Muntogna, Domleschg *i̯ę, E. e,* Bergell *ei*; somit ist r. *-*ęlʼu* = oberl. **-iélʼ.* Nach *M-L.* § 171 indes vereinfacht sich *-*ielʼ* über **iej, *ij* zu *i* (ganz ähnlich fr. *six* aus **sieis*). — Gartner freilich hält die Formen auf *i* für alte *i*-Plurale — cf. *Gartn.* § 65 — u. schreibt dem Plur.-*i* die Fähigkeit zu, vorhergehendes *ll* in *lʼ, y, i* zu verwandeln; die Plur.-Formen seien dann in den Sing. übertragen worden; doch *M-L.*'s Er-

klärung dürfte vorzuziehen sein, weil oberl. *-i* sich fast ausnahmslos findet, nicht nur in Wörtern, die im Sing. selten vorkommen; Beispiele: oberl. *anì — annellu*; *cavadì*, Brustwarze, — l. **cavatellu* zu *cavare*; *cunti — cultellu*; *fligì — flagellu*; *fravi*, Schmied, — l. **fabrellu?*; *ischì*, Ahorn, — **acellu*; *purschì — porcellu*; *rudì*, Kreis, — l. **rotellu* statt *rotulu*; cf. *Kört.* 6993, 6998. *sigì* — l. **sigellum* für *sigillum*; cf. *Cohn* p. 44, 45; *tschupì*, Kranz; cf. it. *ciuffo* von germ. *top = zopf = schopf*; cf. *Kört.* 8238.

§ 57. Dem oberl. *-i* entspricht im *E. -è*, das auf ähnliche Weise entstanden ist; z. B. *E. anè — annellu*; *agnè -agnellu*; *aradè*, Pflug — *aratrellum* für **aratrulum*; cf. it. *arátolo*; *charè*, Haar, — l. **capella* für *capillu*; *curtè — cultellu*; *martè*, Buchs, — **murtellu* zu l. **murta* u. *murtus*; cf. *Kört.* 5491; *noè*, neue Ernte, — *novellu*; *nuschè*, Kern, — **nucellu*; cf. it. *nocella* u. l. *nucella (G.)*; *purschè — porcellu*; *sigè, sayè — *sigellu.*

§ 58. Zu dem *s*-Plur. neugeschaffene Singulare sind:

1) die auf *-ûl* (cf. § 60): oberl. *purschal*, reiner Jüngling, — l. **pu(e)l(li)cell(os)*; cf. *Cohn* p. 26 u. fr. *puceau*; diese Übertragung in den Sing. bezweckte wohl, das Wort dem Laute nach von *purschì = porcellu* zu trennen; oberl. *schumial*, Zwilling, — l. *gemell(os)*, weil der Sing. seltener gebraucht wurde;

2) die auf *-el* — cf. § 61 u. *Gartn.* § 106 u. 200 *capillus* —: oberl. *carell*, Haar. — l. **capell(os)*; oberl. *scuatell*, Zittergras, — l. *scopa*; Schweiningen *utšęl — *aucell(os)*; *id. radęl — *vitell(os)*; *U. E. juventschel*, Jüngling, — *juvencell(os)*; cf. fr. *jouvenceau*, u. *Cohn* p. 27;

3) die auf *-ió* u. *có*: Schleins *t'arió*, Samn. *t'avéo — capill(os)*; cf. § 61 Anm.

§ 59. L. -illus ist nur noch in einigen Formen von *capillus* vertreten:

Sedrun *t'avél'*, Diss., Flims etc. *kavél'*; dessen Plur. endigt westlich vom Albula auf *-éilts* od. *-elts*, *-ęlts*;

Anm. 1. oberl. *sigil — sigillu* ist gelehrt;

2. *begl*, *E. bögl*, Darm, aus **botillu* statt *botellu?*

3. Bergün *paudschegl*, Schneeflocken, — *pannicillu?*

§ 60. Auf dem Gebiete des Sing.'s auf *-i* u. ferner noch

im *O.E.* bis Zernetz herab treten als Plur.-Formen auf: in Diss. *iálts*,[1]) in Scharans *-éalts*, in Schweiningen *-ęlts* wie auch im *O.E.* bis Zernetz; in den Büchern finden wir dem entsprechend *-iáls*, *-als* u. *-cls*. — Nach *M-L.*, § 152, hatte das *o* der l. Plur.-Endung *-os* die Diphthongierung von ę zu *ie* verhindert; Beispiele: *radiálts*, *vadęalts*, *radęlts* — bei *Gartn.* § 106; oberl. *aniáls* — *annellos:* oberl. *cuntiáls* — *cultellos; sigiáls* — **sigellos*; Diss. *utscháls* — *aucellos*; Diss. *purscháls* — *porcellos*; *O.E. anéls* — *annellos; O.E. charéls* — **capellos; O.E. giméls* — *gemellos.*

§ 61. Auch die *U.E.ischen* Plurale sind auf **-ęls*, bezw. **-éals* zurückzuführen — cf. *Gartn.* § 35, 106, 200 *capillus* —; doch fällt hier das l; z. B.:

1. in Schleins u. *M.*: *ęs: radęs* aus *vitellos:*
2. im Samn: *éas*;
3. in Süss *iés*, — über **-ęals*, **-ęas*, **-ęis*, **ęés?* —

Anm. L. *capillus* bildet in Schleins den Plur. auf *iós*.

§ 62. Die Fem.-Form zeigt dieselbe Entwickelung des vl. *ę*, wie der Plural *-ĕllos*, wegen des folgenden auslautenden *a* — cf. *M-L.* § 152, 171 —; so entsteht oberl. *iálla*; z. B. *capialla*, Hut. — **capella: carpialla*, Fusseisen. nach *Carisch* zu *crap*, Stein; ich stelle es zu ahd. *kraphô*. Hacken. — cf. *Kört.* 4573 —; *curturialla*, Kurzweil, — **curta* + *horella: garnialla*. Hagel, ist r. Plur. zu l. *granellu; mundialla*. Steinhäufchen, zu l. *mundare*; cf. *Kört.* 5475; *muntanialla*. Murmeltier, — *montanella*; *rudialla*. Butzenscheibe, — *rotella; sadialla*. Eimer, — *sitella*. cf. *Kört.* 7501; *tanrialla*. kl. Bohrer, — l. *terebella* durch *tenuis* beeinflusst; cf. it. *tenirella*; cf. *Kört.* 8116.

Nach Palatalen tritt Assimilation, nach r Attraction des *i* ein; z. B. *agnalla*, weibl. Lamm, — l. **agnella*; *chüralla*, Schmetterling, — r. *chüra*. Motte; *fantschalla*, Magd. — **(in)fanticella*; *fischalla*, Fackel. — ml. *facella (Du Ca.)* statt l. *facula*; *purschalla* — *porcella*; *tuvinschalla*. Pflugdeichsel, — **temonicella* von *temo*.

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[1]) Nach Palatal *š* etc. *-alts; a* ist hier ursprünglich nur velarer Gleitelaut.

Anm. Bisweilen gleicht sich *-ialla* an *-ala*, r. Fem. von l. *-alis* an; z. B.: oberl. *purschâla*, reine Jungfrau. — um die fatale Deckung mit *purschalla* = *porcella* zu vermeiden; Diss. *spuriala*, Schachtelhalm. zu r. *spurar*, reinigen; *turniala*, Wirbelwind.

§ 63. Im *E.* erhält sich *-ella*; z. B. *agnella*; *barella*, Mistwagen. von ahd. *bara*; *bavarella*, Sauferei. — *bairer*, trinken; *dunschella*, Edelfräulein. — **domnicella*; *fantschella*; *fundella*; Sumpf. zu l. *fundus*; *jucantschella*; *rasdella*, Netz; cf. *Du Ca. reticella*, *vox italiana*; *G. rētienlum*; *Diez Gr. II* 367 u. *Kört.* 6873; *stella*, Holzspähne. — l. **astella* für *astilla* zu *hasta* od. *assis*; cf. *Kört.* 856. 864; *Cohn* p. 22. 23; *surcatschella*, Augenbraue — **supercilia* — Ausgangsvertauschung!

Anm. L. *-illa* nur in gelehrten Wörtern. z. B. oberl. *arschilla* — l. *argilla*; cf. *Cohn* p. 54 ff.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 64. 408. Vai aguelli (Soglio) = Lämmerthäler; lomb. Plur. von *collis* u. *agnellus*.

409. Uaul dellas Ampallas (Ruschein) = Wald der Himbeeren; cf. O. E. *ampa*, Himb.

410. Arschella (Ardetz). zu l. *argilla*, Thon; cf. § 65.

411. Arsürellas (Guarda); cf. 923; Dem. zu *arsura*, Brand; cf. § 105; cf. *Götz.* p. 85., *Schn.* p. 198.

412. Arudels (Zutz). Plur. zu E. *roudi*, Heuhaufen.

413. Fopp dellas Astellas (St. Maria M.) = Grube der Stangen: cf. *Du Ca.*: *astella*; r. *fopp* aus l. *fovea*.

414. Ischegls (Filis.). Plur. zu r. *ischegl*, Achsel; cf. 231 ff.

415. Pleun d'ischì (Rein) = „Ahornboden"; r. *ischì* aus **acellus*. —

416. Isella (Campov., Celer etc.) = „kl. Au"; hier kein Wechsel von *-ula*, sondern aus **isulella*; cf. *Schn.* p. 84 *Ischia*: ein „*Isclella*", in Ital. 3 *Isella* u. 1 *Iselle*, daneben ein *Isolella* u. 1 *Isorella* — hier Dissimilation des ersten *l*; ich stelle auch hierher das *Pradum ad Sorella* bei *Moor* I. J. 766; cf. 146 f.

417. Ovella (Schleins), neben *Novella*; = Wässerchen aus **aquella*.

418. Urezzadeschè (Samn.) = „Ahornbleiss“; cf. 154 u. 415.

419. Utschels (Celer.), Plur. zu *utschel*, Vogel; auch in Ital. O. wie *Uccelli*.

420. Uvaulcastì (Laax) = „Schlosswald“ aus d. *Wald* + r. *castì*.

421. Bratello (Brusio), zu *ml. braida*, Breite; cf. *Schn.* p. 17, u. *Rosa* u. *Peri: breda*.

422. Camdell (Bondo) = „kl. Feld“ aus l. **camp(i)tellus*; cf. *Buck* XII *campus*; *Schn.* p. 30; *Götz.* p. 21; viele it. *Campitello*; bei *Odorici* ein urk. *Campadellus* aus d. J. 841; bei *Moor* III. J. 1354: ein *Campedelles*; cf. 423. 450. 462.

423. Campodels u. -diels (Chur); cf. 422.

424. Campel (da sera) u. C. (da sot) (Lostallo) = „kl. Feld“; cf. *Du Ca. campellus* = *campicellus*; *Moor* I J. 766 ein *„ager in Campellos“*.

425. Plan Capell (Vicos.) u. *Capell* (Vals), auch zu *campellus*; cf. 424.

426. Capella (Scaufs) = Kapelle.

427. Cardinel (Scharans. St. Martin), von r. *cardinel*, eingeschlossene Wiese (aus l. **cardinellus*); in Ital. viele Orte wie *Cardine, Cardini*; cf. 25.

428. Carnella (Soglio). Dem. zu r. *carna*, eingehegtes Grundstück, aus l. *cardinem*; cf. 427.

429. Carpaschì (Präz), aus r. *crap*, Stein + *-icellus* (od. + **acellus* cf. 415).

430. Carpel (Vrin) = kl. Stein.

431. Charpella (Fuldera), zu 430; kaum zu r. *charpella*, Fusseisen; cf. 451.

432. Cartì (St. Martin u. Vals) = l. *quartellum?* cf. *Schn.* p. 132.

433. Casialas (Somv.) = „kl. Häuser“; in Ital. 7 *Casella* u. 17 *Caselle*.

434. Chassellas (Scanfs) = 433 oder eher zu E. *chascha*, Kiste, aus l. *capsa*.

435. Chasté (Süss) = Schloss.

436. Chasté marsch (M.) = faules Schloss d. h. Ruine.

437. Castel (Soglio); cf. 435.

438. Vals Castella (Mons). r. Plur. von *vallis* + Koll.-Plur. von *castellum*; bei *Moor* J. 1089: Weinberg *Castella* in *Maienfeld*; od. zu *costa*, Halde?

439. Castelas (Stürvis, Tinzen); cf. 438.

440. Castello (Brusio); cf. 435.

441. Castì (Laax, Andeer). Chiastì (Filis.); cf. 435.

442. Igl Castinotbet (Salux) = Schloss des Notbert?

443. Casti dador (Waltensb.) = äusseres Schl.

444. Mutta da Castì (Levg.) = Schlosswiese.

445. Plauns Castì (Waltensb.) = Schlossebenen.

446. Clavadi (Somv.. Mons. Ruaun. Bergün) = kl. Heustadel; Dem. zu r. *clavau;* cf. 29, 169, 557, 561.

447. Clavadels (Celer.). Clavadials (Somv.), Clovadels (Präz.); Plur.; cf. 446.

448. Clavadialla (Flond) Koll.-Plur.; cf. 446.

449. Clüsiflur (Guarda) = **clusellum*, kl. Gehege; cf. fr. *clos* + r. *flur* = Blume — od. Florus?

450. Compadials (Somv.); cf. 423.

451. La Crapela (Villa); cf. 431.

452. Cristatel (Filis.) = „kl. Hügel" zu r. *craista;* cf. 183, 423. *Du Ca. crista = mons: Götz.* p. 61. *Schm.* p. 82.

453. Cristella (Degen) = „kl. Hügel".

454. Crudels (Tinzen), zu r. *curdar*, fallen; süd. tir. *croda* — aus l. **corruptare?* — Felsabsturz; cf. *Croda Rossa* in d. Dolomiten; auch d. Felsen u. viele d. Bergnamen. wie „Hochfellen" kommen von fallen.

455. Quadrella (Fettan. Guarda), zu r. *quadra*, Feldparzelle.

456. Quarnei (Soazza) = **quaternelli?* cf. *Du Ca. quaternum = feudum.*

457. Cudì (Salux) = „schmale Wiese" aus l. **caudellus;* cf. it. *coda*, Schwanz u. Ausläufer eines Berges.

458. Motta de Cudì (Salux); cf. 457.

459. Cudräalas (Scharans); cf. 455; cf. *Du Ca. quadrellus;* cf. *Moor* II J. 1347: *Quadrellen.*

460. Cudrials (Vrin), zu *quadrum*, Block.

461. Pleu Cumadì (Somv.) = Sumpf bei dem Lagerplätzchen — l. *paludem* + **calmatellum* —; cf. *Du Ca.*: *cama;* r. *cauma,* Lagerplatz für's Vieh; cf. 423.

462. Cumpadials (Villa); cf. 423. 450.

463. Cuntadialla (Lufis) = kl. Dorfgemeinde; cf. it. *contado* l. *comitatus.*

464. Curtganì (Vigens. Laax), zu r. *curtgin,* Baumgarten.

465. Curtinellas (Zutz) zu 464.

466. Fantaniallas (Vrin), zu *fontana,* Quelle; in Ital. 14 Orte *Fontanelle,* ein *Fontanella* im Walserthal.

467. Faudrels (Laax), zu r. *faulda,* Rand. Fuss eines Berges, + *-arius* + *-ellos;* cf. it. *falda* u. *Du Ca. falda* 2.

468. Fligeil (Salux) = Flegel; l. *flagellum?*

469. An der Flúela (Süss); d. Dem. zu r. *fluh,* Felsen.

470. Pleun fravì (Somv.) = Schmiedboden.

471. Paliu fravì (Razen) = Schmiedsumpf; cf. 470.

472. Funtanella (Celer.); cf. 466.

473. Forcella (Bondo). Furcella (Vicos.) = „Kluppe, schmaler Durchgang"; cf. *furcula* bei *Götz.* p. 25; in Ital. viele *Forcella.*

474. Furella (Guarda) = „kl. Loch" zu r. *fora.*

475. Furschalla (Duvin), Furschäalla (Filis.); cf. 473.

476. Ginellas (Razen). zu r. *geina,* Gatter. — l. *janua* — od. — wohl kaum zu *Ginella,* Johanna. cf. *Muoth* p. 42; cf. No. 540.

477. Gravela (Bivio), zu r. *grava,* Kies.

478. Larschella (Somv.), zu l. *argilla,* Thon?

479. Livè (Silvapl.), *Livei* (Stampa), zu r. *irè,* Schulter; cf. 231.

480. Luvişchels (Silvapl.) = l. **lupuscellos* zu *lupus,* Wolf.

481. Manalla (Trins), zu r. *mina,* Bergwerk.

482. Chaunt Manella (Celer.) = Eck der kl. Mine; cf. 481.

483. Manè (Stürvis), zu *mina?*

484. Mantè (Zernetz) = Haufen; l. **montellus.*

485. V. Martella (Razen), zu r. *martell,* Busch, Staude, zu l. *murta*; cf. 60.

486. Martì flurì (Laax) = **myrtellus floritus;* cf. 485.

487. Martials (Vrin); cf. 485.

488. Martielti (Vals); d. Dem. zu l. **myrtellus;* cf. 485.

489. Il crap da Miribi[1]) (Razen) = Stein der schönen Mittagsrast; cf. *Alton* p. 48: *Mirì.*

490. Mortels (Silvapl.). zu l. *murta;* cf. 485.

491. Mulinè (Zernetz). Mulinel (Soglio) = kl. Mühle; cf. *Du Ca. molinellum.*

492. Muntagel (Bondo). aus l. *monticellus* — in Ital. 18 *Monticello* — od. eher aus l. **montaniellus* od. *-aniolus;* cf. *Zösmayr* p. 6, wo *Montiola* in Vorarlberg von *Montaniolos* — urk.! — abgeleitet wird; *Montiöl*, A. im Montafon, kommt urk. im 15. Jhdt. als *Montagel* vor; cf. *Alton* p. 49: *Montegella,* u. No. 570.

493. Fopp dellas muntanellas (St. Maria M.), = „Grube der Murmeltiere".

494. Muntschallas (Riein), zu l. *monticellus* od. zu **mundus* von *mundare,* schwenden; cf. 275.

495. Bottmuntschi (Andeer) = r. *bott*, Hügel, + l. *monticellus.*

496. Muscinella (Vicos.), zu r. *musna,* Steinhaufen.

497. Musella (Samn.), zu r. *mosa,* Mulde. — l. *madia?* —

498. Padèla (Bondo) = *patella,* Pfanne?

499. Palschemeala (O. Vatz) aus l. *pala;* cf. 255. + r. *schumealla,* Zwilling; cf. 538.

500. Pardealla (O. Vatz) = l. **pratella,* kl. Wiese, Dem. zu r. *prada.*

501. Pardell (Safien Th.), Pardi (Alven., Roten, Andeer, Riein) = kl. Feld — l. *pratellum;* cf. Pardels (Razen), Plur.

502. Pardiala (Vrin); cf. 500.

503. Parli (Waltensb.) = **pariolellum,* kl. Kessel; cf. 68. 89.

504. Parnell (Scharans) = **pratinellum?* —

505. Motta de Parpì (Salux), zu *palma, balma,* Höhle, — cf. *Buck.* XII *palma* u. *Götz.* p. 49 *Balm.*

506. Parpè (Celer.); cf. 505.

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[1]) = *meridiem bellum.*

507. Paznels (Alveneu) = kl. Flecken zu *ml. petium*, r. *pezz* + *-inus* + *-ellus* Plur.; cf. 72.

508. Perdí (Alven.); cf. 501.

509. Planazei (Vicos.), lomb. Plur., = l. *planities* + *-elli*; also = kl. Ebenen.

510. Planello (Brusio), in Ital. viele *Pianello*; zu l. *planum*, Ebene.

511. Planels (Präz.), Plur.; cf. 510.

512. Planì (Vrin); cf. 510.

513. Platella (Präz.) = kl. Platte; cf. 80.

514. Platelas (Filis., Trins), Plattialas (Levg.) Plattelas (Salux, Stürvis); cf. 513.

515. Plazell (Bondo); cf. 81, = kl. Platz.

516. Plazadäas (Spiss) = „kl. Plätze" — l. **plateatellos*; cf. 81, 422, 423.

517. Pradè (Celer., Samad., Süss); cf. 501.

518. Pradella (Schuls, Waltensb.); cf. 500.

519. Pradellas (St. Maria, Remüs etc.); cf. 500.

520. Pradello (Brusio); cf. 501.

521. Pradels (Scanfs); cf. 501.

522. Praschidellas (St. Maria), zu r. **praisa*, Baumschlag; cf. 423.

523. Pratè (Schleins); cf. 501.

524. Pungell (Vicos.) = l. *ponticellus*, kl. Brücke; in Ital. viele O. *Ponticelli*.

525. Punsal (Salux); cf. 524.

526. Puntschallatschoff (Bergün) = r. *puntschalla*, kl. Brücke — aus **ponticella* —, + r. *tschoff*, Grasbüschel; r. *punt*, Brücke, ist doppelgeschlechtig.

527. Plattapurschella (Lufis) = Ferkelplatte.

528. Plaun dels purschès (St. Maria) = Ferkelboden.

529. Rongghella (Thusis), zu ml. *runcus*, Rodung; cf. 105, 106.

530. il Rudè (Süss) = ausgerodeter Wald; cf. r. *far un rudè* = Gestrüpp ausroden; cf. bresc. *rut*, Kehricht.

531. Rudè (Scanfs, Lü), igls Rudeals (Tiefenk.), Rudì (Vrin), Rudials (Bergün); cf. 530.

532. Rumpitschì (Somv.) = **cremiciellus*, kl. Klausnerei? cf. Schn. 135, u. N. 370.

533. Punt d' la Zanè (Filis.) = Brücke der Frau des Z. — der Fam.-N. Z. = kl. Johann.

534. Sasialla (Lufis) = **saxella* „kl. Felsen".

535. Sassè (Süss, Celer. etc.) = *saxellum;* cf. 534.

536. Sassella (Fettan), La Sassella (Süss); cf. 534.

537. Schenabrells (Degen) = *juniperellos*, kl. Wachholderstauden, zu r. *schenaiver.*

538. Schimels (Silvapl.) = „Zwiesel"; cf. 499.

539. igl Schimmel (Filis.); cf. 538, 541.

540. Schinellas (Silvapl.), zu l. *janua;* cf. 476.

541. Peidra schmella (Fettan) = d. „Zwieselstein"; cf. 499, 538, 539, 543, 745.

542. Schuì (Villa), zu r. surs. *schuvì*, Schulter; cf. 231.

543. Schumialla (Vrin); cf. 541.

544. Prau zengli (Trins) = *pratum* + **cingulellum*; cf. 166.

545. Ils Sessals (Alven.) = kl. Felsen; cf. 535.

546. La Sisealla (O. Vatz); cf. 534.

547. Sisì (Salux, Tiefenk.): cf. 535.

548. Sursisì (Filis.); cf. 535.

549. Sissella (Samn.); cf. 546.

550. Zopì (Ruschein), zu *zop*, Flachröste: cf. 184.

551. Stablello (Brussio), aus l. **stabulellum;* cf. berg. *staviel*, schlechte Hütte.

552. Stável martella (Razen); cf. 551, 60, 485.

553. Stavéllo (Brusio), aus **stabulellum*: cf. 551.

554. Stavess (Guarda), Plur. von *Stavell*: cf. 551.

555. La Val Striela (Bergün) = Hexenthal, zu r. *stria*, Hexe + *-ella* — od. *-alis*?

556. Sundellas (Stürvis), zu r. *senda*, Steig — l. *semita.*

557. Tabladè (Taufers M.) = **tabulatellum*, kl. Heustadel; cf. 446, 561, 566.

558. Tavarnèla (Vicos.), zu l. *taberna*, r. *taviarna;* im Ital. 15 Orte *Tavernella:* cf. Schn. p. 166.

559. Tavellas (Waltensb. u. Guarda) = Platten, Tafeln, zu l. *tabella.*

560. Tivì (Mons) = kl. Fichte; zu r. *tec* — l. **taedus*; cf. 191. 243.

561. Tobladel (Soglio); cf. 557; *Tobadill*, O. in Tirol ist gleichen Ursprunges; cf. *Schn.*

562. Truè dell'orb (Lü) = kl. Steig des Blinden; r. *truè* aus *triviellum*? cf. 117 u. *Alton* p. 66 *Tru.*

563. Crap dellas Truillas. Stein der kl. Wege; cf. 562.

564. Tgapäalacotschna (Alven.) = rother Hut od. rothe Kapelle.

565. Tgastì (Bergün); cf. No. 435.

566. Tubladell (Vicos.); cf. 557.

567. Thuì (Vrin) = kl. Rinne aus l. *tubellus*; cf. *Schn.* p. 177 f.

568. Plaun da Vadès (M.) = Kälberboden.

569. Valdagnì (Salux) = Lammthal l. *vallis-de-agnellum*

570. Versagels (Levg.), zu **versare*, pflügen, um einen Neubruch anzulegen; also = **versicellos* od. eher *versaniellos;* cf. 492 u. *Du Ca. versana* = *versée.*

571. Igls Viels (Salux) = Kälber od. eher = *riales?* cf. 394.

Anm. Das Suf. *-allus* findet sich hauptsächlich in Namen, die auf l. *caballus* zurückweisen: z. B. Plän di Cavai (Bondo) = Rossboden; Fora Chiavaigl (Filis.) = Rossloch; Cauma de Cavals (Degen) = Rosslager; Troi dels chavos (*M*) = Pferdeweg etc.

In anderen Fällen ist *allus* als eine ziemlich alte r. Variante von *ellus* aufzufassen. Hierher gehören eine Reihe von r. Fam.-N. u. Vornamen auf *-all, -alle, -alli, -aigl, -aigla, -ai* — cf. *Muoth* p. 45 —. Von Flurnamen wüsste ich nur wenige Beispiele zu nennen: Muragl (Pontres.), Miragl (Trins) kl. Mauer — hier ist zwar *-iculus* nicht ausgeschlossen. Puzagl (Mons) zu l. *puteus*; Rundandagl (Tiefenk.) zu l. *rotundus;* Turnagl (Vrin) zu *turnare*, drehen, umpflügen.

B) 2. l. -ullus, a.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 65. Dieses seltene Suf. zeigt sich im Rät. unter der Form *-ul, -ulla* — nur im *E. -uol. -uolla*: z. B.

1. Subst.: r. *tschaguolla, schiguolla*, Zwiebel. — l. *cacpulla; maguoll*, Mark. — l. * *medullus* statt *medulla*;

2. Adj.: *E. chafuol*, tief. — l. **cavullus*? zu l. *cavus*; cf. *Diez Gr.* II. p. 368; *sadul, E. saduol*, satt. — *satullus.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 66. 572. Chiavugl (Andeer) = **cavullus* tief.

573. Muttatschavolla (Samn.) = tiefe Matte.

574. Val chavuola (Val Cava) = tiefes Thal.

575. Kaguls (Präz) Plur. zu l. *cucullus*, Zipfel. Gipfel; cf. *Buck* XII; in Ital. O. wie *Coccolla*; cf. d. oberb. *Kochel, Kogel, Gögerl, Gigerl*; cf. *Gögerlberg* bei Weilheim und *Giggerlberg* bei Dachau.

576. Caguols (M): cf. 575.

577. Presulle (Brusio). zu r. **praisa*; cf. 308, 522; cf. *Moor* II J. 1309 *Valula* — aus *vallis* + *ulla*?

II. A) 1. l. -ámen.

I. In westr. Apell.

§ 67. Dieses Suf., sowie die ihm ähnlichen *-imen, -umen* gehören zu den wenigen, welche im Rät. die Fähigkeit bewahren, zahlreiche Neubildungen hervorzubringen; freilich haben sie die ihnen im L. innewohnende Bedeutung gegen einen ursprünglich ihnen fremden Kollectivbegriff eingetauscht, ähnlich wie im Italienischen — cf. *Carisch* p. XXIX.

L. *-amen* erscheint

1. unter der Form *-am* im halb lombardisierten Bergellerthale, in Stalla, O. E. herab bis Zernetz; cf. *M-L.* § 242;

2. als *-om* im übrigen Graubünden; cf. *Gartn.* § 68; nach *Gartn.* § 29 wäre das letztere das ursprünglichere, das erstere durch it. Einfluss an Stelle von *-om* getreten.

Beispiele ad 1. r. *linàm*, Holzwerk; cf. it. *legname*; r. *manedlam*, Abfälle, zu r. *manédel*, klein; O. E. *reginam* u. *ariginam*, — cf. *Gartn.* § 92 —, Königreich, — l. **regnamen* od. **regionamen?*; O. E. *sajettam*, Geschütz. zu l. *sagitta*; cf. it. *saettame*.

ad 2. *bischiom* = it. *bestiame*; *liom* — l. *ligamen*; *minuzchiom*, Geschnitzel, — l. **minutiamen*; oberl. *sittom* = **sagettamen*.

Anm. Das r. *schaum*, Schwarm, zwingt zu der Annahme, das Urrätische habe noch die Form **exagmen*, die Vorläuferin des l. *examen*, gekannt. habe dieselbe in *exalmen* verwandelt, was dann r. *schaum* ergeben musste; cf. *M-L.* § 403. — Über *gm* = *um* s. ferner *Grö. Gr.* I. 708; *Grö. Z.* II. 537; *Seelmann*, Ausspr. 327; *Waldner*, Quellen 23; *Karsten*, Kons.-Verbindungen 27; *Völkel*, Changement d. *l'L en U.* 29; *Gutheim* 60.

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1])

§ 68. 578. Furom (Fuldera M.), zu l. *foramen*, Öffnung; cf. r. *fora*, Loch. u. *Alton* p. 40. *Foràm.*

579. Do Furom = hinter *F.*; cf. 578.

580. Giarsunóm (Lavin) u. *Giarsünóm* (Guarda), zu **gyrationem?* cf. r. *girar*, roden; cf. 352, 1349.

581. Plembattanám (Zutz).

582. Pracom (Ardetz) zu *ml. parcus*, Pferch; cf. *Rosa: bárec.*

583. Il Salom (Somv.). Saloms (Präz), Sulom (Flond), Suloms (Laax). igls Suloms (Tiefenk.); cf. *ml. solamen*, Hofstätte, (zu l. *solum*), = r. *salom*; cf. *Götz.* p. 74. *Salums.*

584. Sottaram (Vicos.) = l. **subtus terramen.*

585. Surom (Cierfs M.) = „Über Rom"; dieser O. von l. *ramus.*

586. Süsóm (Cierfs M.) = **su(r)sum - summum*, „zu oberst." —

[1]) cf. die Ableitung von *Reams* aus *ripamina*, u. *Vinomna* aus **vincamina* bei *Buck* p. 210—216.

587. Valomis (Degen), Plur. zu **vallamen* = viele Thäler.

588. Valzeromm (Samn.).

589. Walrampitschen (Taufers) = **aqualairamen* — aus *aqualis,* Bach (cf. 310) u. *-arius* + *-amen* — u. r. *pitschen,* klein; das **aqualairamen* entspräche einem d. *Bachtlach* aus *Bach* + *thal* + *-icht,* d. h. einem Orte, wo viele Rinnsale sind; dieser Name oft in den d. Alpen; cf. 1142.

II. A) 2. l. -īmen, -ūmen.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 69. Einer grossen Beliebtheit erfreuen sich im Rät. die Nachkömmlinge von l. *-īmen,* das indessen in manchen Fällen u. manchen Orten lautlich mit *-ūmen* zusammenfallen konnte. Während *-amen* im Westr. vorzüglich zur Bezeichnung einer Menge dient, erhielt *-īmen* überdies die Rolle zugewiesen, eine intensive Eigenschaft auszudrücken; manchen solcher Ableitungen kommt auch der Begriff eines Mittels od. Werkzeuges zu — cf. *Carisch* p. IX. Das genannte Suf. wird bald an den Stamm des Infinitivs, bald an jenen des *part. pass.* angefügt. Westlich vom Albula erhält es sich meist als *-imm* — cf. *Gartn.* § 44. wonach l. *ī* vor *m* im Rät. nicht diphthongiert. Doch in Stalla und im *E.* wurde es durch *-ūm* aus l. *-umen* verdrängt; z. B.

Oberl. *arsentimm,* Inbrunst, von r. *arsentar; culimm,* Seiglappen, zu r. *culár,* fliessen; *cultimm,* Mist, zu l. *cultus; mischadimm,* Gemisch, — **mischdimm* zu l. *mixtus; ladimm,* Mist. — l. *laetus;* cf. it. *letame* u. *Du Ca. laetamen; sternimm,* Streu, zu l. *sternere.*

Anm. 1. Filis. *nudrim,* Saugkalb, geht auf l. **nutrīmen* statt *nutrĭmen* zurück; cf. fr. *nourin* u. *Cohn* p. 64, 65;

Anm. 2. r. *scalimm,* Stufe, entstand aus *scalin;*

Anm. 3. Der Ausgang *-imm* in Ortsadverbien geht auf l. *imus,* der unterste, zurück; z. B. *entadimm,* zu innerst, — l. **intus de imo; oradimm,* zu äusserst, — *foras-de-imo.*

Diese Adverbien werden auch in Adj. verwandelt u. dann

dekliniert; z. B. *la pli giudimma*, die unterste. — l. **illa plus jusum de-imo;*

Anm. 4. Zu *E. trimma*, 3jährige Kuh. — l. *trīma* — analog gebildet ist r. *quatrimma*, 4jährige Kuh.

§ 70. Wie schon angedeutet, behielt im *E.* das Suf. *-üm* = *umen* die Oberhand; z. B. *aldüm* — **lactamen*; *arsentüm*; *eridüm*, Gewinsel. — r. *cridar*; *mundüm*, Reinigung. — r. *mundar*; *sternüm*, Streu, zu l. *sternere.*

Westlich vom Albula tritt neben *-imm* aus *-īmen* noch das den gleichen Zwecken dienende Suf. *-em* auf, das meistens aus l. *-ūmen* entsprang; cf. *Gartn.* § 200 u. *M-L.* § 57 *fumus.*

Nur wenn es sich um die Dialekte von Dissentis u. Trins bis Stalla handelt, mag es in einzelnen Fällen aus l. *-imen* entstanden sein — cf. *Gartn.* § 44 u. *M-L.* § 33 —: z. B. surs. *eulem*. Bärlapp. — zu l. *eulare*, weil diese Pflanze an vielen Orten zum Durchseihen der Milch benützt wird; surs. *curdems*, Abfälle, zu r. *curdar* = it. *crodare*; surs. *runem*, Runst, zu *runare*, schleppen, — l. **reunare* it. *ragunare*; surs. *sunem*, Geläute, zu l. *sonare*; surs. *tarlischem*, Glitzern, zu l. *translucere.*

Anm. 1. *scalem*, Stufe, — s. o.

2. *sem*, Schwarm, aus **exīmen* od. **exumen* statt **exaumen*; cf. § 67 Anm.

3. *penderlem*, Lappen, — Mischung von *pendere* u. *pendulum.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 71. 590. Cantung giudem (Salux) = unterster Winkel, zu r. *cantung* aus **cantonem.*

591. Carcadims (Andeer) = Ort, wo man auf- od. abladet, zu l. **caricare*, fr. *charger.*

592. Cresim (Lostallo), zu **corrosus*, hohl?

593. Demvitg (Waltensb.) = „Niederndorf" aus l. *ad imum vicum.*

594. Dimvei (Salux), Dinvei (Stürvis); cf. 593.

595. Giudem-ual (Tiefenk.) = zu unterst am Bach, aus l. **ju(sum)-(a)d-im(um) aqual(em).*

596. Madimes (Zernetz) zu r. *meida* aus l. *meta*, Heuschober (cf. *G.*); cf. *Alton* p. 48: *Medél.*

597. Oradem-ual (Tiefenk.) = ganz aussen am Bach.

598. Starflems (Brigels), zu r. *strifla*, Streifen, schmales Gut; cf. 239, 240.

599. Crap de Starnem (Levg.) = Stein der Streu.

600. Darums (Waltensburg) = *ad-area* + *umen?*

601. Salums (Malix, Lufis). aus *solamen;* eher zu *Du Ca. salumen* = *salsamentum*, hier Salzauswitterung an Felsen; cf. d. *Sulz;* cf. *Sulzfluh* etc.; cf. 221.

602. Sut Sulums (Somv.); cf. 601.

II. A) 3. -issimus. -imus, -ésimus.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 72. Suf. *-issimus* dient vereinzelt noch unter der Form *-ischem, -ischma* zur Bildung des Superl. — cf. *Carisch* XXX — z. B. *bunischem* — **bonissimum.*

L. *-imus* ist nur noch in *dieschma*, E. *deschma*, Zehent, vorhanden; auch *-ésimus* ist auf die folgenden Wörter beschränkt: 1. *trenteisen* — l. **trigintesimus* — der Dreissigste, d. h. Seelenmesse 30 Tage nach dem Tode eines Katholiken zu lesen; 2. *tschunkeisma*, Klafter. — *quinquagesima?* 3. *tschunkeismas*, E. *-aismas*, Pfingsten. — l. *quinquagesimas;* 4. *anzeinsnas*, Auferstehungsfest. — l. *ascensionem*, dessen Ausgang durch No. 3 beeinflusst ist. — 5. M. *ampraisma*, erster Anschrot des Heustockes. — **inprima*, dessen Ausgang sich mit *ésima* mischte, cf. § 112, 6.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 73. 603. Dešma (Bondo) = Zehend.

604. Scheisnas (Scanfs) = *decimas?*

605. Valschischma (Süss) = *vallis decima*, Zehent-Thal?

II. B) 1. l. -anus. [1])

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 74. Dieses jetzt erstarrte Suf., das indes weit herab im Rät. seine Fähigkeit bewahrt hatte, aus Subst. u. Adj. neue Substantiva u. Adjectiva zu bilden, erscheint unter den mannigfaltigsten Formen. Ausser der Veränderung des *a* kommt hier auch jene des *n* in Betracht, das sich entweder als *n* erhält, od. zu *m* labialisiert, od. zu *ṅ* velarisiert, od. unter Nasalisation des vorangehenden Vokales apokopiert wird — cf. *Gartn.* § 70 —, so dass die folgenden Formen sich ergeben:

1. *·an* im E. von Zernetz abwärts mit wenigen Ausnahmen; cf. *M.-L.* § 242;

2. *aṅ* in Cleven, O.B., Andeer u. östlich bis zum Albula, Fettan im U.E., Samn.;

3. *ę̄n* im U.B. — cf. *Gartn.* § 25;

4. *aun* in Sedrun u. M., *aun̄* in Scharans, *ãũ* in Rotenbrunn;

5. *ą̈un* in Waltensburg; [2])

6. *ę́un* in Jlanz, Flims, Bonaduz;

7. *ǫ́nn* Dissent., Brigels;

8. *ǫn* in Realta. *ǫṅ* in Trins, Ems;

9. *ēm* Scanfs. *ę̄m* Samaden. — nach *Gartn.* § 31 über **aim* od. **aum*, nach *M.-L.* § 242 über **eum;* in der Schrift im *O.E.* jedoch als *aun* — cf. *Carisch* p. XXVII.

Beispiele ad 1. *U.E. crastian,* Mensch. — l. *christianu; chasan,* zu Haus gemacht. — l. **casanu; grobulan,* Grobian, ist Mischung von d. *grob* + it. *grossolano; tavan* — l. *tabanu;*

ad 2. *ĉr girang,* Neuwiese, zu r. *ĉr,* Acker, u. r. *gir* zu *girar,* umgraben, — l. *gyrare;* cf. 352, 1349;

ad 4. oberl. *auvernaun,* überwintertes Schwein, — l. *hibernum;* id. *umbrivaun,* schattig, — l. **umbrivanus, -a,*

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[1]) cf. *Kört. Z.* III, 562, 565, 572, 580.

[2]) 5—8 haben sich über *aun* entwickelt; cf. *M.-L.* § 242.

id. *giraun* (s. o.); id. *pultaun*, Pfütze. — Mischung von r. *pult*, Brei, u. r. *pantau*, Pfütze;

ad 7. *curtoun*, kurzer Holzschlitten. — l. **curtanum; mulonn*, Motte. — l. *mulus*; *tavoun* — *tabanu*: cf. *Kört.* Z. III, 571; X. Ref. 242. 244; *Gröb.* Z. XIV, 223;

ad 9. *O.E. crastiaun* — *christianu*; *O.E. mesaun*, mittel. **medianu*.

§ 75. Mit diesem *-aun* wird manchmal ein anderes verwechselt, das sich formell mit ihm deckt, an weibliche Substantiva angefügt wird, ohne deren Geschlecht zu verändern, u. den Plur. analog demjenigon der Maskulina bildet; bisweilen fehlt auch der Singular hierzu — cf. *Gartn.* § 107 —; z. B. *dunaun*, Frau. Pl. *dunauns; matta*, Mädchen. Pl. *mattauns*; *vanaun* (f.) Hafen. Pl. *vanauns*. Wie man sieht, beschränkt sich die Erscheinung nicht auf Verwandtschaftsnamen. Gegen die Gartner'sche Erklärung lässt sich nichts Positives einwenden; indessen dürfte die Herleitung jenes Suffixes aus l. *-im*, der Akk.-Endung der 1. Deklination, vorzuziehen sein; denn was wäre natürlicher als den Vornamen *Andreiün, Andrüin*, Andreas — cf. *Muoth* p. 34 — aus dem l. Akk. *Andreám* zu erklären?

§ 76. Der Plur. von *-anus* richtet sich nach dem von *manus* — cf. *Gartn.* § 106; somit entspricht 1. einem Sing. auf *-n* od. *-i* ein Plur. auf *-uts*; 2. einem Sing. auf *-m* ein Plur. auf *-mps*; 3. einem Sing. auf nasalierten Vok. ein Plur. auf *-s*.

§ 77. Die Formen des weibl. Suf. *-ana* correspondieren mit jenen des Masc. — cf. § 74 — mit Ausnahme des *O. Bergell's*, wo *-ana* im Gegensatze zu *-anus* = *-an* sich als *-ana* erhält — cf. *Gartn.* § 25, 200 *lana* u. M.-L. § 299; Beispiele *ad* 1. u. 4. oberl. *unsauna, U.E. iansauna*, Enzian. — l. *gentiana; uslana, uzlanna*, Raupe. — l. **ostiolana*; cf. *Buck* XII: *capanna; curtanna*, Viertel, — *quartana*; oberl. *fantanna*, Quelle, — l. *fontana; U.E. fliana*, Hinterpflug, — d. pflug; *flur-strianna*, Alpenrose, — r. *stria*, Hexe, l. *striga*;

Anm. R. *chamanna* neben *chamonna*, Hütte, von l. *capanna*, beeinflusst von *choma*, Ruheplatz, — l. *calma*;

ad. 7. oberl. *ansouna* (s. o.); *fantouna*;

Anm. *M. salvonna*, Jauche, leitet *Buck* XII: *capanna* von l. *dislavare* ab; ich halte es für *salvo honore*; cf. *Gartn.* § 4.

ad 9. *O.E. funtauna*; *O.E. padlauna, paclauna*, Pfannkuchen. — zu l. *patella*; *rassalauna*, Raupe, — *ostiolana*.

§ 78. In Orten. wo die Form für l. *-anus -a* — cf. *Muoth* p. 33: *Baschnone* aus *Sebastianu* — mit *-ń, -ña* auslautet, konnte dieses Suf. leicht mit *-nc, -nt* verwechselt werden; cf. *Gartn.* § 70; dennoch kann das r. Suf. *-anc* nicht in allen Fällen auf diese Weise erklärt werden; die wichtigsten Beispiele sind:

1. *O.E. giraunch*, erstes Heu eines Brachfeldes, neben *giraṅ* u. *giran*, zu l. *gyrare*;

2. oberl. *paglíounca*, Wöchnerin, von l. *palea*, Stroh, + Suf. *-ana* od. *ánica*;

3. *palaune*, junger Baumstamm, zu l. *palus* od. von *gr. φαλάγγη*; cf. *Körl.* 6104.

4. oberl. *perdounca*, hartes Gras, zu l. *pratum* + *-ana* od. *-ánica*?

5. *O.E. piaunch*, kl. Steg, Brett, — aus **pedánicus* od. **pedaneus* zu l. *pedem*; cf. *Du Ca. pedagnus*, it. *pedagna, tignum, quo fossatum transmittitur.*

6. oberl. *rischnaunca, O.E. vischnauncha*, Dorf, — l. *vicinánica*? Tonloses *-ĭco, -ĭca* wird oft bei Bildung von *O.N.* verwendet; z. B. *Malórca* u. *Minorca*, die beiden Inseln, aus l. *májor*, bez. *minor* + *ĭca*.

§ 79. Unbetontes *-anus* findet sich bloss bei oberl. *ierfan*, *E. orfan* — l. *orphanu*.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 80. 606. Albana (Silvapl.), hier wohl *aqua* zu ergänzen; cf. d. Weissenbach, Weissach; pr. *albà*, weiss, aus l. *albanus;* kaum zum *Pers.N. Albus* bei *Schn.* p. 2; *Paliop.* p. 27.

607. Albanas (Zutz); cf. 606.

608. Albanatscha u. *Albanella* (Silvapl.) = Gr. u. kl. *Albana*; cf. 606.

609. Anzana (Brusio).

610. Arglan (Guarda), zu l. *arculus* „kl. Biegung od. kl. Bogen."

611. Erplang (Salux) = *er*, Acker, + *plang*. eben, breit.

612. Erplan (Guarda): cf. 611.

613. Uldeuna (Somv.), zu r. *uault*, Wald; cf. *Buck* XII: *gualdus*; cf. surs. *uldeuna*, Waldfee.

614. Baracän (Bondo), zu r. *baracca*; cf. *Rosa:* Val di Scalve *barec*, Viehpferch, bresc. *bareg*, Gemeinde-Weide.

615. Battagliang (Tinzen), zu r. *battaglia*: cf. 319, 320.

616. Igl Beischans (Salux), zu r. *biesc, biesch*, Schaf, — aus l. *bestia*.

617. Bertana (Stampa), zu d. d. Pers.-N. *Berto* od. weibl. *Berta*.

618. Sogn Bistgeun (Laax) = *Sanctus Sebastianus*; cf. 624.

619. Blutana (Guarda), zu r. *blut*, bloss, unbewachsen; cf. *Rosa: biott*, nackt (berg.) u. *Du Ca. blutare*.

620. Bramotan (Chur), zu r. *pra*, Feld, + r. *motta*, Matte.

621. Bregan (Bondo), zu bresc. *breghen, brig, breg (Rosa)* = *luoghi rupinosi:* cf. *brig* = Berg (V. Soana).

622. Brentan (Castas.), zu it. *brenta*, Mulde, Eimer; cf. *Du Ca. brenta* u. *Schn.* p. 25.

623. Laviner Bugliauna (Scanfs), zu r. l. = Lawinengang, + r. *bügl*, Trog.

624. Pleun Cabistgeun (Somv.) = Ebene des *C.;* dieser Pers.-N. = *casa* + *Sebastianum*; cf. 618.

625. Camana (O.), zu r. *cauma*, Ruheplatz, — aus l. *calma;* cf. *Du Ca. cama.*

626. Camon (Bivio, Somv.), zu r. *camon*, Einschlag für's Kleinvieh; dieses Wort neugebildetes Mask. zu r. *camonna*, Hütte, das durch Einfluss von *cauma* aus *capanna* sich bildete; cf. *Buck* XII: *capanna.*

627. Camon de piertg (Ruaun), zu r. *camon* — cf. 626 u. r. *piertg* = *porcus.*

628. Camona (Bivio), Chamona (V. Cava M.), aus *capanna;* cf. 626.

629. La Camonca (Trins), aus *capánnica*? cf. 628 u. *V. Camonica* in Ital.

630. Davo Chamonna (Süss) = hinter der Hütte; cf. 628, 629.

631. Casaunas (Vrin) = Hausgüter, zu l. *casa*; cf. *Du Ca. casana 3* u. *Cappol: pasch chiasaun*, Hausweide.

632. San Cassan (Vicos.) = *Sanctus Cassianus.*

633. A. Cassanella (Scanfs); cf. *casana 631;* eher zu *cassa*, Kiste; cf. *Du Ca. cassanna 1*, u. it. *cassa = alveus;* cf. 434.

634. Pros Cassanna (Scanfs); cf. 633.

635. Cavona (Vrin) zu *cavus*, hohl.

636. Kripeland (sehr steiniges Grundstück in Tauffers) zu r. *crippel*, Stein.

637. Cruschang (Filis.), zu r. *crusch.*

638. Las Cruschangs (Tinzen); cf. 637 u. § 75.

639. Curtins-Plavens (*B.*), zu r. *curtiñ*, Baumgarten, + *ml. plebanus*, zur Pfarre — *plebs* — gehörig, Pfarrer; cf. die vielen *Pieve* in Ital.; cf. *Du Ca. plebs*, u. *Alton* p. 55 *Plī.*

640. Cuzziragns (Bergün), zu *cuzzer*, Wetzsteinfass?

641. Danafreida (Spiss) = Kaltenbrunn; der Maiensäss *Danafraida* im Montafun aus urk. *Vontanafraida = f. frigida;* cf. 654, 657.

642. Darschelauns (Levg.), zu l. *argilla*, Thon; cf. 410.

643. Dimpleun (Laax) = unterster Boden; aus *ad imum planum.*

644. Duvagn (Mons), zu *dova*, Graben?

645. Funtauna (Scharans), Funtaunas (Ruaun), Fanteunas (Vrin), zu l. **fontana.*

646. Fantaunasnovas (Vigens) = neue Quellen.

647. Denter Fanteunas (Brigels) = „Zwischen Brunnen."

648. Fantongas marschas (Trins) = faule Quellen.

649. Fettȧ̈n (O.); nach *Buck* II *feta* zu it. *vetta*, Gipfel; eher zu r. *vat*, Bergterrasse.

650. Fianzauna (Campovasto), zu *fidanza*, Versprechen?

651. Fontana (Filis.), Fontauna (Scanfs), Las Fonteunas (Somv.); cf. 645.

652. Fontana-dei-Salis (Lostallo) = „Weidenquelle".

653. Fontauna de Uors (Levg.) = Bärenquelle.

654. Fonteuna freida (Somv.); cf. 641.

655. Fülian (Chur), zu l. *folium*, Laub; cf. die vielen *Gleb, Glöb, Klöb, Lob* u. dgl. in den d. Alpen, die meistens Örtlichkeiten bezeichnen, deren Laub ein köstliches Futter für die Ziegen abgibt.

656. Fuliauns (Malix); cf. 655.

657. Funtanga freida (Tiefenk.), Funtagna freida (Mons); cf. 641, 654.

658. Funtagnas (Stürvis), Funtanas (Filis.); cf. 651.

659. Funtänamüta (Bondo) = stumme Quelle.

660. Funtauna verda (V. Cava M.) = grüne Quelle.

661. Crap-dalla-funtauna (Samn.) = „Brunnenstein".

662. Surfuntauna (Samn.) = Über der Quelle.

663. Las Funtaunas (Präz); cf. 651.

664. Funtèma (Zutz); cf. 651.

665. Plaz furmian (Fettan) = Platz des Ameisenhaufens? *f.* aus l. **formicarium*, worauf auch nach *Schm.* p. 66 der N. der Grafen von Firmian zurückgeht.

666. Galdangs (Tinzen), *Galdagns* (Mons), zu r. *uaul*; cf. 613, 674.

667. Valgialzauna (St. Maria) = Enzianth. — *vallis* + *gentiana*.

668. V. gianzauna (Bergün) zu 667.

669. Giardana (Bergün), zu l. *carduus*, Distel; cf. M. *jerdún*, Distel.

670. Giazauna (V. Cava), zu it. *gazzo*, Wald; cf. 48.

671. Plaun St. Gierimaun (Trins) = Ebene des hl. G.

672. Uaul de Glion = Wald von Ilanz (O.).

673. Gravarauna (Tauters), zu *grava*, Kies, + *-aria*, + *-ana*; cf. 1556.

674. Gualdauna (Campovasto), zu *ml. gualdus*, Wald; cf. 613.

675. Lottan (Castas.), zu r. *lutt*, Kot, u. crem., berg., bresc. *lotta*, Wasen, Rasen.

676. Lotten (Soglio); cf. 675.

677. Madropian (Lostallo).

678. Malams (Celer. u. Silvapl.).

679. Maranga (Salux) — cf. 719 — durch Silbenaphärese aus r. *primaranga,* Maiensäss, dies aus l. **(alpis) primariana,* d. h. Alpe, auf die man im Frühjahr zuerst fährt; cf. § 112/6.

680. Marons (O. Vatz) — cf. 57 — zu r. *mar,* Pfütze, oder **mar,* Geröll; cf. *Schm.* p. 95.

681. Marulauns (Silvapl.) von einer Fam. M.

682. Munt Massaun (M.) = Mittelberg — *montem medianum.*

683. Mattaungs (Scharans) ist kaum Plur. von *matta,* Mädchen; eher zu r. *motta,* schw. d. *Matte;* cf. *Mädeler Gabel,* Bg. im Algäu, welcher N. das Dem. von „*Mahd*" — zu „mähen" — enthält; cf. eine Wiese in Tannheim — Tirol — Namens „*Mädelestenneberg*", urk. 17. Jhd. *Mäderiger Tenneberg,* zu *Mahd.*

684. Maviglangs u. Miviglangs (Stürvis) zu *muel* Vieh?

685. Mazans (Lufis), zu l. **medianos;* cf. 682.

686. Miránes (Schleins), zu *murus,* Mauer, od. eher zu r. *mehr,* Maier, l. *májor.*

687. Mondan (Lostallo), zu r. **mund,* Schwand; cf. 275 u. crem. *moundaa,* die Bäume von Ästen befreien, d. „schwenden" (bei Peri).

688. Mondan (Roveredo) cf. 687; in Ital. viele Orte, wie *Mondadizza, Mondoni* etc.; hierher u. nicht zu *monticellum* gehört das *Mundaditsch* bei *Götz.* p. 29. — dieses = *mundaditium.*

689. Pra mungaun (V. Cava) = *pratum monachanum* od. *dominicanum,* Mönchs- bezw. Herrenfeld.

690. Muntgaian (Vicos.), zu ml. *guadius,* Wald; cf. 613, 666.

691. Murangas (Tinzen); cf. 679.

692. V. Muşchaun (Scanfs), zu r. *muoşch,* feucht, od. l. *musca,* Fliege.

693. Müşchaunts (Scanfs).

694. Las Mutangs (Tinzen), zu r. *motta,* Matte; cf. 695, 696.

695. Mutauna (Samn.), zu r. *motta,* cf. *Du Ca. mota* = *collis* u. *motta* = *acervus.*

696. Mutäuma (Silvapl.) = 695.

696a. Mutauns (Bergün); cf. 694.

697. Muttajenanna (Samn.), zu r. *motta* — cf. 694 — und r. *jenna*, Gatter, zu l. *janua*; cf. 311, 476, 1079.

698. Nauasaigna (Guarda) = l. *in aqua sana*.

699. Nerapleuna (Brigels) = auf der ebenen Fläche, l. *in area plana*; cf. 3, 51.

700. Val pagong (Trins) = *vallem* + *paganum*, Heidenthal; cf. *Schn.* p. 36.

701. Paltan (Roveredo), zu bresc. berg. *palta*, piem. *pauta*, Kot.

702. Parglang (Salux), zu it. *pergola*, Laube.

703. Las Patleunas (Somv.), zu l. *patella*, Pfanne.

704. Patschanga (Salux), aus **piceana*, zu *picem*, Pech, od. *picea*, Tanne; cf. *Schn.* p. 127.

705. Perpian (Lostallo) = *pratum planum?*

706. Pischnanga (Tiefenk.), zu r. *pischina*, Jauche, — it. *pisciare* — od. zu *Du Ca. piscina 2*, Teich.

707. Pisnana (Vicos.) zu *piscina*; cf. 706.

708. Pitáns (Samn.).

709. Plantauna (Campov.), zu r. *planta*, Baumstamm.

710. Plantschanes (Süss), zu l. *planities*; cf. 79.

711. Platan (Vicos.); cf. 80.

712. Plauntanauns (Roten), zu *planta* + *-inus* + *-anos*; cf. 709.

713. Playazann (Schleins), zu r. *playa*, Rinnsal, — l. *plaga* — + *-acea* + *-anus*.

714. Costa da Plazaraun (V. Cava), aus r. *costa*, Halde, + *plaz*, Platz, + *-arius* + *-anus*; cf. 81.

715. Plazminang (Salux) = „Minenplatz“ zu r. *mina*; cf. 481 f.

716. Plischeuna (Ruaun), zu r. *pliss*, tir. d. Bleiss, d. h. steiler Grasfleck inmitten von Felswänden; cf. pr. *plais, plaissa*, Umzäunung, aus l. *plexum -a*; cf. *Du Ca. plessa 1, 2* u. *plesseium* u. *Alton* p. 55 *Plíscia*, u. fr. O.N. wie *Plessis* = l. **plexitium*.

717. Pransan (Zernetz) = **planitianum?* cf. 83 ff.

718. Prediaun (M.) = **prativanum* zu l. *pratum*.

719. Primarang (Remüs), zu r. *pr.*, Maiensäss, l. *primarius*; cf. *Du Ca. primayranus = scabinus*; cf. 679.

720. Rampaun (Silvapl.); cf. it. *rampuna*, Gestrüppe, it. *rampa*, Kralle.

721. Raspaunas (Scanfs), zu **raspare*, kratzen: cf. *Rosa: raspá* (bresc.); der N. zeigt eine Örtlichkeit an, die sehr uneben ist; hierher stelle ich auch den O.N. *Tarasp E.* — urk. *Taraspes — *de -ad -raspas?*; am Genfersee versteht man unter *râpes* schlechte Äcker; auch in Tirol tragen viele steinige Plätze N. wie *Kratzer, Kretzer*; cf. den *Kretzerwey* zwischen Füssen u. Schluxenwirt.

722. Ravarnauna (Taufers M.)

723. Reclauna (Schmitten); cf. *Du Ca. regula 7 = oppidum vel vicus*, od. eher zu *argilla*, Thon.

724. Risch dunauns (Samn.), zu r. *risch*, tir. d. *Ries* d. h. Rinne, um Holz od. Alpenprodukte zu Thal zu fördern. od. zu r. *resch*, Rain u. r. *dunauns*, Frauen.

725. Rodans (Schleins); cf. r. *rata*, steile Stelle, — l. *rapida* —; cf. *Moor II* J. 1200: *agrum apud Rutauns.*

726. Romani (Brusio), vom Fam. N. R. = l. *Romanus.*

727. Ruaun (O.), aus *ripaunm?* Der Wallensee hiess noch 843 — nach *Moor* — *lacus Ricanus*, d. h. See von *Rira = ripa.*

728. Rupleun (Somv.) = *runcus planus* breite Rodung?

729. Sacolauns (Scanfs), zu l. *sacculus?* cf. *Schn.* p. 141 *saccus.*

730. Salsana (Scanfs), zu r. *salsa*, Sulz; cf. 221, 757.

731. Salvagn (Stürvis), zu l. *silva.*

732. Salvamona (Schleins), zu l. silva + *-amen* + *-ana.*

733. Salvan (O. Vatz), zu r. *selva*; cf. *Buck XII silva.*

734. Quadra Salvanella (Roten) = Feldparzelle, die der Fam. *Salvanelli* gehört.

735. Salvons (Brigels): cf. 733.

736. Zambrans. (Ruaun), zu r. *zimber*, Zirmenbaum, u. Zimmerholz; cf. 744.

737. Sanagn (Mons u. Stürvis), zu r. *san, son*, Einschlag für Schweine, zu d. Zaun.

738. Sanzano (Brusio).

739. Sardonz (O. Vatz), zu r. *xert.* verlassen, öde? — l. *desertus?*

740. Saronz (Tinzen), zu l. *sera*, Eingeschlossenes, r. *serra*, Peundt, Anger, Gehege, seltener Felsenenge, zu l. *serare*; cf. *Schn.* p. 153, *Alton* p. 62: *Séres.*

741. Sarvagnonas (Trins). l. *silva* + *-ina* + *-anas?*

742. La V. Satgan (Surava) = Teufelsthal.

743. Sazniana (Guarda).

744. Punt-scharmêm (Zutz) = Zirbenholzbrücke; cf. 736.

745. Schelmaun l'ava (Alven.) = Zwillingswasser? aus *gemellanum* + *ill' aqua*; cf. 541.

746. Schilaun (Alven.): cf. r. *schlüz*, Schlund.

747. Schitgans (O. Vatz), zu r. *schitga*, Bannwald, Urwald — aus l. *exsucta.*

748. Schlionas (Fettan).

749. Sdaun (Celer.) = Löffel.

750. Servaplauna (Fettan) = „breiter Wald;" im Ital. *I Selvapiana*: cf. 223.

751. Spinan (Soazza), zu l. *spina*, Dorn.

752. Squitaun (Fuldera), zu r. *Sgnud*, Oswald.

753. Stavonas (A. in Flond u. Villa) = **uestivanas*, Sommerweiden, kaum zu ahd. *stapho*, Stufe; cf. *Schn.* p. 163.

754. Stuons (Laax), zu r. *stiva*, Ofen, od. cf. 753.

755. Il Sumbrivaun (St. Maria) = schattiger Ort, aus l. **subumbrivanus.*

756. Surônes (Schuls) = *supranus?*

757. Susauna (Scanfs): cf. 730.

758. Plaz Tamagn (Vicos.), zu r. *tuma*, Bergkuppe?

759. Tarzlaugna (Scharauns), zu **tertiolus*, dreimal mähbar; cf. 125, 128, u. *Schn.* p. 56 *Terziolaso.*

760. Terzano (Roveredo), vom l. Gent. N. *Tertius.*

761. Crap la Tgiamona (Salux) = Hüttenstein; cf. 626.

762. Ils Tgamons (O. Vatz); cf. 627.

763. Tionas (Fettan), zu r. *teu*, Alphütte; cf. 385, 388.

764. Tiragn (Stürvis); cf. *crom. tera*, Reihe (nach *Peri*).

765. Tridnona (Fettan), aus **tridinana* zu r. *trid*, hässlich?

766. Trunschana (Guarda).

767. Bot la Tgamona (Alven.) = Hüttenhügel; cf. 626, 761.

768. Tschentanes (Somv.), zu r. *tschenta*, Gürtel, Streifen; cf. *it. cinta*, Gürtel, Bezirk, u. *Du Ca. cincta.*

769. Tgesansuèct (Bergün) = untere Hausweide; cf. 631 u. l. *subtus.*

770. Tgesangròss (Bergün) = grosse Hausweide; cf. 769.

771. Turrian (Roten).

772. Valmasauna (Samn.) = *vallis mediana*; cf. 682.

773. Valpitauna (Celerina) = Hurenthal; manche Stelle im Gebirge, deren Wildheit den Touristen entzückt, entlockt dem Bauersmann mitunter einen halbunterdrückten Fluch, weil ihn jeder Platz ärgert, auf dem keine Vegetation gedeiht; auf solche Weise ist dieser N. und zahlreiche andere entstanden; darin finden wir *pitauna* etc. gerade so oft wie in den deutschen N. Hure, Hölle, Teufel, Krott (= Kröte), Hund, Mätze (= Hündin) etc.

774. Vanteumas (Razen) = *fontanas?*

775. Varsanga (Salux), zu ml. *versana*, Brachfeld, — auch prov. — von *versare*, umpflügen; cf. Buck XII. Versam; vom selben Stamme das berühmte *Versailles.*

776. Verdons (Vrin) = **viridanos* zu l. *vir(i)dis.*

777. Pitz Vilaun (Scanfs) = elender Spitz, zu *villanus;* cf. 773.

778. Ses vileuns (Brigels) = *saxum* + *villanos* = „Stein der Gauner". —

779. Vuntauna (Präz), Vuntana (Safien Th.); cf. 651, 774.

780. Walmaseuns (Lufis) = Mittelthal; cf. 682, 772 oder eher = Siechenthal aus *vallis* + *male -sanos*; cf. *Buck* XII *Masans.*

781. Walzaranna (Spiss) = *vallis* od. *aqualis* + *sera* + *-ana*; cf. 740.

782. Wattaunes (Spiss) zu r. *bott*; cf. 161, 258.

II. B) 2. l. -īnus. -ēnus u. -ĭnus.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 81. Das *ī* des erstgenannten Suffixes widerstrebte der Diphthongierung, der sich sonst dieser Vokal im Westr. unterzieht, die aber hier wegen des folgenden *n* nicht eintreten konnte. Grösstenteils bleibt das *ī* erhalten, nur von Realta an östlich bis zum Albula erscheint *e* od. *ę* hiefür. Das *n* des Suf. ist ähnlichem Schicksale ausgesetzt, wie jenes von *-anus*; cf. *Gartn.* § 43, 44, 70, 200 *vinum.*

§ 82. So gestaltete sich also l. *-īnus* zu 1) *in* im U.B., Sedrun bis Trins, U.E., M.; 2) *iñ* (Cleven, O.B., Ems); 3) *in'* in Bonaduz u. O.E.; 4) *eñ* in Levgiein; 5) *en'* von Realta bis Schweiningen u. in Stalla; z. B. *aguin,* Stecknadel, — l. **acuīnu*; *muvel bovin,* Rindvieh, — *mobile bovīnu*: *branchin,* Filisur *branzin,* starker Nebel, zu r. *brainta,* Nebel + *-icīnus*?; *brunzin,* Kuhglocke, — r. *brunza,* Bronze; *butschin,* kl. Fass, — **botticīnu*; cf. it. *botticella*; *casarin,* haushälterisch, — *casa* + *-arin* + *-īnu*; *curtin, curchin,* Baumgarten, — **co(h)ortīnu*, bezw. *co(h)ortĭcīnu*; *cusdrin,* Vetter, — *consobrīnu*; *daschin,* Nadel, *discherin,* Tannennadel, — r. *dascha* zu l. *taxus?* cf. bayr. d. *daxen,* tir. *dâs* etc. = Tannenzweige; *dschemblins,* Zwillinge, — **gemellīnos; dulschin, dutschin,* süsslich, — l. **dolcīnu*; *forchin,* kl. Heugabel, — l. *furca*; cf. it. *forcina*; *ladin,* schnell, — l. *latinu*; *mattign,* kl. Knabe, — r. *matt,* Knabe; *E. muoṣchin,* Mücke, — r. *muoṣcha,* l. *musca*; *E. orinchin,* Ohrenring, — l. **auriculinu*; cf. it. *orecchino*; *penderlin,* Alles was hängt, zu l. *pendulu*; *purschlin,* Ferkel, — **porcellinu*; surs. *scalin,* Glöckchen; cf. d. Schelle; *sechin,* schmächtig, — *siccus*; *sulprin, O.E. surplin,* Schwefelhölzchen, — *sulphurinu*; *sepin,* Weissdorn, zu l. *saepes,* it. *siepe,* Zaun; *verdin,* frisches Gras, — *viridis.*

§ 83. Das Femin. *-īna* entwickelte sich ganz analog — cf. *Gartn.* — § 69 zu 1) *ina* in Sedrun, Diss. bis Flims, Zernetz. U. E.; 2) *-iña* in Ems; 3) *in'a* in Trins u. O. E.; 4) *eña* in Bergün; 5) *en'a* von Bonaduz bis Schweiningen, Stalla; z. B.

1. *brunzinna*. Kuhglocke, zu r. *brunza*;
2. *capalina*, Helm, zu r. *capialla*, Hut;
3. *caricina*, Riedgras, zu l. *carex*;
4. *chütschina*, Kalk, — l. *calx*;
5. *cruschinna*, Frühstück, — l. *crusta, crustum*;
6. *fadigna*, Zweig, — l. *fagīnea* od. *fagīna*, zu *fagus*; cf. *Cohn* p. 168 ff; *Kört. Z. f. n. Spr.* 1882, III, 565 u. 579;
7. *faschinna*, Bündel, — *fascina*;
8. *frinna*, Mehl, — *farina*;
9. *fudschinna*, Schmiede, — it. *fucina*, l. *officina*:
10. *graschina*, Fett, — l. *grassus*;
11. *larinna*, Lawine, — l. *labīna*, Erdfall, zu labi (*G*); cf. *Kört.* 4604;
12. *manzigna*, Zweig, — zu l. **minutiare*; cf. § 92 No. 2;
13. *E. maschdina*, Arznei, — *medicina*;
14. *M. modinas*, Nachtgeläute, — *matutinas*;
15. *morbign*, mürbe, ist d.;
16. *nuschigna*, Zaunkönig: cf. it. *nocino*, zu l. *nux*;
17. surs. *permuglina*, Brunnelle, — *prunicudina*;
18. *paligna*, kurze Haare, — l. *pilus*;
19. *randolina*, Schwalbe, — **hirundinina*;
20. oberl. *ravaxina*, Herbstzeitlose, — l. *rapa*;
21. *ruinna* — l. *ruina*;
22. *O.E. süttina*. Trockenheit, — l. *exsuctus*, r. *schitg*;
23. *talpinna*, Maulwurf, — l. *talpīnus, -a*;
24. *tarmina*, Chor in der Kirche, — r. *term*, *tiarm*. Grenze?

§ 84. Suf. *-īnus* gehört im Rät. zu den Lebenden, gestattet somit zahlreiche Neubildungen aus Subst. u. Adj., die alle deminutiven Begriff aufweisen; cf. *Carisch.* p. XXIX.

§ 85. L. *-ēnus* u. *-īnus* fielen schon im Vulg. Latein zu *-ẹnus* zusammen, mit Ausnahme der Fälle, wo l. *īnus* an ihre Stelle trat; cf. darüber Rothenb. p. 80, *Kört. Z. f. n. Spr.* 1882, III, p. 563, 565, 570, 579; Rom. XVIII, 156; XIX, 468. Für die Mask.Form lassen sich nur wenige Beispiele — cf. *Gartn.* § 200 *plenus* — im Rät. auffinden: l. oberl. *pluschein*, *E. pulschain*. Hühnchen, — l. *pullicẹnus*; cf. *Kört.* 6452, u. *Cohn.* p. 56, 57;

2. *terrein, E. terrain*, Erdreich, — l. *terrenu*;

3. Diss. *stellischein*, Traufe; hier liegt Ausgangs-Wechsel vor; cf. l. *stillicidium*.

4. *puschein*, Frühstück u. Nachtmahlzeit. — l. **postcēnŭm*; cf. *Kört.* 6296;

Zahlreicher sind die Feminina; l. *-ēna, -īna* — cf. *Gartn.* § 41, 69. § 200 *cēna* u. *M.-L.* § 99 — hat sich erhalten als

1. *-ena* in Cleven u. U.B.; *-eña* in O.B., Ems, Bergün; *-ẽnya* in Trins, Realta, Scanfs od. *-ẹ̈nya* Nidwald.;

2. *-ẹ̈ina* in Dissent., Waltensb. u. Ilanz;

3. *-aina* od. *-ẹ̈ina* in Sedrun, Flims, Zernetz u. U.E. von Fettan abwärts;

4. *-ain'a* in Scharans, Samaden;

5. *-an'a* in Rothenbr., Andeer, Tiefenk., Schweiningen, Stalla, Süss;

6. *-ọ̈ina* in Brigels;

7. *-ọ̈in'a* in Bonaduz:

z. B. *ad* 1. *balena*, Walfisch: *ad* 2. *aveina* u. *reina*, Haber; *cadeina*, Kette; *dischcina*, je 10, — l. **decĭna*: cf. it. *decina*; *fueina*, Esse, — l. *focus* + *ina*?; *gieina*, Gatter, nach *M.-L.* von l. *janua*: da der Tonvokal nicht stimmt, möchte ich an eine Einmischung von l. *sagēna* aus gr. σαγήνη = fr. *seine*, ahd. *segîna*, denken; cf. *Colm* p. 219 ff., u. *Kört.* 7079: ist ja doch auch d. Gatter u. Gitter vom selben Stamme u. auch Netz u. Gitter sind verwandte Begriffe; *rasteina*, Ackerrain, — zu *restare*, bleiben, oder eher zu *rēstis*, Seil, Schnur — cf. *Kört.* 6864 —; cf. *restis 1* = *fasciculus* bei *Du Ca.*; *schlatteina*, Geschlecht, aus dem Deutschen: *ad* 3. *E. avaina, caina*, — l. *avēna*; *E. cadaina*; *O.E. culmaina*, Dachgiebel zu r. *culm*; *E. dunzaina, tozzaina*, Dutzend, — **dodecĭna*; *E. rasaina*, Streichholz zum Messen, zu l. *radere, rasum*; *ad* 4. *chadugna*, Kette;

§ 86. Der unbetonte l. Ausgang *-ānus -a* hat in vielen Fällen den Accent bekommen; cf. *Rothenb.* p. 80, u. *Kört. Z. f. neufr. Spr.* III, 570; wo er aber unbetont blieb, erscheint er im Rät. als *-en f. -na.* od. *-an f. -na*; z. B. oberl. *asen, O.E. esan* — l. *asinu*; *cotschen, O.E. coutschen* — l. *cŏccinu*; oberl. *fraissen* — l. *fraxinu*; oberl. *sarúden,*

spät, — l. *serótinu*, spätwachsend *(G.)*; cf. it. *serotino*; *almosna*, Almosen, — **elémosina*; *asna* — *asina*; *femna* — *femina*.

§ 87. Rät. *-en*, *-na* ging ferner noch hervor aus:

1. l. *-ulus*, *-ula*; cf. § 18;

2. l. *-inem*, *-enem*: r. *ancárden*, m. u. *ancarna f.*, Winkel, — l. in + *cardinem*; *giuven*, *giurna* — *juvenem*; *pétten*, *pechien* — l. *pectinem*; *svúrin*. Unordnung, — *disordinem*;

3. l. *-imus*; cf. § 72;

4. l. *-ium*; *E. parseppen*, *O.E. perseppen*, Krippe, — *praesēpium (G.)*; *E. serrezzen*, Dienst, — *servitium*;

5. l. *-num*, *-a*: *perpetten*, *-na*, — l. *perpetuus*, *a*.

6. l. *-icus*, *-a*: *pierten*, Vorhof, — *porticus*;

7. einer durch Metathese bewirkten Veränderung, z. B. *Heinz. cóven* — *cannabum*, Hanf;

8. aus deutschen Ausgängen: *U.E. gianden*, *O.E. gioden*, Gemach, aus d. *Gaden*.

Anm. R. *lindorna*, Schnecke, — d. *Lindwurm*?

9. Unsichern Ursprungs ist das Suf. *-en*, *-na* in folgenden: *culeischen*, *culaischen*, Vogelbeerbaum, aus **culīcius* zu l. *culex*, Mücke? *rudeissen*, Scheibe des Spinnrades, — *rotitius* zu l. *rota?*; Diss. *saumna*, Saumlast, -weg, — l. *salma* it. *soma*; surs. *suschna*, Holzschupfen; cf. it. *sosta*, Ruhe, zu *sostare*, anhalten, l. *substare*.

II. In bündn. Fluvn.[1])

§ 88. 783. Affiaine (Schmitten) aus l. *ad* + *fucina*, Esse.

784. Albigna (Stampa) zu *alveus*, Trog?

785. Albin (Andeer) zu l. *albus?*

786. Alpin (M.) = kl. Alpe.

787. Alvena (Safienth.) zu l. *albus*.

788. Ancárden (Villa) = zu *a.*, Winkel, eingehegtes Grundstück, — cf. § 87 u. *afr. angarde*, Vorsprung; cf. 790.

789. Ansalignias (Präz) aus *in* + r. *salina*, Platz,

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[1]) O.N. auf *-inus* von Pers.N. gebildet bei *Buck* XII, 217 ff.

wo man den Schafen im Gebirge Salz gibt; cf. *Buck XII*, p. 217 ff. *Schlöwis*: kaum zu *ml. sala*, Haus, od. l. *silanus*, Röhrbrunnen.

790. L'Antgerna (Salux) = Winkel; cf. 788.

791. Arina (Remüs), zu r. *er*. Feld, — über *air* aus l. *area* —.

792. Arvins (Campov.), zu r. *iarra* aus l. *herba*.

793. Aserina (Vicos.), zu l. *acer*, Ahorn.

794. Auatschellina (Samn.) vom Volke als „Ahornwasser" aufgefasst — *aqua acerina?*

795. Avinga (Taufers M.) = l. *aqua* + *-ina*.

796. Elacervina (Vicos.), zu r. *ela*, Flügel, Rand, Zinne, u. l. *cervinus (Du Ca.)*, also = „Hirschzinne".

797. Encardens (Somv.); cf. 788.

798. Engiadina, urk. 930 *in Valle Eniatina*, 967 *Ignadine* (nach *Moor*) d. Engadin: der Name dieses Thales wurde bis jetzt für keltisch od. alträtisch angesehen; ich halte ihn indes für romanisch. Der erste, seit dem Mittelalter bedeutende Ort, den wir von der Inn-Quelle stromabwärts an den Ufern dieses Flusses antreffen, ist Landeck an der Arlbergbahn, das übrigens erst in neuerer Zeit nach der nahen Burg so genannt wurde. Früher bestanden hierfür nur die Namen seiner beiden Hauptfraktionen, nämlich *Perfuchs* — urk. *Perfusches* aus **pratos fuscos*. dunkle Felder. — u. *Angedair*; dieser Name scheint mir = r. **agnedair* aus l. **a(l)nectarium*. Gut oder Ort bei einem **alnectum*. Erlengebüsch, Erlengehölz, gelegen: ja Landeck selbst kann einst **alnectum* geheissen haben, und was war in beiden Fällen dann natürlicher, als das ganze Thal, an dessen Ausgang es liegt, **vallis alnectina*, jetzt *Engiadina*, d. h. „Erlachthal" zu taufen? cf. r. *agn, ogn*, Erle, u. *ignià*, Erlenwald, — l. *alnetum* —.

799. L'Entgerna (Alveneu); cf. 788.

800. Tscham-dellas-jallínas (Samn.) = „Hennenfeld" aus *campus* u. *gallina*.

801. Janggabella (Vals) = schönes Gatter? cf. 697.

802. L'Inschign (Süss) = **in* + *signum*; cf. fr. *enseigne*, Zeichen.

803. Ivraina (Lavin, Zernetz), am ehesten aus **(an)eivrĭna* — zu l. *juníperus*. Wachholder, + *-ĭna* —; kaum aus l. *ripărĭna* zu *vipera*, Viper: cf. übrigens *livra*, Viper (i. d. Judikarien).

804. Orden (Stampa), zu r. *o.* aus l. *ordo*, religiöse Genossenschaft: in Toskolano (It.) kenne ich ein Grundstück *„la Religione“*.

805. Uina (Sins) urk. J. 1095 bei *Moor: Valle Luilla*, somit zu l. *vallis* + *illa* + *orilia*, Schafställe.

806. Unclin (Somv.).

807. Urmina suet (Bergün), zu l. *ulmus*. Ulme, fr. *orme*, u. r. *suet*, unten.

808. Balveins (Präz). zu **balma*, Höhle; cf. *Buck XII: palma*.

809. Barölin (Campov.).

810. Pleun Burschinas (Somv.), zu r. *pleun*, Boden, u. r. *barschun*, Bürste, Gestrüpp; in d. Alpen oft der N. *Borst* = Stelle, welche mit struppigem Grase bewachsen ist.

811. Val del batten (Fettan).

812. V. Bochin (Vicos.) = Thal des Bergsattels; cf. it. *bocca* aus l. *bucca*.

813. Borsin (Soazza), zu r. *bursin*, Heidelbeere, zu l. *bursa*, fr. *bourse*.

814. Crap della brunzina (Lü M.) = „Stein d. Alpenrosen“ r. *brunzina*, eig. Glocke, bezeichnet auch Blumen, wie die Glockenbl., Alpenrose etc.

815. Bucins (Schleins), zu it. *bocca*: cf. 812?

816. Burschignas (Stürvis), Burschina (Vrin), la Burschina (Pitasch) = „Gesträuch“; cf. 810.

817. Bursins (Cierfs), zu r. *bursin* = *vaccinium uliginosum*; cf. 813.

818. La Buschna (Somv.) = die Teucheln: cf. § 18, 87.

819. Cadino (Rovered.), zu l. *catinus*, Schüssel: cf. *Schn.* p. 26.

820. Cadrin (Soglio), zu *quadro*, Block?

821. Caglina (Andeer, Somvix etc.), zu r. *caglia*. Gesträuch; cf. 325 ff.

822. Uaul caglina (Duvin) = „Staudenwald“; cf. 821.

823. Chalcherin (Celerina), zu *ml. calcaria*, Kalkofen; cf. 13.

824. Calinis (Felsb.), zu r. *caglinas;* cf. 821, od. eher zu r. *cal*, das Herablassen; cf. *calare 2* (bei *Du Ca.);* Felsberg, ein durch Felsstürze sehr gefährdetes Dorf, liegt am Fusse des bekannten *Calanda;* dieser N. scheint mir auch zu *calare* zu gehören (fem. d. Ger.).

825. Calprin (Stampa), zu r. *crap*, Stein, — cf. mail. *clap*, ahd. *clapho* — + *-ulus* + *-inus?*

826. Camadrein (Vrin).

827. Cambursinn (Vicos.) = Heidelbeerenfeld; cf. 813. 817.

828. Chamins (Celerin.), Camins (Samn.), zu l. *camminus;* cf. *Schm.* p. 30.

829. Plan Canin (Stampa) = Hundeboden; cf. 1113.

830. Chanvaina (Fettan), zu *cannabis*. Hanf; cf. 333.

831. Charden (Silvapl.); cf. 788.

832. Carline (Brusio); cf. 836.

833. Carna (Felsb.), Charnes (Schleins); cf. 788. 831.

834. Carna sut (Razen) = „unt. Winkel"; cf. 833.

835. Chamverin (Silvapl.), zu **cannabarium*, Hanffeld; cf. 1487.

836. Carolina (Zernetz); cf. 832.

837. Carschenna (Silz), zu r. *craista* + *-ina?*

838. Carvenna (Scharans), zu l. *corbus*, Rabe.

839. Cascegna sura (Bivio) = it. *cascina*, Käsekammer, u. *sura*, oben; in Ital. 40 *Cascina*.

840. La Caschligna (Trins), zu l. *castellum*.

841. Chaschlins (Süss), zu l. *castellum;* cf. 840.

842. Cascina (Stampa); cf. 839.

843. Castalegns (Tinzen), zu l. *castellum* od. *costa*.

844. Chatschina (V. Cava M.), zu r. *catsch*, Kalk.

845. Chaunt-cotschen (Celerina) = „rotes Eck."

846. Cavadens (Levg.), von *cavatum*, zu l. *cavare*.

847. Pian Cavalina (Brusio) = „Pferdeebene".

848. Cavegn (Flond) = *Casa* = *Virengius;* cf. *Muoth* p. 34.

849. Cazlignas (Trins), zu r. *cazzola*, Lichtkelle.

850. Pro cazogn (Surava), zu r. *cazza*, d. Gatze; cf. 849.

851. Chiglina (Lufis); cf. 821.

852. Chiosso della Centena (Lostallo); cf. bresc. u. crem. *cioos-*[1]), spr. *tšōs*, u. *nl. cincta*; cf. 768.

853. Clurina (Vrin), zu l. *corylus;* cf. 171.

854. Il Coatschen (Filis.) = der Rote; cf. 845.

855. Collina (Guarda), zu r. *collina*, Hügel.

856. Cresta colorina (Villa) = „Haselstaudenhügel"; cf. 853.

857. Corteng da vi da leva (Bivio) = „Baumgarten jenseits des Wassers".

858. Cortins (Taufers); cf. 857 etc., u. *Du Ca.: curtinus* = *basse-cour.*

859. Costainas (Lü *M.*), zu l. *costa*, Seite, Halde.

860. Koschtetschna (Pitasch) zu *costa* — cf. 859 — + *-icinus;* über dieses rätselhafte Suf. cf. *Buck XII,* Nachträge; meiner Ansicht nach ging dieses *-icinus* aus *-itius* hervor; cf. § 87/4.

861. Craistina (Ardetz), zu r. *craista*, Hügel, aus l. *crista;* cf. 856.

862. Crapstalaschain (O. Vatz) = „Traufenstein", zu l. *stillicidium* — cf. 85 —.

863. La Crusna (Trins), aus **corrosula*? cf. fr. *creux;* also = Höhle!

864. Cudin (Vicos.) = schmales Grundstück, zu l. *cauda;* cf. 457.

865. Chüginas (*M.*), zu r. *ch.*, wilde Pflaume; das Wort selbst zu *caccare* wegen der Folgen für den, der die Früchte geniesst.

866. Cularoina (O. Vatz); cf. 853, 856.

867. Culegna (Degen, Präz); cf. 855.

868. Culeischna (Vrin, Laax), zu r. *culeischen*, Vogelbeerbaum; cf. § 87.

869. Culaigna (Filis.); cf. 853.

870. Cundinas (Ruaun), zu l. *cumbitus*, Ellenbogen?

871. Quoins (*M*), zu l. *cuneus*, Keil;

[1]) = Gehege, von l. *clusum.*

872. Curcin da Castì (Präz) = Schlossgarten.

873. Igl Er-Curdogn (Surava) u. la Val-Curdogn (*id.*)

874. Curein davaun (Präz) = Vordere Hut, Weide? zu l. *cura?*

875. Curlinas (Riein); cf. 853.

876. Cursoins (Alveu.); cf. 872 *curticinos.*

877. Curteng (Bivio) = Baumgarten.

878. Curtengfess (Bivio) = gespaltener B.; cf. 877.

879. Curtgign (Stürvis); Curtin (Castas., Vicos., Trins, Schleins, Cierfs etc.); Curtins (Silvapl., Schuls, Lü etc.); Curtgigns (Mons), Curtings (Remüs); Curtoins (Brigels); cf. 877.

880. Curtgin Gioder (Levg.) = c. des Theodor; cf. 877.

881. Curtgin Risch (Villa) = c. des R.; cf. 877.

882. Curtgin Wiezel (Levg.) = c. d. W.; cf. 229. 877.

883. Curtschin (Andeer, Präz, O. Vatz), Curzings (Bergün); cf. 876.

884. Curzins da d'or (Filis.) = äuss. Baumgärten; cf. 876.

885. V. Curtschegn (Razen); cf. 876.

886. Ils Dardins (Somv.).

887. Davovaina (Fettan) = hinter d. Ader; cf. ml. *vena*, Erzader, Weg, u. Buck XII: *vena.*

888. Palois Diaschen (O. Vatz) = Sümpfe + ...

889. Divrein (Vigens); cf. 803.

890. Dorigna (Soglio) = *ad originem (aquae)?*

891. Falen (Salux), Falens (Somv.), zu d. *Falle* od. r. *fil*, Grat.

892. Formarins (Lufis); cf. 578, zu l. *foramen* + *-arius* + *-inos?*

893. Praz Flurin (Zernetz) = Florinus-Felder.

894. Flutginas (Riein), zu r. *flutg*, Spreu.

895. Fraína (Samn.), zu l. *roráginem*, Schlucht; cf. it. *frana*, nonsb. *frona;* cf. Alton, p. 41: *Frëina Plana.*

896. Fraissen (Laax) = *fraxinus.*

897. Las Fucinas (Duvin) = Schmieden, aus l. *officinas.*

898. Fulistins (Malix), zu l. *filix*, Farn, + *-etum* + *-inos?*

899. Funtana Sant Flurin (Remüs) = Quelle d. hl. Florinus.

900. Fuschina (Cierfs): cf. 897.

901. L' Alp da Galignas (Stürvis) = Hennenalpe; cf. 800.

902. Fora della Giallina (Cierfs) = Hennenloch; cf. 800.

903. Gardalina (Roveredo), zu it. *guarda*, Warte.

904. Giardin da Plantas (Filis.) = Baumgarten.

905. Gardin (Bivio), zu *guarda*: cf. 903.

906. Gieina (Ruschein) = Gatter.

907. Gemellino (Brusio), zu *gemellinus*: cf. 541, 1034.

908. Prau Ghiglina (Ruaun) = Hennenfeld; cf. 901.

909. Ghiglina (Ruaun): cf. 908.

910. Godin (Pontresina), zu r. *god*, Wald.

911. Godin charden (Silvapl.): cf. 831 u. 910.

912. Gorgin (Soazza) = kl. Schlucht: in Ital. 5 *Gorgo;* cf. l. *gurges;* Alton p. 43 *Gorghi.* u. *Schn.* p. 82, 108.

913. Gotschermoin (O. Vatz) = „Zirbelkiefernwald"; cf. 736, 744.

914. Giovegna (Soazza), zu l. *jugum*, Bergjoch.

915. Gravulainas (Zutz), zu *grava*, Kies; cf. Alton p. 43. *Grávola;* cf. 673 u. 1556.

916. Gruppin (Silvapl.), zu r. *grupp*, kl. Hügel: cf. it. *groppo, gruppo*, u. *Du Ca.: gruppus?* ferner *Alton* p. 43: *Grupa.*

917. Guardines (Ardetz): cf. 903.

918. Prau gumin (Brigels) = Gemeindefeld?

919. Guregnias (Stürvis), zu *ml. gora*, Kanal: cf. 920, u. *Buck* XII.

920. Gurlaina (Schuls), zu *gora*: cf. 919.

921. V. Giustina (Sins) = Thal d. Justina.

922. Lamarofnas (Levg.), zu r. *lama*, feuchte Stelle, — cf. *Schn.* p. 89 — u. r. *rofna*, Erdsturz, — Verb. Subst. zu *ruinar*, vermuhren; cf. 217.

923. Larsin (Sins) — cf. 411 — zu l. *arsum;* r. *ars*

bezeichnet einen O., wo man, um Acker- od. Wiesenland zu gewinnen, einen Wald niederbrannte; cf. d. *Brand, Brändle* etc.

924. Larsina (Lavin): cf. 923.

925. Laschein (Felsb.).

926. La Lavadegna (Tiefenk.) = **lavatina*, zu *lavare*; also „Auswaschung": cf. *Götz*. p. 88: *N. Lavtina*.

927. Lavadinas (Villa, Trins): cf. 926.

928. Lavin (U. E.) = „Erdrutsch": cf. die vielen *O. Lavino, Laveno, Lavina, Lavena* in Ital.: cf. 929.

929. Lavignas (Celer.) = „Lawinen": cf. *Alton* p. 45: *Lavinà*; *Sch.* p. 138, 161, u. *Rosa*: *lavina*.

930. Lavoina (Alven.): cf. 929.

931. Liadines (Bergün) = l. **ligatinas*, zu *ligare*, binden, „einzäunen": cf. altbayr. „*Peundt*", eingezäunter Platz, Wiese, auch von binden.

932. Luvrena (Brigels) u. Luréins (Lutis): cf. 803.

933. Piz Lungin (Bivio) = „Langenspitz".

934. Macalin (Somv.), zum Pers.-N. *Michael?*

935. Madénz (Riein), zu r. *meida*, l. *meta*, Heuhaufen.

936. Mandin (Schleins) d. Mondin zu *mundus*, Schwand; cf. 275.

937. Marclins (Tiefenk.), zu r. *marca*, Grenze (d.).

938. Frust la Marlengia (Somv.).

939. Marschlins (Silvapl.), zu r. *marsch*, faul.

940. St. Martegn (Mons) = *St. Martinus*.

941. Crapp-Martin (Waltensb.) = „Martinsstein".

942. Maşchalens (Mons), zu *maschale*. Gerichtsbote (aus *mariscalcus?*).

943. Crap-mélan (Andeer) = gelber Stein.

944. Molin (Soazza) = Mühle — l. *molinum*.

945. Montalin (Chur), von **montellinum*, zu *mons*.

946. Pra da Moschna (Sins), zu r. *pra*, Feld, u. r. *moschna*, Steinhaufen.

947. Mot piscen (Soazza) = kl. Hügel.

948. Mueins (Waltensb.), zu l. *mollis*, weich? cf. *E. möja*, Brei.

949. Muglin (V. Cava), zu *mollis*, weich: cf. r. *möglic*, weich.

950. Domuglins (*M.*) = hinter *M;* cf. 949.

951. Palü Muglins (Fuldera), zu r. *palü,* Sumpf, + *m.;* cf. 949.

952. Mulain (Alven.): cf. 949.

953. Muldain (O. Vatz), zu r. *multa,* Bannwald?

954. Prau Mulegn (Razen). Pro da Mulegn (Tiefenk.), Mühlenfeld, zu l. *molinum.*

955. Mulegn (Salux, Mons etc.) = Mühle; cf. 954.

956. V. Muleigna (Scharans) = Thal der Mühle.

957. Davos Muleng (Bivio) = hinter d. Mühlen.

958. Muletg-la-Greina (Somv.) zu r. *muletg,* Alphüttenplatz — aus **mobilitius?* — u. r. l. *crena,* Kerbe, Einschnitt.

959. Mulign (Trins), Mulin (Andeer) etc.; cf. 954.

960. V. Mulignas (Celer.) = Mühlenth.; cf. 956.

961. Dre Mulin (Vicos.) = hinter d. Mühle.

962. Frust-mulin (Somv.) = Mühlenstück.

963. Mulin veder (Laax) = alte Mühle.

964. Mulina (Vrin) etc.: cf. 956.

965. Mulinars (Somv.) = „abgebrannte Mühle".

966. Mulinas (Ruschein), Mulines (Süss): cf. 956.

967. Mulins (Samn., Laax, Vrin); cf. 966. 954.

968. Davos Mulogns (Surava): cf. 957.

969. Plam de Muloin (O. Vatz) = „Mühlenboden".

970. Munscanegn (Tinzen) aus *montem* + *scamnum,* Bank, it. *scanno* + *-inum?* cf. *Schn.* p. 145: *Sano.*

971. Muntegn (Trins, Vicos.) aus **montinum,* zu *montem.*

972. Muntein (Riein), zu 971.

973. Murglins (Pitasch); cf. r. *murglinna,* Murmeltier.

974. V. Muschna (Präz), Muschnas. (V. Cava, Somvix): cf. 946.

975. Plaun Muschnins (Lü M.) = „Ebene der kl. Steinhaufen".

976. Mustreins (Somv.), zu r. *mustèr* = *monasterium.*

977. Mutoins (Brigels), zu r. *muott,* Bühel.

978. Muttpitschen (Samn.) = kl. Bühel; cf. 977.

979. Narinas (Vrin), zu l. *area?*

980. Nischarinas (Waltensb.), zu r. *nuschèr,* Nussbaum, od. zu *aschèr,* Ahorn.

981. Nolino (Rover.). zu *ml. naulum*. Schiffsgeld. Fähre; cf. *Buck XII: naris*. od. zu l. *norale*. Neubruch.

982. Noveins (Roten). zu *norus?*

983. Novena (Lostallo): cf. 982.

984. Nullein (Präz): cf. 981.

985. Numbrain (Fettan), zu l. *in* + *umbra*, Schatten. + *-inum*.

986. Nurden neben Urden (Salux), zu l. *ordo*: cf. 804.

987. Nuschlaingias (Lavin). zu l. *nucella*. Haselnuss.

988. Nustein (Waltensb.), aus l. **nocetinum*, zu *nocetum* od. zu *E. ost*. Lager.

989. Padrina (Felsb.). zu l. *petra*. Fels.

990. Paganini (Brusio), von einem Fam.-N.: dieser von l. *paganus*; cf. d. N. „Heid".

991. Palavrein neben Paravrein (Schleins), zu r. *pala* u. *para*, Kelle, u. *vipra*. Viper? cf. 255. 803.

992. Paradina (Brusio), zu it. *parata*. Schutzwehr: cf. *Alton* p. 51 *Paréda*; bei *Brusio* auch ein *Parada*.

993. Parsetens (Tinzen), zu **praticettum*. kl. Feld. od. zu r. **praisa*; cf. 308.

994. Paštin (Zernetz), zu l. *pastum*. Weide.

995. Patnein (Vrin), zu it. *pedana*. Saum eines Berges oder Fuss desselben: cf. 65.

996. La Blais dil patschen (O. Vatz) = Bleiss der kleinen Tanne: cf. *Alton* p. 51: *Pecenin*.

997. Patain (Schuls), zu l. *pedem*, Fuss. od. zu *patta*. Tatze? Im Ötzthale versteht man unter Tatzen: 1. Füsse von Tieren; 2. kl.. mit Gras bewachsene Stellen in Felswänden.

997a. Pazin (V. Cava) = „kl. Fleck" zu l. *petium*; cf. 70.

998. Pergamina (Schmitten), zu it. pergamo. Kanzel?

999. Philistina (Andeer), zu l. *filicetum* von *filix*. Farn?

1000. Pigeinas (Lufis), zu l. *pedem* + *-inas*. od. *pedem* + *januas* = unter den Gattern?

1001. Pintga Zundroina (O. Vatz), zu r. *pinty*. klein. u. r. *zundra*, Zwergkiefer. *pinus pumilio*; cf. 1098.

1002. Plärins (Malix), zu *pala?* cf. 991.

1003. Platalen (Bondo) = **platellinum*, kl. Platte.

1004. Platign (Guarda), zu *platta*, Platte; cf. 80.

1005. Platengia (Vrin): cf. 1004.

1006. Plaunpuzzins (M.) = „Ebene d. kl. Pfützen" zu l. *planum* u. *puteus*.

1007. Tgiantplueischen — cf. 87/4 — (Salux) = „Pfarreck" zu r. *tgiant* — aus **cant* — u. **plebīcinus*, od. *plebītius* — cf. *Buck XII*, Nachtr., u. hier No. 860, 1112.

1008. Podan (V. Cava) von d. „Boden" = Ebene, woher auch „*Bodensee*".

1009. Pontresina, urk. 1139 *ad Pontem Sarisinam* (*Moor I.*), wurde früher als „Sarazenenbrücke" gedeutet; *Schn.* 145 leitet es von *silex* ab: ich halte es für Schleusenbrücke; cf. it. *sarrasinesca*. Schleuse, zu l. *serare*, einengen; cf. 740.

1010. Pradamuglin (Guarda) = „Mühlfeld".

1011. Pradolini (Brusio) = *pratulini*, kl. Felder.

1012. Pratglins (Cierfs) u. Pradglin (V. Cava): cf. 1011.

1012a. Pratguin (Schleins) = *pratum borinum*, Ochsenfeld?

1013. Pratschappina (Thusis), zu r. *prau*, Feld, u. r. *tschepp*, Stamm. — l. *cippus*.

1014. Praubrin (Vigens) = braune Wiese: cf. *Schn.* p. 27. 798.

1015. Predosino (Brusio) u. Predosascio (Brusio) = kl., bezw. gr. *Steinach* zu lomb. *preda*, Stein, + l. *-osus*, + l. *-inus* (*-aceus*); in Ital. viele *Pedrosa*, *Perosa*: in Frankr. ebensoviele *Perouse*; cf. *Perousa-Gasse* in München u. d. O. wie *Steinach*.

1016. Promolins (Samaden): cf. 954.

1017. Purcheigna (Präz), zu l. *porcus*.

1018. Puzzin (St. Maria M.) = kl. Pfütze, zu l. *puteum*.

1019. Radein (Flons u. Lufis), zu it. *rata*, Steigung?

1020. Radondin (Guarda), zu l. *rotundus*, rund; cf. *Schn.* p. 122, 130.

1021. Ramoschin (Fuldera), zum *O. Ramuosch*, Remüs?

1022. Ravaneins (Laax), zu r. *röven*, Rain.

1023. Reclein (Levg.), zu *ml. regula*; cf. 723.

1024. Il Riávan (Surava) = Rain; cf. 1022.

1025. Rieven (Brigels); cf. 1024.

1026. Igls Rivens (Tiefenk.); cf. 1024.

1027. Roffla (Thusis) „Erdrutsch"; cf. 217, 922.

1028. Roffna (Riein); cf. 1027.

1029. Larofna (Süss). Rofna (O. Vatz, Andeer, Vrin), Rona urk. *Roffna* (Tinzen); cf. 1027.

1030. Roscellina (Brusio), zu it. *ruscello*, Bach.

1031. La Rosna (Tiefenk.) = „Loch. Aushöhlung"; cf. it. *rosa*, Auswaschung, zu l. *rodere*.

1032. Las Rosnas-digl-Ors (O.-Vatz) = Bärenlöcher; cf. 1031.

1033. Rouvna (Fettan); cf. 1027 ff.

1034. Röven (Schleins) = „Rain"; cf. 1024, 1025.

1035. Rövengrand (Celer.) = gr. Rain; cf. 1034.

1036. Rovens (St. Martin) = Raine?

1037. Punt da rovigna (Filis.) = „Brücke beim Erdrutsch"; cf. r. *rovigna*, von l. *ruina*.

1038. Suot-Rovinas (Scanfs) = *subtus ruinas*.

1039. Rubegna (Vicos.); cf. 1037.

1040. Rúfena (Churwald.), uf der Rúfena (Vals); cf. 1027.

1041. Ruignas (Salux); cf. 1037.

1042. Sumruina (Vrin) = „ganz oben beim Erdsturze"; cf. 1037.

1043. Sutruina (Vigens), Suot Ruinas (Fettan); cf. 1038.

1044. Ruinas (Ruaun, Somv.); cf. 1041.

1045. Runcalinas (Laax), zu *ml. runcus* + *-ell(us* + *-inas*.

1046. Las Ruosnas (Ruaun); cf. 1031.

1047. Ruséna (Remüs); cf. it. *rosa*, Auswaschung u. 1031.

1048. Rusna de bos (Somv.) = „Ochsenloch"; cf. 1031 u. 1046.

1049. Rusna (Duvin, Präz etc.); cf. 1031.

1050. Russein (Somv., Villa).

1051. Russla (Malix), Russna (Präz); cf. 1031.

1052. Ruvegna (Tinzen); cf. 1037.

1053. Ruvigna (Filis.); cf. 1037.

1054. Som Ruvina (Soglio); cf. 1042.

1055. Ruvinna (Samn.); cf. 1037.

1056. Sadinas (Fettan); cf. crem. *satt.* bresc. berg. *satt,* Kröte?

1057. Sagliains (Süss) zu r. *saglia.* Graben.

1058. Saglinas (O. Vatz); cf. 1057.

1059. Saínas (Fettan); cf. 1058.

1060. Salagina (Stampa), zu l. *salix,* Weide.

1061. Salantina (Samn.).

1062. God de Salaschins (Salux) = „Wald der Weiden"; cf. 1060.

1063. Plangs de Salaschins (Salux); cf. 1062.

1064. Salecina (Bondo); cf. 1060.

1065. Salens (Ruschein).

1066. V. digl Salign (Filis.), zu *sal,* Salz?

1067. Mott Salin (Stampa).

1068. Salina (Soglio), zu r. *salina,* Ort, wo man Salz fürs Vieh streut; kaum zu *sala,* Haus; cf. 789.

1069. Salina (Brusio, Fuldera etc.); *Moor* nennt ein *curtim de Salina* 1161.

1070. Salischina (Vrin), Salischinas (Somv.); cf. 1060.

1071. Samaróvan (Stampa) = „ganz oben am Rain"; cf. 1024.

1072. Sandrin (Lostallo), aus **(Ale)xandrinum.*

1073. Sanina u. Signina (Riein), zu l. *signum,* Zeichen; cf. 114, 115.

1074. Zardin (Stampa u. Lü M.), = Garten.

1075. Sareins (Ruaun), zu r. **sera,* Peundt; cf. *pratum serenum* — bei *Moor* J. 1231 — zu l. *serare*; cf. 740.

1076. Sassigna (Guarda), zu l. *saxum.*

1077. Scaplina (Brigels), zu **sclapina,* Spalte; cf. it. *schiappare,* Holz zerkleinern.

1078. Schambrigna (Filis.), zu r. *scheimber,* Zirbelkiefer, *pinus cembra*; cf. 736, 744, 913.

1079. Schansinnas (Laax) = **januicinas?* cf. 311, 476, 697.

1080. Scharmoin (O. Vatz), zu r. *scheimber*, Zirbelkiefer; cf. 1078.

1081. Şchavazin (Campov.) = „kl. Aushöhlung", zu l. *excavare*.

1082. Schembrina (O. Skarlth.); cf. 1078, 1080.

1083. Aua Scherina (Samn.), zu r. *aschèr*, Ahorn.

1084. V. Schmuglinas (Fettan) = „Zwieselth."; cf. 541, 907.

1085. Lag serein (Somv.) = *lacus serenus*.

1086. Ziglinas (Villa); cf. 1057, 1058.

1087. Zigneins (Duvein), zu *signum*; cf. 1073.

1088. Fonteuna-sut-Siltginas (Somv.), zu l. *saltus?*

1089. Zoc-Sarottna (Vicos.), zu r. *zoc*, Heuhaufen, u. *s.*, Spätwiese, zu r. *saruden*, spät, = l. *serotinus*.

1090. Somrieven (Duvin); cf. 1071.

1091. Zoppaneina (Sins) urk. bei *Mooc* J. 1161 als *Suppanina* zu r. *sop*, Flachsröste; cf. 184.

1092. Spadolen (Soglio), zu *spatula*, Schulter; cf. 231.

1093. Stablinas (V. Cava), von l. *stabulum*; cf. 233.

1094. Stavlegna (Razen); cf. 1093.

1095. Straflins (Taufers) = „kl. Streifen"; cf. 591.

1096. Stramaina (Fettan), zu r. *straun*, Stroh.

1097. Sulains (Fettan), zu *soula*, Sockel, od. *sal*, Salz?

1097a. Sumrieven (Somv.); cf. 1090.

1098. Il Bortg Zundroina (O. Vatz.), zu r. *horty*, Gabelung zweier Bäche od. Thäler — aus l. **bifurcus* —, u. r. *zundra*; cf. 1001.

1099. Surmin (Filis.)

1099a. Surmulins (Flond) = über d. Mühlen; cf. 944.

1100. Surscheins (Waltensb.), zu l. *sorex*, Maus.

1101. Sutrieven (Flond) = Unter dem Rain.

1102. Talignes (Scharans), zu r. *talignu*, Nebenschopf.

1103. Tantermulins (Lavin) = zwischen den Mühlen; cf. 944.

1104. V. Taregnia (Brigels) = „aperes" d. h. „schneefreies Thal."

1105. Tasslaina (Sins).

1106. Tegieins (Waltensb.), zu r. *tegia*. Alphütte od. r. *tegia*, Kienholz.

1107. Teinas (Riein), zu l. *tina*. Butte.

1108. Teinas (Levg.); cf. 1107.

1109. Térmel (Cierfs) aus l. *terminus*. r. *term*. *tiarm*: aber in Ital. viele *Termine* u. *Termini*.

1110. Döss del Termel (M.) = Grenzsteinrücken cf. 1109.

1111. Terschinas (Ruschein), zu l. *trichea*; cf. 123, 124.

1112. Tganplueischen (Mons); cf. 1007.

1113. Cresta-Tganogna (Surava) = *crista canina*; cf. 829.

1114. Tgavragnas (Salux), zu l. capra.

1115. Trubuchen (Soglio), zu it. *trabocco*, Sturz, Fall; cf. it. *O. Trabuchello*.

1116. Traversina (Sins), zu r. *traversa*. Wuhr, aus l. *transversa*.

1117. Plan digls Traversoigns (Filisur) = „Ebene der kl. Wuhren“: cf. 1116.

1118. Travschines (Zernetz): cf. 1116.

1119. Treipegn (Levg.) = „kl. Steig“ zu l. *trivium* (cf. 117) + *pegn*, klein.

1120. Truein (Vrin) = kl. Steig; cf. 117.

1121. Tscharleins (Pitasch).

1122. Tscharteina (Thusis) = **desertina*. öde Gegend? cf. *O. Dissentis* aus *Desertinum*.

1123. Tschaschines (Süss), zu *cascina*. Käsekammer; cf. 839.

1124. Tschenelinas (Somv.), zu *cingulum*; cf. 166, od. *canalis?*

1125. Grep tschietschen (Somv.) = „roter Stein“; cf. 845.

1126. Tschigenna (Samn.) wird mit „böser Steig“ erklärt: doch inwiefern?

1127. Tschupina (Lufis, Brigels, Somv., Flond); cf. r. *tschup*, Büschel, Schopf, u. r. *tschupi*. Kranz.

1128. Fora Furnigna (Guarda) = Ofenloch?

1129. Tuschinas (M.). zu *tonsum?* cf. *Tošins.* bei *Alton*, p. 66.

1130. Tuschóina (Alven.), *las Tuschoinas* (Alven.); cf. 1129.

1131. San Valantin (Sins) = *Sanctus Valentinus.*

1132. Valena (Bondo). zu *vallis.* Thal.

1133. Vallaina (Samn.); cf. 1132 bei *Moor J.* 1156 eine „*terram de Valaina*"; cf. 1132.

1134. Vallaina (Remüs): cf. 1133.

1135. Sant Vallantin (Schuls); cf. 1131.

1136. Varoins (Brigels); cf. 895: zu l. *voraginem* = it. *frana.* Schlucht. Erdrutsch, od. zu l. *virio.* Ring.

1137. Vaschlains (Tinzen).

1138. Vasprigna (Filis.). zu r. *raspa.* Wespe.

1139. Verclaina (Sins). zu l. *virgula.* Rute. — cf. § 15 — od. zu l. *verruncla.* kl. Hügel.

1140. Vereina (Safien Th.). zu l. *vorâginem* — cf. 1136 —: cf. die d. „Vereins A.en".

1141. L' Acla Vreina (Ruschein) = Maiensäss über der Schlucht?

1142. Wallramenga (Taufers). zu *aqualarium* + *-amen* + *-ina*; cf. 589.

1143. Walsins (Ruaun).

1144. Walvaraina (O. Vatz) = „Schluchtbach" aus *aqualis* + *voraginem*: cf. 1140. 1141.

II. B) 3. l. -túdinem. -áginem. -úginem. -iginem.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 89. Das Suf. *-tudo* scheint sich im *Vulgärl.* keiner grossen Beliebtheit erfreut zu haben: sonst wäre nicht so häufig *-itia. -uginem* etc. an seine Stelle getreten. In Wörtern wie *consuetudo -inis* weist es nach *Diez. Et. Wb.*. I, 142, den Einfluss von l. *-umen, -inis* auf: welche Mittelglieder jedoch zwischen l. *-tudinem* u. fr. *-tume.* sp. *-dumbre* bestanden haben, das bleibt noch eine offene Frage: *Cornu* in *Rom.* VII. 365 nimmt die Reihe *-tudinem, *-tumine, *-tumine* an, *Havet* in *Rom.*

VII. 593 dagegen *-tudine, -tubine, -tubne, -tumne; Canello. Arch. Glott.* III. 367, Anm. 2. schliesst sich an *Corno* an; *Ascoli — Arch. Glott.* III. 368 Anm.* — entscheidet sich für die Reihe *-ūdine, -ūdne, -umne, -ume*; *Gröber* in *Arch. f. Lat. Lex. I.* 553 nimmt zwei Grundformen an **cos'tumen* u. **cos'tumina; Kört. — W.* 2126 — erklärt sich für *Ascoli* u. *Gröber*. Für Suf.-Vermischung war übrigens auch *Rothenberg* — cf. p. 85 — aufgetreten (cf. dazu *Willenberg* in *Kört. Z. f. n. Spr.* III. 1882, p. 571) —. Nach *Cohn*. 264 ff. — hätte man statt der als Härte empfundenen Lautfolge *-tudinem* die gewohnte leichtere *-tuginem* gewählt, in anderen Fällen daneben auch *tuminem*; Schwan — *Kört. Z.* 1891, XIII. p. 202 — bemerkt dagegen, es könne sich hier weniger um ein Versprechen als um eine Anbildung der Substantiva auf *udo -inis* an jene auf *umen -uminis* handeln.

Das Rät. hat, zum Teil wenigstens, jede fremde Einmischung abgewehrt; z. B. in oberl. *-detna*; cf. *Gartn.* § 78 — u. surmeirisch *-didna* — cf. *M.-L.* § 535 —: *martschadetna*, Fäulnis, — r. *martsch* aus *marcidus; E. -tünna*, surselv. *-tenna, -denna* — cf. *M.-L.* 535 — zeigt den Einfluss von l. *-uginem* u. *-una;* r. *-tünna* etc. tritt auch an Stelle von l. *-tutem* z. B. *juventünna — juventutem*. Das Suf. erscheint ferner als *-digna* od. *-degna* im Oberl. — hier durch *-ina* u. *-inia* beeinflusst: z. B. *gravadigna*, Schwere, — **gravitudinem; schiradigna, -egna* — zu r. *schir*, l. *obscurus; marschadegna* (s. o.) — zu *marcidus;*

Anm. 1. Auch dieses Suf. tritt an Stelle von *-tutem* auf: *giuranteyna;*

Anm. 2. Selbst an Verben fügt sich im Rät. dieses Suf.: *affladigna*, Geschwulst, — l. *inflare;*

Im *E.* bemerken wir endlich noch die Form *-düm*, welche gerade so wie fr. *-ume* zu erklären ist; z. B. *schiürdüm*, zu *schiür*, l. *obscurus; vildüm*, Altersschwäche, zu r. *veyl*, alt.

§ 90. L. -aginem gibt r. *agien, O.E. -egen*, bisweilen auch *-agna*; z. B. *plantagien, O.E. plantegen*, Wegerich, — l. *plantaginem*; *E. lantagien*, Linse, — l. **lentaginem* statt *lentiginem* (*G.*); *immagna* — l. *imaginem: tuslagna*, Huflattich, — *tussilaginem.*

§ 91. *L. -uginem* = r. *-ina;* l. *-iginem* = r. *-in;* z. B. *ruina*, Rost, — *ferrúginem; fulín*, Russ, — *fuliginem; salín*, Weizen, — *siliginem.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 92. Hierher gehörige Flurnamen fanden sich nicht.

II. B) 4. l. -ó, -onis, m.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 93. Dieses Suf. erfreut sich im Rät. bis jetzt noch der Fähigkeit, neue Ableitungen mit augmentativem Sinne zu bilden — cf. *Carisch* IX —. Der Form nach weist es im Rät. gar keine oder nur wenig von einander abweichende Varianten auf; diese sind — cf. *Gartn.* § 47 — 1. *-un* in Sedrun, Diss., Trins, Zernetz, U.E.; 2. *-uń* in Ems, Realta, Andeer bis Stalla, Fettan; 3. *-um* im *O.E.;* — 4. *ǫ́un* in Bonaduz, Rothenbrunn; cf. *M-L.* § 137; 5. *-eun* in Scharans.

Anm. Die Formen 4 u. 5 haben sich über *ǫ́un* entwickelt; cf. *Gartn.* § 200: *hōra, crūx, coda.*

Beispiele: *barcun, E. balcun*, Fensteröffnung, — ahd. *balko;* cf. *Kört.* 1012; *bargun*, Heuschopf, r. *barga; barschun, braschun*, Bürste; cf. fr. *brosse*, u. *Kört.* 1374, 1428; *beffun*, Spötter, — r. *beffar*; cf. *Kört.* 990; *buttatschun*, Schmerbauch, zu r. *butt*, Fass, it. *botte* + *-aceu* + *-one; M. chamadun*, Ecke. zu *chama*, Rast, — ml. *calma, cauma; U.E. chiandun, O.E. cundun*, Ellenbogen, — **cubitonem; chardun*, Distel, — **card(u)onem;* cf. *Kört.* 1659; *chastrun*, Widder, sp. *castron;* cf. *Kört.* 1718; *U.E. clamagnun*, Einfahrt in die Güter, zu d. *Klamm?* cf. *Kört.* 4542; *O.E. crarun — carbonem;* surs. *dargun*, Bergbach, — l. *draconem; darschun*, Verhärtung, Pflock, — l. *durus* + *-icius* + *-onem?; falcun* — Falke; *farcun*, Erdbeere, — **fragonem; fradagliuns, fradgliuns*, Geschwister, — *fratelliones; fraseun — flasconem; girun* — Geier; *O.E. kumdum* — l. *cubitonem; liun — leonem; madargniun*, Wein-

traube, — l. *maternus;* cf. d. Perlmutter; *mantun, mentun. E. mintun — mentonem; maranyun,* Alphütte, zu r. *primarang,* Maiensäss: *marschun,* Faullenzer, — r. *marsch;* *mattitschun, battitschun,* Kinn, — l. *mentum* + *-icionem; muschunn,* Maikäfer, — l. *musca; pedun,* Fussgänger, — l. **pedonem;* cf. *Körl.* 5996; *pissun,* dürres Gras, zu r. *pass,* welk, it. *passo; punschun,* Distel, — *punscher,* stechen; *sbarun,* geifernd, — r. *sbarar; zertun,* liederlicher Mensch, zu *zert,* entblösst, — l. *desertus; sparun, sprunn,* Sporn, — ahd. *sporon; striun,* Hexenmeister, — r. *stria; timun, chiamun* — l. *temonem; tizzun,* Feuerscheit, — l. *titionem (G); titschun,* Brunnenrohr, — l. *tubus* + *-icionem? tschaygyliuns,* Schnittlauch, — *caepulla* + *-iones; E. uzzun, izzun,* Heidelbeere, — l. *uva,* Traube, + *-icionem?* cf. it. *uvizzolo,* wilder Weinstock; oberl. *rinschiyliuns,* Mahlzeit nach dem Dreschen; cf. *rinscher,* beendigen, l. *rincere.*

Anm. 1. Bisweilen wechselt im Rät. *-onem* mit *-antem;* cf. *Gartn.* § 99.

Anm. 2. Dem Sing. auf *-u* entspricht bei diesem Suf. ein Plur. auf *-uts,* dem auf *-ü* ein Plur. auf *-üs* od. *-uts,* dem auf *-m* einer auf *-mps;* cf. *Gartn.* § 106.

Anm. 3. Als Plur.-Endung u. nicht als Suf. ist *-uns* aufzufassen in oberl. *babuns,* Vorfahren, von *bab,* Vater, u. *M. mattuns,* Knaben, zu *mat;* cf. *Gartn.* § 107.

§ 94. Auch einige weibliche Ableitungen sind im Rät. dem Suf. *-onem* zu verdanken; doch sind diese Fälle selten; solche Wörter sind hier u. da auch als Koll.-Plurale von Mask. zu betrachten:

r. *pluna, E. ploma,* Haufen, Stoss, — l. *pila,* id.; cf. *Körl.* 6132; r. *rampuna,* knorriges Gesträuch, zu it. *rampa,* Kralle; cf. *Körl.* 6636;

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 95. 1145. Albione (Roveredo) = „grosser Trog" zu l. *alveus,* fr. *auge,* it. dial. *albi;* cf. *Schn.* p. 2.

1146. Plan d'alzun (Vicos.) = Steineichenboden zu r. *ägla,* it. *elce,* l. *ilicem.*

1147. Ambrun (Vicos.), zu *umbra*?

1148. Igls Argliongs (Tiefenk.) = die kl. Äcker: zu r. *er*, Acker, — aus l. *area* —, gerade so gebildet wie die vielen *Campiglione*, *Campione* in Italien von *campus*.

1149. Sotargliung (Mons) = unter d. kl. Acker; cf. 1148.

1150. Goot Satargliung (Stürvis) = Wald unter dem kl. Acker.

1151. Foura des azungs, zu r. *U.E. foura*, Loch, u. *azung*, Heidelbeere.

1152. Enzertlung (Villa), aus *in* + *zert*, Wüste, Öde — aus *desertum* —; cf. 1148.

1153. Vals dels jerduns (M.) = Thäler der Disteln.

1154. Bajun grond (V. Cava), zu r. *grond*, gross, u. *b.* = Kluppe, d. h. schmaler Weg zw. 2 Gütern u. dgl. (zu it. *badare*).

1155. Barcuns (Somv.) = Fenster? od. zu r. *bargun*, Stadel.

1156. Plang barcung (Tinzen) = Fensterebene.

1157. Bargugn (Mons) = Heustadel; cf. *Buck* XII: *Bergell.*

1158. Bargun (Lufis, Pitasch, Degen), Barguns (Laax), igl Bargung (Salux, Stürvis); cf. 1157.

1159. Plaun da bastuns (Cierfs M.) = „Ebene der Stöcke".

1160. Bavun-Durschai (Lü M.), zu r. *barum*, *bijun*, Lücke im Zaun u. dgl. — cf. 1154 — + *de* + l. *urticetum*, Ort, wo viele Nesseln wachsen — cf. *Alton:* p. 66 *Urtegei* —; der *O. Ortiseit* im Grödenthale ist ebenfalls auf *urticetum* zurückzuführen.

1161. Bintschuns (Ruaun), zu r. *binda*, Binde, streifenartiges Grundstück, + *-iciones?* cf. *Schn.* p. 15.

1162. Bilion (Soazza), zu r. *bügl*, Trog?

1163. Bisiuns (Ardetz).

1163a. Boriun (Silvapl.), zu r. *borr*, Rand, + **-i(l)ionem.*

1164. Plän-bottun (Castas.), zu r. *plan*, Ebene, + *bott*, Bichel.

1165. Bucarischuna (St. Martin), zu it. *bocca*, Bergsattel, u. *la risch*, die Wurzel.

1166. Büjun (Soglio) = gr. Trog: cf. 1162.

1167. Burdum (A. Campov.), zu it. *bordo*, Rand; cf. 1164 u. *Schn.* p. 17: *Bordone.*

1168. Prau-cageum (Razen).

1169. Calduns (Ruschein), zu ml. *calda*, Esse; cf. *Buck* XII: *calidus.*

1170. Camartgiun (Somv.) = Haus des gr. *Marcus.*

1171. Campeum (Razen), zu l. *campus.*

1172. Campione (Roveredo), aus *campus* + *-ilionem* od. *-ellus* + *-onem?* —; cf. *Schn.* p. 31 *campus;* cf. N. 1148.

1173. Campliun (Vrin), Camplun (Stampa), Camplung (Vicos.); cf. 1172.

1174. Canton (Soazza), Chiantun (Filis.), Cantun (Somv.), Cantung (Stürvis), Cantuns (Waltensb.), zu r. *chantun*, Winkel, Ecke, Kante.

1175. Cantun Flipp (Levg.) = Winkel des Philipp; cf. 1174.

1176. Chantun grond (St. Maria) = gr. Winkel; cf. 1174.

1177. Cantunsord (Vicos.) = tauber Winkel, d. h. wo nichts wächst; cf. *Schn.* p. 219.

1178. Canun (Vicos.), zu l. *cana*; cf. crem. *canoon*, Brunnenteuchel (nach *Peri*).

1179. Chiappissun (Lavin), zu l. *casa* + r. *piss*, Wasserfall; dieses Wort zu it. *pisciare;* cf. *Pisse-vache*, ein Wasserfall im Valais.

1180. Careuns (St. Martin), zu l. *quadrum*, Felsblock.

1181. Bot Caschlieun (O. Vatz) = Schlosshügel zu r. *bot* — cf. 782 — u. **castellionem;* cf. 1184.

1182. Carunis (Felsb.), zu r. *corona, cruna*, Krone u. Felsgipfel, Gesimse; cf. *Schn.* p. 45.

1183. Carun (Somv.); cf. 1180.

1184. Castion (Chur); cf. 1181: in Italien 50 *Castiglione* u. 12 *Castione.*

1185. Chasun (Fettan), zu *casa.*

1186. Chasun (Lü); cf. 1185.

1187. Catugn (Scharans).

1188. Cavajone (Brusio) = **caballionem*, Rossrücken; cf. *Schn.* p. 36: *Caraiono.*

1189. Cazun (Andeer), zu r. *cazza*, Gazze; cf. *Alton* p. 33: *Cazzorára.*

1190. Cillong (Castas.).

1191. Chischliun (Somv.), Chischlun (Flond, Ruaun); cf. 1181, 1184; *Schn.* p. 36: *Castione.*

1192. Crest clambun (Trins).

1193. Clavuns (Laax); cf. 1512, zu *ml. clavis* = *clusum*, Gehege; cf. *Puschlav* it. *Poschiavo*, aus l. *post-clavem.*

1194. Costun (Guarda), zu r. *costa*, Halde.

1195. Costuns (St. Maria); cf. 1194.

1196. Crappun (Samaden), zu r. *crap*, Stein.

1197. Pez dil Creun (Levg.)

1198. Crungas (Tinzen); cf. 1182.

1199. Curuna (Soglio); cf. 1182, 1198.

1200. Cuschinunz (Campov.) = „Köche"?

1201. Dargun (Vrin) = Wildbach — aus l. *draconem* —; cf. *Dragone* u. *Dragoncello*, zwei O. bei Bergamo; cf. 93.

1202. Dariuns (Somv.); cf. 1148.

1203. Darleun (Waltensb.); cf. 1148, 1202.

1204. Darlun (Vrin); cf. 1148, 1202, 1203.

1205. Dascion (Soglio), zu r. *dascha*, Tannenreis.

1206. Dastiun (Castas.).

1207. Druna (Soazza), zu *draconem*; cf. 1201.

1208. Drussum (Silvapl.). zu *drossa*. Staude, *alnus viridis.*

1209. Falcun (Zernetz).

1210. Sur-fallun (Brigels), zu r. *falla*, Bärenfalle.

1211. Ils Falluns (Somv.); cf. 1210.

1212. Falugn (Mons); cf. 1210.

1213. Plan da falun (Guarda); cf. 1210.

1214. Fargliun (Laax), zu r. *fora*, Loch, + *-*ilionem?*

1215. Ils Fauns (Waltensb.) = „die gr. Buchen", zu l. *fagus*, r. *fau*, + *-onem.*

1216. Filun (Samn.), zu l. *filus*, r. *fil*, Berggrat.

1217. Fontanon (Lostallo), zu *fontana*, Quelle.

1218. Frassunn (Vicos.) = **fraxinonem*, gr. Esche.

1219. Fulun (Vriu), Fulum (Celer.); cf. 1216.

1220. Galluna (Chur), zu r. *caglia*; cf. 352.

1221. V. Gianduns (Scanfs), zu r. *gianda*, Steinhalde; cf. § 14.

1222. Gargadona (Duvin), von *vl. gurga*, Strudel, Schlucht — cf. fr. *gorge* — gebildet, wie *Runggeldona* — cf. *Zösm.* p. 8 — von *runcale*, Rodung, od. it. *Graredona* von *grava*, Kies, od. *Blissadonna*, der N. des Tobels, das jüngst die Arlbergbahn so sehr gefährdete, von *bliss* — cf. 716 —; cf. bresc. *čaradūna* = „grosser Schlüssel": cf. 1224.

1223. Gaschlun (Malix); cf. 1181.

1224. Greschadunna (Vals) = gr. Kamm zu *crasta*; cf. 452, 1222.

1225. Grischuns (Scanfs) = alte, mit grauen Flechten bewachsene Bäume; zu r. *grisch*.

1226. Langion (Chur).

1227. Langugn (Vrin).

1228. Mutta dels larschlungs (Samn.) = Matte der kl. Lärchen, zu l. *laricem* + **-iliones*.

1229. Laviruns (Zutz), mit Diss. aus **lavinuns*, zu *labina*, Lawine: in Ital. Orte wie *Lavenone*.

1230. Liúngs (Schuls), vom Fam.-N. *Lion*, *Liun* — aus l. *leonem*; cf. *Muoth* p. 45.

1231. Lizeun (Vicos.), zu r. *lozza*, Schlamm.

1232. Lizone (Roveredo); cf. 1231.

1233. Lizun (Stampa); cf. 1231.

1234. Lizun (Vicos.); cf. 1231.

1235. Lughezzone (Soazza).[1])

1236. Macung (Lavin).

1237. Madgluns (Filis.), zu r. *meida*, l. *meta*, Heuschochen; cf. 596.

1238. Lai da Maggun (Süss); cf. berg. *la maguna*, Eisenschmelze.

1239. Magnacun (Guarda, Ardetz), zu *migliacca*, Heuhaufen, od. *mignac*, Käslaib?

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[1]) Bei 1231—1235 könnte man auch an l. *ligationem* denken; cf. § 97.

1240. Magun (Andeer); cf. 1238.

1241. Malun (M.).

1242. Mantschuns (Samn.), zu l. *montem* + *-(i)ciones.*

1243. Mantun (Ruaun), zu r. *mantun*, Haufen, — l. **montonem.*

1244. Marangun (Fettan, Guarda), Maranguns (M.), zu r. *marangun*, Alphütte; cf. § 93.

1245. Marcantun (Rover.).

1246. Marclungs (Filis.), zu *marca*, Grenze, + **-(i)liones.*

1247. Margum nouv u. Margum vegl (Silvapl.) = neue, bezw. alte Alphütte; zu r. *margun* (= *bargun*), was im M. auch „Grube" bedeutet.

1248. Margunets (Lü M.) = kl. Alphütten; cf. 1247.

1249. Margum dell' Alp Sot = Alphütte der unteren Alpe; cf. 1247, 1248.

1250. Marlun (Bondo), zu r. *merl*, Amsel; cf. *Alton* p. 48: *V. dalla Merla.*

1251. La Martgiuna (Somv.), zu r. *marca*, Grenze; cf. 1246.

1252. Martschineun (O. Vatz), zu r. *martsch* = *marcidus?*

1253. Plan da Matun (Fettan) = „Ebene der grossen Matte".

1254. V. Mazun (Süss).

1255. Fil da Minschuns (St. Maria M.) = Grat — *fil* — der Vesperbrode — *minschun*, aus *riuctionem;* cf. § 97 — od. cf. 1242.

1256. Minschuns (Cierfs), Piz Minschun (Fettan); cf. 1255, od. zu *Minsch*, *Mensch*. Koseform zu *Dominicus*; cf. *Muoth* p. 34.

1257. Mitschung (Salux); cf. l. *matea*, it. *mazza*, Schlegel, woher auch tir. d. *Maiss*, *Moass*, *Mäss* = „Baumschlag"; cf. 1254.

1258. Mitteun (Laax); cf. 1253.

1259. Mot digl savlung (Salux) = Sandbühl.

1260. Motun (Bondo); cf. 1253.

1261. Muleg da castruns (Trins), zu r. *muleg*, Alphüttenplatz, u. r. *castrun*, Hammel.

1262. V. Mulineun (Somv.) = Thal der gr. Mühle; cf. 944.

1263. Mundeun (Lufis), zu *mundare*, schwenden; cf. 275.

1264. Munfergnun (Fettan).

1265. Mureun (Somv.), zu l. *murus*, Mauer.

1266. Mutteun (Vrin); cf. 1253.

1267. Muttoni (Brusio); cf. 1253.

1268. Nalungs (Schuls), Naluns (Fettan), zu **novalis*, Neubruch, od. eher zu r. *ala*, Felsenzinne; cf. 796.

1269. Navun (Soglio), zu l. *napum*, Rübe.

1270. Nicolò (Bondo) = Nikolaus.

1271. Nirungs (Sins), aus *in* + *-area* + *-ones;* cf. 611.

1272. Pleun Nossadunna (Degen) = „Boden Unserer lieben Frau".

1273. Padiglion (Lostallo); cf. it. *padiglione*, Zelt. —

1274. Pantun (Thusis), zu r. *punt*, Brücke.

1275. Pantun (Filis.) eine felsige Örtlichkeit; deshalb eher zu **pendita* — fr. *pente*.

1276. Pantuns (Riein, Vrin, St. Maria); cf. 1274.

1277. Valpaschun (M.), zu l. *vallis* u. *pascuum*.

1278. Aua-pedrun (Fuldera), zu l. *aqua* u. *petra*.

1279. Peidruns (Guarda) = bei den gr. Steinen; cf. 1278.

1280. Picum (Celerin.), zu r. *pich*, Spitze.

1281. Pintrun (Trins), zu r. *pintg*, klein, u. *run* = l. *runcus*.

1282. Pizun (Pitasch), zu r. *pis*, Spitz, od. zu r. *pezz*, Stück — ml. *petium*.

1283. Platitschun (Ardetz), zu r. *plat*, Platte, + **-icionem*.

1284. Ai Plattoni (Brusio) = bei d. gr. Platten; cf. *Moor* II. J. 1304 eine *petia ad plotam viridem* = Stück bei der grünen Platte.

1285. Plattuns (Lü); cf. 1284.

1286. Plaunpaschun (V. Cava) = Weideboden; cf. 1277.

1287. Portums (Zutz) = „grosse Thore" zu *porta*.

1288. Prassarinun (Guarda), zu r. *pra*, Feld, + r. **sera*, Peundt, + *-in(am)* + *-on(em)*; cf. 1309.

1289. Prassun (Vicos.) = *prensionem?* (cf. § 97.)

1290. Praudun urk. *Praurídum* (Villa) = Feld + Widum d. h. Pfarrhaus; cf. *Plaurédún* — bei *Alton.* p. 54 — dessen Ableitung von *planus* + *vicedominus* nicht wohl möglich ist.

1291. Prosignum (Celer.), aus *prat(um)* + *sign(um)*, Zeichen, + *-on(em)*; cf. 1073. 1087.

1292. Prolizun (Celer.) = *pratum* + *ligatinem?* cf. 1231 ff.

1293. Radons (Bivio) = *rotundos*, zu r. *radun*, rund.

1294. Radun (Duvin), Raduns (Lufis); cf. 1293.

1295. Ragizuns (Waltensb.), zu r. * *ragic*, Wurzel.

1296. Ramagliuns (Tinzen), zu *armal*, Rind?

1297. Ransun (Trins).

1298. Rariuns (Somv.), zu *rarus* + **-iliones*.

1299. Plaun di Sabléun (Alveneu) = „Sandboden"; cf. 1259.

1300. Sablun (Levg.) = Sand.

1301. Sagliéuns (Lavin) = Grenzgräben, zu r. *saglia*; cf. 1057.

1302. Sagliuns (Campovasto); cf. 1301.

1303. Zaloni (Brusio), zu ml. *sala*, Haus.

1304. Saluns (Laax); cf. 1303.

1305. Salvums (Scanfs), zu r. *selva*, Wald.

1306. Samagnun = Thal Sammaun, zu r. *saumna*, Saumweg?

1307. Samuns (Präz, Trins), zu r. *soma*, Saum?

1308. Samuns (Levg.); cf. 1307.

1309. Sareuns (Alveneu), Sarruns (Ardetz), Sarun (Stampa), zu r. *sera*, Peundt; cf. 228, 1288 u. r. *sarrum*, Barren; somit bedeutet auch *Schruns* im Montafon kaum etwas anderes als „grosse Peundten"; es findet sich urk. als *Schirums*.

1310. Scatung (Mons).

1311. Schandung (Salux).

1312. Schfruschung (Stürvis), zu r. *sfrusclu*, Besen.

1313. Schilung (Stürvis), zu r. *schilöz*, Schlund?

1314. Baria Schimun (Präz) = Stadel des Simon.

1315. Schlasung (Stürvis).

1316. Schmallavuns (Somv.), zu *gemellus* u. *aqua?* cf. 1084.

1317. Pro Sduneun (Präz) = Feld des gr. Löffels.

1318. Sesdimun (Samn.) = *saxum daemonii*, Teufelsstein.

1319. Solcone (Brusio), zu it. *solco*, Furche.

1320. Solvér-dil-signun (Somv.), zu l. *silva* + *-arium* u. **signonem* — cf. 1291.

1321. Döss del Sprung (Münster), zu r. *döss*, Rücken, u. r. *sprun*, Sporn, „Ausläufer eines Berges" it. *sperone*.

1322. Spundiwalduns (Malix), aus r. *spunda*, Halde, + r. **ualt*, Wald + *-ones*.

1323. Starleungs (Präz) = Ort, wo Jungvieh weidet; zu l. *sterilis*; cf. § 46.

1324. Starpuns (Lufis), zu r. *sterpa*, grobes Gras, zu l. *extirpare*; in Italien Orte wie *Sterpo*, *Sterpara*, *Sterpeto* etc.

1325. Stavajone (Brusio), zu l. *stabulum*; cf. it. O. *Staghilione*; cf. 1326.

1326. Stavel-liun (Vrin) = kl. Lagerplatz, aus **stabulionem* u. nicht „Löwenstall", wie das Volk meint; cf. 1325.

1327. Sterpins (Ruaun); cf. 1324.

1328. Suriarungas (Surava).

1329. Tgangladrung (Tiefenk.) = Räubereck, zu r. *tgant* u. *ladrun*.

1330. Igl Tgang-liung (Stürvis) = kl. Eck; nicht „Löweneck". — cf. 1329 u. 1326.

1331. Dosso Torione (Brusio) = „Rücken des kl. Turmes", zu l. *do(r)sum* + *turrionem*, in Italien viele *Torrion* u. *Torrione*.

1332. Trupchum (Scanfs), zu l. *ad* + *rupea* + *-on(em)?*

1333. Prau Tschadun (Präz).

1334. Prau Tschamun (Flond) = „Simonsfeld"; cf. Muoth p. 35.

1335. Tschandasablun (Samn.) = „Sandeck"; cf. 1299.

1336. Chastliun (Bergün), aus l. *castellum* + *-ionem*; cf. 1181.

1337. Tscheum-pardatsch (Razen).

1338. Tscheimeun-la-Pun (Ruaun); cf. r. *tschima*, Spitze, u. r. *pun*, Brücke.

1339. Prau-tschileum (Razen), zu r. *tgil* = *culus?*

1340. Tschireschum (Silvapl.) = gr. „Kirschbaum".

1341. Tschunceuns (Razen), zu r. *tschuncar*, schneiden, od. l. *juncus*, Binse.

1342. Valanzun (Zernetz) = „Himbeeren-Thal"; cf. 1151.

1343. Valtschona (Vals) = *vallis* + *-(i)ciona?*

1344. Valzellonna (Samn.), zu l. *valicella* + *-ona?*

1345. Prau-Videum (Razen) = Widumsfeld; cf. 1290.

1346. Waldun (Ruaun), zu d. „Wald"; cf. 48.

II. B) 5. l. -io, -ionis, f.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 96. Die meisten hierhergehörigen Substantiva sind gelehrten Ursprungs oder dem Italienischen entlehnt, wie *absoluzion* etc.

Volkstümlichere Gestalt haben die folgenden:

a. von l. *-ationem:* 1. *U.E. aquazun*, *O.E. ovazun f.*, Überschwemmung. — l. **aquationem;* 2. *E. arazun*, Pflügezeit, — l. *arationem*; 3. *filischun*, Gespinst, — l. *filationem;* 4. oberl. *panazun f.* Butterballen, zu r. *panar*, Butter rühren;

b. von l. *-tionem* u. *-sionem* zu Verben der 3. Konjugation: 1. *U.E. maschun*, Hühnerstall, — l. *mansionem;* 2. *prischun*, *parschun*, *E. praschun*, Gefängnis, — l. *prensionem;* 3. oberl. *ramaschun*, Vergebung, — l. *remissionem;* 4. *E. saschun*, Jahreszeit, — l. *sationem*; 5. *U.E. rinschun*, *O.E. guinschun f.*, Mahlzeit nach der Arbeit — l. **vinctionem* zu *vincere*, r. *vinscher*, beendigen.

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1])

§ 97. 1347. Busč da lan Cunvenziun (Bondo) = Busch des Übereinkommens; zu it. *bosco* + l. *conventionem.*

1348. Garsuns (Vrin) = Waldschonungen? zu fr. *garer,* ahd. *warôn.*

1349. Giarsun (Guarda) = Brachfeld aus **girationem,* zu r. *girar,* l. *gyrare*; cf. 352, 580, u. *Kört.* 3828.

1350. Ciarsun (Pontres.); cf. 1349.

1351. Ligiazun (Vrin, Vigens) = Peundt, eingezäuntes Grundstück, — l. *ligationem;* cf. 1231 ff.

1352. La Gizun (Trins); cf. 1351.

1353. Giazuns dadens u. G. dado (Levg.) = innere, bezw. äussere Peundten; cf. 1351.

1354. Plan Masciun (Stampa) = *planum* + *mansionem*

1355. Mischuns (Vrin): cf. 1354.

1356. Maseuns (Somv.); cf. 1354.

1357. Pendraschun (Val Cava) = Pfändung, — **pignerationem;* cf. r. *pendrar,* pfänden; cf. *Pfänder,* Bg. bei Bregenz.

II. B) 6. l. -aneus, -oneus, -ineus.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 98. Beim Suf. *-aneus* handelt es sich nur um einige wenige Wörter, deren grösster Teil einem *rl.* Wechsel von *-anus* mit *-aneus* zu verdanken ist; cf. *Cohn* 160 ff.; *Kört. Z.* III. 562, 564. Die gemeinbündnerische Form hierfür ist *-ogn; -agn* erscheint nur in Andeer, O.E. u. Sent; cf. *Gartn.* § 30, 106 *annus;* z. B. r. *chalchagn, -ogn.* Ferse, l. *calcaneum; O.E. champagna, U.E. -ognia,* Feld, — *rl. campanea* statt l. *campana; carlognia* neben *carlauna,* Schafmist, — l. *corylus* + *auca*; oberl. *castognia, U.E. chastognia, O.E.*

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[1]) *Buck* XII *foenum* erklärt „*Finasun*" bei Flirsch, Tirol mit *finis ad summum;* ich halte es für **foenationem* = Ort, wo man heut; cf. r. *fanar* = l. **foenare.*

chastagna, Kastanie, — l. *castaneam; E. charagna*, Korb, cf. *Kört.* 1756; *ligiongia* neben *liangia*, Wurst. — zu l. *ligare;* oberl. *mantognia*, Berg, — vl. *montanea* für *montana;* Heinz. *pichioignia*, Steigung, steiler Weg, zu it. *picco*, Bergspitze; cf. *Kört.* 6119; *pioignia*, Erlenwald; *pioign*, Brett, kl. Brücke, — **pedaneus* für l. *pedanus* — cf. *Cohn* 16 ff. —, wozu afr. *paaigne* u. it. *pedana* zu vergleichen.

§ 99. L. -ōneus gibt im Oberl. *-ugn*, im *E. uogn:* z. B. *badugn, U.E. baduogn, baduoin, O.E. eduogn*, Birke, — l. **betu(ll)nea* od. eher **betunea* für **betullea* wegen *ogn* aus **alneu; U.E. carognia*, oberl. *carugnia*, Aas; oberl. *favugn, fagugn, U.E. faruogn, O.E. fuogn*, Föhn, — l. *favōnĕŭ*; cf. *Kört.* 3173.

Anm. *damuni, E. dimuni* ist gelehrte Bildung aus l. *daemonium.*

§ 100. L. -īnius gibt im Rät. meistens *-egn*, seltener *-ign* od. *-ögn:* z. B. *fansegnia*, kindisches Wesen, zu l. *infantia* + *-inia? luschegnia*, Nachtigall — l. *luscinia; malmandegn*, kl. Wunde, zu l. *male* + *mundus; mistregn*, Handwerk — l. **ministerinium; pistregn, pastregn*, Bäckerei, — *pistorem* + *-inium*, od. eher aus *pīstrīnum;* cf. *Kört.* 6180; oberl. *pitanegn, U.E. pitanögn*, Unzucht, zu r. *pitana*; cf. *Kört.* 6495; *E. ramansigna*, Rüge — l. **readmenticinia?* cf. it. *rammentare; striegn, E. striögn*, Hexerei, zu l. *striga* + *-inium;* oberl. *tussegn*, Hüsteln, zu l. *tussis.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1])

§ 101. 1358. Arivagna (Celerina), zu l. *ripa.*

1359. La Badognia (Salux) Koll.-Plur. = „Birken".

1360. Badugn (Brigels), s. o.

1361. La Badugnia (Pitasch), Badugna (O. Vatz, Vrin, Levg.), las Badugnas (Surava) etc.; cf. 1359.

1362. Calcogn (Fuldera, Duvin), r. *calcogn*, Ferse, aber auch „steile Stelle im Gebirge"; cf. *Alton* p. 31.

[1]) cf. *Schn.* p. 95, wo *Meran* auf **maronea*, Schutthalde, zurückgeführt wird.

1363. Dochalchogn (St. Maria) = ht. der Ferse; cf. r. *do* = r. *davo*, l. *de -abvorsum*, + *calcogn;* cf. 1362.

1364. Champagna (Zutz), Champagnas (Scanfs), Campagna sur, C. suot (Samaden) = Flur etc.

1365. Campocologno (Brusio) = Pachtfeld — l. *campus colonius;* in Italien 3 *Cologno.*

1366. Camponia (Thusis); cf. 1364.

1367. Piz Caschlognia (Fettan), zu r. *piz*, Bergspitze, + l. **castellanea* für *-ana* zu *castellum;* auch in Italien 1 *Castellania* neben 3 *Castellana.*

1368. Clamugna (Razen); kaum zu *calm*, eher zu d. „klemmen"; cf. r. *clamagnun.*

1369. Cottongi (Brusio) „Quitten", zu l. *cotoneus.*

1370. Cumpogna (Tiefenk., Alven.) Cumpúegna (Bergün); cf. 1364.

1371. Procumpognia (Roten); cf. 1364.

1372. Lesognes (Lavin).

1373. Manzagùong (Schuls).

1374. Montogn (Lostallo) — *montaneu?*

1375. Parsagna (Andeer), zu r. *praisa*, Baumschlag.

1376. Pazónien (Malix), zu r. *pezz*, Stück.

1377. Piogn (Salux), il Piogn (Somvix) = kl. Steg; cf. *Alton* p. 53 *Piagn;* ich stelle hierher auch den N. von *Pians* an der Arlbergbahn.

1378. Pitgiogna (Salux, Präz), Pitgiognias (Mons), Pitschogna (Andeer), la Pizoagna (Surava), Davos Pizogna (Alveneu-), alles zu r. *p.* = Steigung.

1379. La Ragognia (Levg.), zu r. *ragiar*, roden?

1380. Ramogn (Ardetz), zu l. *ramus.*

1381. Rimogna (Salux); cf. 1380.

1382. Vignogn (r. N. für Vigens), zu *vinea?* [1])

II. B) 7. l. -ernus, -a.

I. In westr. Appell.[2])

§ 102. L. -ernus, -a erscheint im Westr. als *-iern*, bezw. *-ierna*, *-iarna* u. *-erna;* z. B. *chalaverna*, Schwüle; *cis-*

[1]) Wegen *oneus* cf. *Buck XII: burgus.*

[2]) cf. *Kört. Z.* III. 580.

terna, Ziehbrunnen; *lantiarna, lanterna, O.E. linterna*, Laterne, — l. *laterna; schlerna*, Wagengeleise: cf. fr. *sillon*, u. *Kört.* 7333; *uffiern, unfiern, O.E. infiern*, Hölle. — *infernum*: *unriern, inriern. E. uriern — hibernum.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 103. Nur wenige Wörter ausser *cisterna* und *infernum* haben zur Bildung von r. Flur N., was *-ernus* betrifft, beigetragen.

1382a. *a.* Cisterna (Lostallo);

b. Faderna (Alven.), zu r. *feta*, weibl. Schaf; cf. *Buck* XII.: *feta;*

c. Lumbernas (Ruaun) — *luperna*, Wolfshöhle? cf. *Buck* XII.: *lupus;*

d. La Sterna (Scharans) = Cisterne;

e. Taviarna (Laax) = l. *taberna*, Schenke; cf. *Buck* XII.: *lupus*, u. *Schn.* 118: *Pioverna.*

III. 1. l. -sura, -tura.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 104. Die Verschiedenheit der Formen, unter denen der l. Ausgang *-ura* im Rät. sich zeigt, beruht auf der verschiedenen Entwickelung des l. *ū*; cf. *Gartn.* § 55 (*ū* + *r* in Paroxytonis) u. § 200 *mensura.* Demzufolge erscheint l. *-ura:*

als 1. *-ürə* in Cleven, B., Stalla, Zernetz, U.E., M.;

2. *-ügra* O.E.;

3. *-ira* in Sedrun u. bis Andeer;

4. *-éira* in Tiefenk. u. Schweining.;

5. *-ęgra* in Bergün.

L. -ura konnte anfangs nur an den Stamm eines Supinums treten — sei es

1. eines stammbetonten, mit dem es dann die Suffixe *-sura, -tura* bildete, sei es

2. eines endungsbetonten, was dann die Suf. *-atura, -itura, -utura* hervorbrachte; Beispiele:

ad 1. a) auf *-sura:* r. *arsira*, das Brennen, — l. *arsura;* r. *clausira*, Gehege, — *clausura;* b) auf *-tura: E. cultüra*, oberl. *cultira*, Ackerfeld, — l. *cultura; E. paschüra*, oberl. *pistira* u. *paschira*, Weide, — l. *pastura;* surs. *stertgira*, Schlucht, — l. *strictura; E. ctüra*, oberl. *richira*, Fracht, — l. *rectura;*

ad 2. a) auf *-atura:* oberl. *aradira*, Pflügen, — l. *aratura; arschaintadüras*, Spülwasser, — zu r. *arschaintar; E. liadira*, Gebinde, — l. *ligatura; marcladira*[1]), Dengelstock, — l. **marculare* von *marculus; E. mundadüra*, oberl. *-dira*, Nachgeburt, — zu l. *mundare;* b) auf *-itura* u. *-utura: E. cusdüra*, Nat, zu l. *consutum; E. muttüra*, oberl. *multira*, aus l. *molītura* (cf. *Du Ca.*).

Bei *-itura* und *-utura* trat meistens Suf.-Wechsel mit *-atura* ein, ähnlich wie im afr.; cf. *Cohn* p. 121, 123; z. B. *cusadira, — für *consutura; ischadira*, Thürpfosten, — l. *exitura* (cf. *Du Ca.*); *E. munschadüra*, Euter, — l. *mulcitum* für *mulctum; rascadira*, Kleiderschrank, — *vestitura.*

L. -atura fügt sich später sogar an das *part. pass.* starker Verben an: r. *ruttadira*, Bruch, — r. *rutt* = *ruptum*: r. *sfessadüra, fessadira*, Spalte, zu r. *fess* = l. *fissum.*

Endlich erlangte das genannte Suf. die Fähigkeit mit Nominibus eine Verbindung einzugehen, z. Teil um Kollektiva zu erzeugen: *carradira*, Wagengeleise, — *carrus; dentadira, dentadüra*, Zahnwerk, — r. *daint* — *dentem; romadüra*, Astwerk, — r. *rom* = *ramus.*

Durch Verkennung der ursprünglichen Bedingungen wurde später *-ura* als Suffix angesehen und begann nun

1. aus dem Präsens-Stamm der Verben,

2. aus Nominibus neue Derivate — bald mit kollektivem Sinn, bald um einen Zustand od. eine Handlung zu bezeichnen — zu bilden, in manchen dieser Fälle ist *-ura* das Ergebnis eines Suf.-Wechsels von l. *or* — cf. *Cohn.* p. 172, 173, 177 ff., — ähnlich wie im Französ.; Beispiele:

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[1]) Hier wohl *-dira* statt *-duira* = *-toria.*

ad 1. *paliva*, das Mausen, zu r. *pelar*, l. *pilare*, zu *pilus*;

ad 2. *fradüra* = afr. *froidure*; *lichira*, Milchspeise, — l. *lacte*; *naviva*, viel Schnee, — r. *naif* = *nivem*; *pupira*, Elend, — **paup(er)ura*.

Schliesslich dient *-atura* sowohl als *-ura*, um eine Art Superl. von Adjektiven zu bilden (cf. *Carisch* XXIX); z. B. *marschadira*, sehr faul, zu r. *marsch*; *nauschira*, sehr böse, — r. *nausch* aus *nausea*; *aschira*, sehr sauer, zu r. *asch* = *acidus*.

II. In bündn. Flurn.[1])

§ 105. 1383. Arsüra (Fettan), l'Arsoira (Alveneu), Arsüras (Campovasto, Guarda). Arsüres (Süss) sind Örtlichkeiten, wo einst ein Wald niedergebrannt wurde, um Acker- u. Wiesenland zu gewinnen; cf. *Du Ca.: arsura 4*, u. *Schm.* p. 198.

1384. Arsüratscha (Ardetz) = „gr. Brand"; cf. 1383.

1385. Orladüra (Bondo) = „Rand"; dem Sinne nach das franz. *lisière*; cf. *Du Ca.: orlare*, u. No. 152.

1386. Blur-Wiese (Taufers), zu r. *pelu*, Kelle, + *-ura*?

1387. Cadiras (Tinzen), zu *calidus*, warm?

1388. Caltura (Stampa), zu r. *caltura*.

1389. Caltüra (Bondo); cf. 1388.

1390. Calüra (Vicos.), zu r. *calar*, (Holz) herablassen; r. *cal*, Verb.-Subst. hierzu.

1391. Charnadüra (Celerina) = „Winkelwerk"; cf. fr. *charnure*, zu l. *cardinem*; vgl. *Buck* XII: *flumen*; cf. No. 788.

1392. Chärnadüras (Lavin); cf. 1391.

1393. Cartüra (Vals), zu r. *carradüra*, Wagengeleise.

1394. Chasura (Schleins), zu r. *chasura*, Acker beim Haus. Peundt.

1395. Casura (Duvin), Casuras (Laax), Chasuras (Cierfs); cf. 1394.

1396. Cavardiras (Somv.), zu r. *cavadira*, *charadüra*. Aushöhlung, Loch.

1397. Chavradüra (Remüs), Chiavardéira (Filis.); cf. 1396.

[1]) cf. *Buck* XII: *flumen*.

1398. Clisura (Remüs) = „eingehegtes Grundstück"; cf. l *clausura (G.)*. u. *Du Ca.: clausura = ager clausus sepibus*; r. *clasira* u. *clasena* haben die gleiche Bedeutung.

1399. Giudem la Culteira (Stürvis) = „ganz unten bei der Flur", zu r. *cultüra;* cf. *Du Ca.: cultura 1 = ager cultus;* in Italien 7 Orte *Coltura;* cf. 1388.

1400. Cultira (Duvin, Degen, Ruschein etc.); cf. 1399.

1401. Curschladeras (Degen) = „Ort, wo man Bäume entrindet"; cf. r. *scurzar,* entrinden; cf. l. **excorticiare* u. *corticulus,* Rinde.

1402. Cutura (Fettan), Cutüra (Ardetz); cf. 1399.

1403. Cutüra plana (Schuls) = „weite Flur"; cf. 1402.

1404. Figura (Bivio), zu l. *figura.*

1405. Fizura (Filis.), zu l. *filix,* Farrenkraut, also = **filice|ura.*

1406. Fratüra (Fettan). zu r. *fratga.* Sperre, Pforte; cf. *Alton* p. 41; auch in Italien Orte wie *Frattura.*

1407. Gulteira (Salux), zu r. *gualt* etc.. Wald.

1408. Laschadura (Zernetz) aus *l'ischadura,* Öffnung, zu l. *exitura.*

1409. Lastüra (Sins), zu r. *asta.* Stange.

1410. Mundadiras (Trins); zu r. *mundar,* reinigen, schwenden; cf. 275.

1411. Nalbeiras, auch *Albeiras* (Salux) = in *alpuras?* zu r. *alp,* Alpe.

1412. Parsiras (Villa), aus l. **prensura,* „Waldschlag", d. h. zu fällender Wald: cf. r. **praisa,* it. *presa;* cf. 308, 1375, wozu auch die Bergnamen *Presana* u. *Presanella* gehören.

1413. Pastervall (Trins) = Thalweide, aus *pastura* + *vallis.*

1414. La Pastira (Degen) = Weide.

1415. Pattadiras (Laax), zu r. *patta,* Pfote, Tatze.

1416. Persira (Schmitten): cf. 1412.

1417. Pistira Cavivens (Somv.) = Weide der Fam. *C.*

1418. Pistiras (Vigens) = Weiden; cf. 1414. 1417.

1419. Planturin (Lavin), zu r. *planta,* Baumstamm, + *-ura* + *-inum.*

1420. Praseiras (Filis.), Praseiretta (Filis.), Prasüra (St. Maria, Süss); cf. 1412; cf. d. Parseierspitze, Tirol.

1421. Prasüras (Celer., Scanfs, Silvapl., Campov., Fettan), Las Prasüras (M.), Prasüres (Bergün, Spiss), Presires (Samn.); cf. 1412.

1422. Prasüra lungscha (Bergün) = langer Baumschlag.

1423. Prasüra torta (Guarda) = krummer Baumschlag.

1424. Purgira (Stürvis), zu ml. *procus*, Heidekraut?

1425. Radira (Laax) = „Feld, das ca. eine *radira* misst"; *radìra*, ein bünd. Feldmass, von l. *aratura*.

1426. Raschladeiras (Salux), zu r. *raschar*, Pech sammeln, od. zu r. *raschlar*, rechen.

1427. Las Rasoiras (Tinzen) = glatte, ebene Flächen aus l. *rasura* zu *radere*; auch it. O. wie *Rasura*.

1428. Ratiras (Vrin, Razen); cf. 1425, od. von *ruptura*.

1429. Rudera (Trins) von *ruptura* od. zu r. *rudar*, roden.

1430. Ruteira (Tiefenk.) = Erdbruch — l. *ruptura*.

1431. Rutteira (Filis.); cf. 1430.

1432. Sgargiateira (Tiefenk.), zu *sgargatare*, gurgeln?

1433. Soladüra (Vals), zu r. *salar*, salzen.

1434. Sursura (Süss, Zernetz), aus **suotsura* „Durcheinander".

1435. Tgavadeira (Mons), Las Tgavadeiras (Tiefenk.); cf. 1396.

1436. Las Titgiras (Tinzen), zu r. *tetg*, Dach.

1437. Valdiras (Andeer), Valdura (Safien Th.), Valdurli (id.), zu r. *uault*, Wald.

III. 2. l. -sor, -tor.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 106. Auf dieses Suf. führen zwei Gattungen von rät. Suffixen zurück:

1. solche, welche von einem l. Nominativ herstammen, wie in r. *aráder*, Pflüger, — l. *arátor;*

2. solche, welche von einem l. Akkusativ sich herleiten, wie r. *pastúr*, Hirt, — l. *pastorem*.

In Bezug auf die Bildungsfähigkeit dieses Suffixes herrschen gleiche Verhältnisse, wie bei *-sura* u. *-tura*. *L. -or* wird nämlich

1. an stammbetonte Supina angefügt, wie bei *pastur;*

2. an endungsbetonte, wie bei *chatschádер*, Jäger.

Auch hier hat *-ator* oft *-itor* etc. durch Suf.-Wechsel verdrängt, ähnlich wie im Urfranzösischen; cf. *Cohn* p. 115 ff.

Beispiele: *I. Alte Nominative* — cf. *Gartn.* § 99 —

a. Von stammbetonten Supinis gebildet: oberl. *pášt̨er, U.E. pęšt̨er*, aus l. *pástor;* r. *rútter*, Wegbahner, — l. *ráptor;* r. *sétter*, Schnitter, — l. *séctor*;

b. von endungsbetonten Supinis gebildet:

α) Aus l. *-átor*, oberl. *-áder, O.E. éder; aréder*, Pflüger (s. o.); *chatschádер, -éder*, Jäger, — **captiátor; derschádер*, Richter. — **directiator; laghiáder*, Lauerer, — *laghiar*, lauern; *pchięder*, Sünder, — *peccator;* aber dessen Plur. weist auf *-atóres* zurück.

Suf.-Wechsel liegt vor in: *bacáder, -éder*, Säufer, für l. **bibítor od. -utor*; auch afr. *buveres* verlangt *-átor*; *scudáder, -éder*, Drescher, wohl erst spät aus r. *scuoder* = l. *secutere*, dreschen, gebildet.

In oberl. *stellάder*, Astrolog, verband sich das Suf. mit einem Nomen: *stella*.

β) Aus l. *-ítor*, r. *-ider* — nur selten —: oberl. *tenschider*, Färber, — r. *tenscher*, l. *tingere; tundíder*, Schafscheerer, — l. *tondere;* cf. *Du Ca.: tonditura*; *unschider*, Salber, — l. *unguere*.

In oberl. *parrasíder*, Futterknecht, handelt es sich um einen scheinbaren Suf.-Wechsel; in Wirklichkeit liegt hier nur eine Metathesis vor: aus **parrisáder*, zu r. *parrasér* = l. *provisare*, versehen.

Das Rät. bildet zu diesem Suf. neue Feminina; nämlich *-ádra* zu *-áder*, *-édra* zu *-éder*, *-idra* zu *-ider*: *baradra, -edra; scudadra, scudedra; tenschidra;*

Anm. In *samadra* neben *samada*, gefrorner Schnee, ist das *r* paragogisch.

II. *Alte Akkusative* — der l. Ausgang *-orem* wird dabei meistens = r. *-ur*, seltener *-or*. od. *-ukr*., od. *-okr*.

a. Von starken Supinis: *pastúr — pastorem; sechiur*, Schnitter, — *sectorem*.

b. Von schwachen Supinis der ersten Conj., wobei *-atorem* auch an die Stelle von *-itorem* u. *-utorem* trat: *ampaladúr*, Fuhrmann, — l. **impalmare*, führen, eig. in der Hand — *palma* — haben; *aradúr — aratorem; fanadúr*, Heumonat, — **foenatorem;* cf. r. *fanar* — l. **foenare; rugadúr*, Bettler, — l. *rogatorem (G.); tenschadúr*, Färber, — für *-itorem*.

Anm. Auch zum r. Suf. *-dur* gibt es neue Feminina auf *-dura*; z. B. *ampaladura*, Führerin.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 107. 1438. Condutor (Vrin) = Führer od. Leitung — l. *conductorem*.

1439. Fruschádер (Fettan), zu r. *U.E. fruoschias*, dürre Reiser; cf. it. *frusco*; s. o. *fanadúr*.

1440. Tschischenáders (Samn.), zu r. *schitgen*, Stock, Strunk; cf. 1439.

1441. Zonadúr (Vicos.) = l. *sonatorem*, zu *sonare*; wohl von einer Fam. dieses Namens.

III. 3. l. -sórius, -tórius.

I. In westr. Appell.

§ 108. Der Ton-Vokal dieses Suffixes macht so ziemlich die Wandlungen des *ŭ* in *furca* — cf. *Gartn.* § 50 — u. *furnus* — cf. *Gartn.* § 106 — mit; wegen des *r* vgl. *Gartn.* § 62. Die hauptsächlichsten Formen für den l. Ausgang *-ōrium* sind somit:

1. Surs. u. oberl. *-úi*;
2. sonst am Rhein u. im U.E. *-úir*;
3. im O.E. *-uóir*, seltener *-oir*.

Dieses *-órius* tritt an dieselben Stämme, wie die bereits besprochenen *-ura* u. *-or:*

I. An starke Supinstämme:

z. B. *fassui*, Hacke, — l. *fossorium* (*G*); *fitgui*, Käsemodel, — **fictorium*; oberl. *parsui*, *E. prasuir*, Wiesbaum, — l. *pressorium*, Presse; oberl. *scassuoir*, *squassuoir*, Dreschflegel, — l. **succussorium*, zu l. *scutere*, r. *sacuoder*, dreschen; oberl. *scarsui*, *scrassuoir*, *id.*, gleichfalls l. **succussorium*, aber beeinflusst von *E. scroschèr*, erschüttern, knarren; *E. schlassuoir*, Dreschflegel; cf. die vorigen; *E. trachuoir*, *trazzuoir*, oberl. *dertgui*, Trichter, — l. *tractōrius*, *a*, zum Ziehen gehörig; cf. *Du Ca.: tractoria.*

II. Auf schwache Supinstämme deuten:

E. scrirladuir, Geschreibsel, zu **scribulare* von *scribere*; *spazzaduoir*, Schutt; cf. it. *spazzare*, wegräumen, l. *spatiare.*

Anm. r. *-aduoir* dient auch als Superlativ-Endung: z. B. r. *bletsch*, nass, — *O.E. bletschaduoir*, sehr nass.

§ 109. Die entsprechenden Feminin-Formen gehen auf *-úira*, *-uóira*, *-óira* aus; z. B.

I. Von starken Supinstämmen:

r. *plichuira*, Garnwinde, — l. **plicitoria* zu *plicare*; cf. *Kört.* 6223, 6224.

II. Von schwachen Supinstämmen:

U.E. bagniadoira, Waschzuber; zu l. **balneare*; *E. grattaduira*, Reibeisen, — r. *grattar*, kratzen; oberl. *manizzaduira*, Hackbeil, zu r. *manizzar* — **minutiare*; *raspaduira*, Raspel, — r. *raspar*, kratzen; ahd. *raspôn*; cf. *Kört.* 6678; *splejaduoira*, Garnwinde, — l. *explicatoria.*

III. Von Nominibus: *maladuira*, Schafhürde, zu r. *malatt*, krank; hier wohl Suf.-Wechsel von *aria*; das Wort bedeutete ursprünglich eine Hürde für kranke Schafe; *strommaduira*, Gesott, — r. *stromm*, Stroh.

Anm. 1. *U.E. bletscharoia*, gr. Nässe, ist Metathesis von *bletschadoira.*

Anm. 2. *martuiri*, *E. martuoiri*, Qual, aus l. **martorium*, statt *-irium.*

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 110. 1442. Urnaduors (Celerina); = **ruina-de-ursum* = Erdsturz des Bären?

1443. Bavradoires (Schleins) = Tränken; cf. fr. *breuvoir*, r. *babronda*, zu **adbiberare*; cf. *Körl.* 1155.

1444. Calquoir (M.), zu l. *calcare*, stampfen; + *-orium* statt *-atorium*? cf. *Du Ca.: calcatorium* = Kelter.

1445. Chamaduoiras (Guarda) = Orte, wo man rastet. zu r. *chamar*, ruhen.

1446. Chamaduors (Zutz) = Lager — *chama* — der Bären.

1447. Cargaduiras (Pitasch) = Ladeplätze; cf. *Du Ca.: cargatorium = locus, ubi onerantur naves.*

1448. Quoir (M.) = Lagerstätte, zu l. *cubare* + *-orium* statt *-atorium?*

1449. Grattadoira (Filis.) = Reibeisen — wegen der Rauhheit des betreff. Terrains.

1450. Gravadoiras (O. Vatz), zu r. *grava*, Kies.

1451. Lavuórs (Lavin) = Ort, wo sich der Bär wäscht.

1452. Valpradúiers (Samn.) = l. *vallis* + *pratorias* zu *pratum*; also Wiesenthal?

1453. Prasuoir (Sins) = Wiesbaum.

1454. Zampuoir (Spiss), Sampuoir (Ardetz), beides Alpen.

1455. Schamuirs (Trins).

1456. Schcarsaluis (Oberl.) = Flegel; bei Schattwald (Tirol) ist eine *Pflegelmühle.*

1457. Schlasuir (Taufers); cf. 1456.

III. 4. l. -aris u. -arius, -a.

I. westr. Appell.

§ 111. L. -aris, -are hebt sich nur noch in jenen Gegenden von l. *-arius, -um* ab, wo *a* vor *r* sich nicht zu *e* erhöhte. Demzufolge fiel es im *O.E.* mit *-arius, -um* zusammen: z. B. oberl. *altar*, *O.E. utèr* — l. *altare*; oberl. *anglar*, Waldeslichtung, — l. *angulare*; cf. prov. *anglar*, Fels: *dicclar*, *O.E. dancler*, Fingerhut, — l. **digitalare?* — oberl. *mislar*, Stockzahn, — l. *maxillare*; *O.E. masler.*

§ 112. L. -arius, -a, -um hat, wie in den Schwestersprachen,

so auch im Rät. eine ganze Flut von Neubildungen — meistens Denominativa — hervorgezaubert. Seine Entwicklung im Rät. war aber ganz anderer Art, als jene im Französ. Was das fr. *ier* betrifft, so trete ich mit *M.-L.* — cf. Litbl. 1891, p. 304 — für die Cohn'sche Erklärung ein — cf. *Cohn* p. 278 ff. Ein vorausgehender Palatal habe nämlich, so sagen sie, den Schwund des *i* bewirkt in Wörtern wie *viridiarium* = **viridiarum* = **viridiar*, *vergüer*, *verg|ier*, und dieses *-ier* sei dann auch auf diejenigen Wörter übertragen worden, in denen kein Palatal vorherging. Bereits *G. Paris* — *Rom.* IX. 381 — u. ihm folgend *Clédat* — *Rom.* XX. 624 — brachten die Entstehung dieses fr. Suf. mit jenem Palatal in Verbindung, ohne jedoch den Ausfall des *i* begründen zu können. Andererseits war es Horning — cf. *Z. f. r. Phil.* XII, 1888. p. 579 f. — u. anderen klar, dass franz. *-ier*, *-ière* unmöglich aus *-ęrium* hervorgegangen sein konnte, trotzdem im ganzen Osten Frankreichs *-arium* durch *-ęrium* ersetzt worden war, trotzdem das Italienische u. Provenzalische beweisen, dass im *VI. -arjus* u. *ęrjus* unterschiedslos neben einander vorkamen. sogar in den gleichen Wörtern — cf. *Z. f. r. Phil.* XII. 1888, p. 194, u. *Schwan* in *K. Z. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.* 1891, XIII. p. 202 —. Es ist deshalb die Cohn'sche Hypothese eine sehr glückliche zu nennen. Der rät. Repräsentant dieses Suffixes, überall *-er*, *-ęr*, nur in Diss. *ę*, in der Schrift auch dort *er* — cf. *Gartn.* § 27, 62, *M.-L.* § 234 — macht weniger Schwierigkeiten. Bei *rl. -arju* trat Metathese ein, wie in fr. *gloire*, so dass sich *-airu*, *-air* ergab, das sich urkundlich findet. Frühe schon fiel dann l. *-ārium* u. *-ărium* — dieses infolge eines Suf.-Wechsels — mit ihm zusammen. Das Suf. dient im Rät.:

1. um Personen in Bezug auf ihre Beschäftigung zu bezeichnen, z. B. *U.E. asolèr*, Ziegenhirt, — l. **haediolarius; auèr*, Wasseraufseher, — *aquarius 2*, bei *Du Ca.*; *carrer*, *charrer*, Ziegenhirt, — *caprariu*; *charaler*, Säumer, — l. *caballariu*; *cirrer*, Trunkenbold, — r. *cirer* = *ēbriu*; *lurrè*, Arbeiter, — *ille* + *operariu*; *massèr*, Alpgenosse, — *massarius (Du Ca.)*: *parder*, Schnitter, — **pratariu*; *perlè*, Pfannenflicker, — **pariolariu*; *pisternè*, Bäcker, — *pistrinariu*; *sutèr*,

Pfänder; cf. *Du Ca.: saltarius = villicus* u. *saltus*. Weide, Landgut; cf. tir. *Saltner*. Flurwächter: *terrèr*, Einheimischer. — *terrarius*; *trossèr*, Zuhirt. — l. *tortiarius*; cf. fr. *trousse* — l. *tortia*. *Du Ca.: trossa 3 = fasciculus*, u. d. *Trossbube*; *viè*, Wegmacher — *viarius*; *cischlè*, *Küfer*, — *vasculariu*; *rischandèr*, Zuhirt. — **vicendarius*;

2. um Bäume und Pflanzen zu bezeichnen: oberl. *figuèr*. *U.E. figler*, Feigenbaum. — l. *ficus*: *grussèrs*, grobes Gras: cf. *Du Ca.: grossarius faber*; *ischier*, Ahorn. *E. aschèr* — **-acereus?*: *madièr*, *madèr*, Baumstamm, Sing. von dem als Koll.-Plur. aufgefassten *materia*; *nughèr*, *nuschèr*, Nussbaum, **nucariu*, bezw. **nuccariu*;

3. um Örtlichkeiten zu bezeichnen: *funèr*, Heuboden. — *foenarium*; *suler*, Gang, — *solariu*; *schler*, *tschulèr*, Keller, — *cellarium*; *ualèr*, Bienenstand, — **apiolarium*;

4. Gerätschaften: *cuzzer*, *cuzzè*. Wetzsteinfass, — *cotearium*; *tagler*, Teller, zu *tagliar*, schneiden; *taler*, *cler*. Webestuhl. — cf. *Du Ca.: telarium 2*; *urè*. Trichter, — *horarium*, Sanduhr;

5. Tiere: *passler*, Sperling, — **passerarius*; *spazer*, Sperling. — d. *spatz* + (*passl*)*er*: *O.E. spler*, *sprer*, Geier. — d. *sperber*; cf. it. *sparriero*;

6. Ordnungszahlen: oberl. *amparmer*, der Erste. — *imprimis* + *-arius*; *ster*, Viertel: l. *sextarium*;

7. um Adjektiva zu verlängern: *grander*, stolz, zu *grandis*;

8. *-er* aus l. *-erium* in *U.E. maistèr*, *O.E. mistèr*, Handwerk, — *ministerium*: *munistèr*, Kloster. — *monasterium*.

§ 113. Die Fem.-Form des Suf. ist *-ęra* u. *-era*; z. B. r. *clomèra*, Dachgiebel, zu l. *culmen*; cf. *Du Ca.: culmare = aedificium tecto tegere*: r. *cudéra*, Schwiele, — l. *cutis*; *furnèra*, Bäckerin, — *furnaria*; oberl. *garcèra*, Bachrunst, — r. *grava*, Kies: *E. ingiorinera*, Rätsel, — **indivinare*; r. *lichera*, Bettstelle, — *lectaria*; *maladera*, Schafhürde, — *malataria*: oberl. *mantenera*, Heerde, zu r. *mantun*, Haufen; *musca bovera*, Hornisse. — l. *bocaria*: *pidèra*, Wanze, — l. *pedaria*, von *pēdis*, Laus: surs. *pişchera*, Weiher, l. *piscaria*; surs.

raveras, rueras, Erdstürze, — *gravaria* od. *riparia?* *M. schielera*. Tellergestell, — *sitularia*; *tscharèra*, Mahlzeit, — *cibaria*; *E. tschagèra, tschiera*. surs. *tschocchera* u. *tschocca*, Nebel, zu *caecus*, blind.

§ 114. Auch die Zahl der gelehrten und Fremdwörter, welche *-arius* od. *-erium* enthalten, ist nicht gering: *glimari, -eri*, Tier. — l. **animarium* für *-ale?*; surs. *rannari*, Froschteich; cf. *Du Ca.*; *ranarium*; oberl. *sumanteri, santeri, E. sunteri*, Friedhof, — l. *coemeterium* + *sanctuarium*.

II. In bündn. Flurn.

§ 115. 1458. Algeir (Vicos.).

1459. Blais digl Allossèr (Filis.) = „Bleiss des Elsebeerbaums“: r. *alosèr* ist *prunus padus* u. *chamnus frangula:* cf. fr. *alize*, ahd. *eliza*, u. *Zösm.* p. 11, wo der *O.N. Dalaas* aus Vorarlberg mit *alosèr* in Verbindung gebracht wird.

1460. Almäira (Spiss), Alméra (Samn.), aus l. *ulmaria*, zu *ulmus*, Ulme.

1461. Motta dell' Altair (Soglio) = Matte des Altars.

1462. Hiermel (St. Maria) = r. *hramer*, Krämer?

1463. Cauma de hermès (Villa) = „Rast der Krämer“? cf. 1462.

1464. Ormeira (Soazza) = *ulmaria;* cf. 1460, u. *Du Ca.: ormaria.*

1465. V. Uera (Brigels) = Wasserth. *vallis aquaria*; cf. *Buck* XII: *aqua.*

1466. Ursera (Andeer), aus **ursaria*, zu l. *ursus*, Bär.

1467. Urtiera (Taufers), zu *urtica*, Nessel; cf. it. O. wie *Ortigaro.*

1468. Fuorcla d' Urtieras (Lü M.) = *„furcula* (Bergsattel) *de urticarias“*; cf. 1467.

1469. Banderas (Silvapl.), zu r. *bandera*, Flagge, it. *bandiera*, od. zu r. *binda*, Streifen.

1470. Baredar (aus urk. *Albaredar*, Bondo), zu **alberetum*, Pappelbaumpflanzung; cf. *Schn.* p. 2.

1471. Il Troz-la-Barsera (Alven.), zu r. *troz*, Weg, — cf. 117 — u. r. *braussa*, Staude; cf. 810.

1472. Belvair (Celer.) = „Schöner Blick“; cf. it. *Belvedere*; cf. *Schn. p.* 12 ein *Belvedéro* aus d. 12. Jhdt.

1473. Braners (Scanfs). zu r. *barner*, Säumer.

1474. Bulaseras (V. Cava). zu r. *bulassa*, Elsbeere.

1475. Cadpelzer (Vicos.) = Haus des Balthasar; cf. *Muoth p.* 38.

1476. Chafarrèr (Fuldera) u. Farèrs (Fuldera), zu *casa*, Haus, + l. *ferrarius*, Schmied.

1477. Calcera (Trins), la Chalchèra (Filis., Guarda), Chalchèras (Zernetz, Lü), zu ml. *calcaria*, Kalkofen.

1478. Chaldèras (St. Maria), zu ml. *caldaria*, Kessel u. Sennhütte; cf. *Buck* XII: *calidus*, u. *Alton p.* 31: *Chaldīra*. *Kaltern* in Tirol gehört auch hierher.

1479. Mot di Calgher (Bondo) = Schusterbühl.

1480. La Çallera (Trins), zu l. *boscalia*; cf. 325.

1481. Caltgera (Waltensb.), La Caltgera (Salux, Stürvis); cf. 1477.

1482. Bot-las-Caltgeras (O. Vatz) = Hügel der Kalköfen.

1483. Crap-las-Caltgeras (Stürvis) = Felsen der Kalköfen.

1484. Chalġer lunġ (Bergün) = langer Schuster.

1485. Camalar (Somv.) = Haus des Apfelbaums — *casa* + *malarius?*

1486. Camaler (Somv.); cf. 1485.

1487. Campfer (Fettan) = Hanffeld; cf. *Du Ca.: canaperium = chenevière.*

1488. V. Campraver (Bondo) = Thal des Rübenfeldes — *vallis* + *campum* + *raparium*; cf. *Du Ca.: raperia = locus ubi crescunt rapae.*

1489. V. Camuçera (Trins)[1]) = Gemsenthal; cf. 17.

1490. Chamver (Schleins), ils Chamvers (Ardetz), auch in Ital. viele O. wie *Canevara*, *Canevara*; cf. 1487.

1491. Paleu-Canera (Flond) ist unser d. *Rohrmoos*, *Röhrmoos*, aus l. *paludem* + *canariam*; cf. *Du Ca.: caneria = arundinetum.* In Ital. viele *Canera.*

[1]) ç hier u. sonst entspricht dem *k'* bei *M.-L.*, dem *tz* bei *Gartn.*; sonst auch *ch*, *tg* geschrieben.

1491a. Chanver (Guarda): cf. 1487.

1492. Chapazeller (St. Maria).

1493. Chapeller (Campov.) = „Hutmacher", od. zu ml. *capella*, Kapelle.

1494. Sut Caprè (Ruschein) = „unter der Ziegenweide", aus **subtus caprarium*.

1494a. Carajara (Felsb.), zu l. **quadruviaria* „beim Kreuzweg": cf. 21.

1495. Carbunera (Bondo). Charbunera (Fuldera) = Kohlplatz, Meiler.

1496. Carera (Villa) = „Fahrweg"; cf. *Du Ca.: carraria* 3.

1497. Carischlè (Somv.).

1498. Carnè (Degen), aus l. **cardinarium*; cf. r. *carden*, Winkel, u. 1391.

1499. Carpèra (O. Vatz), zu r. *crap*, Stein.

1500. Charpleras (St. Maria), zu r. *carpella*, kl. Steine.

1501. Carrera (Waltensb., Vigens); cf. 1496.

1502. Caschlera (Andeer) = Schlossgut; aus l. *castellaria*: bei *Moor* III 1348 ein Acker *Castalaria*; in Ital. 16 Orte *Castellar* u. *Castellaro*.

1503. Caschneras (Mons, Tiefenkasten), zu it. *cascina* aus *casicina*: cf. 839.

1504. Chasseres (M.), zu r. *chascha*, Kiste.

1505. Cavalera (Pitasch) = Rossweide, aus **caballaria*; *Moor* III 1370 ein „*Kreste de Caralar*" (= Rossweideneck); in Ital. viele *Cavallera*: cf. „*Les Chevalleyres*" bei Vevey, u. *Gafalar*, Hof zu Galthür im Paznaun: dicht dabei eine Örtlichkeit „*im Rosshimmel*".

1506. Sess-Chavrer (St. Maria M.) = Felsen des Ziegenhirten — *saxum* + *caprarium*.

1507. Chentsuters (Zutz) = Bühl unter den Äckern — *cant* + *subtus* + **-arcos* — od. zu *saltarius*, Pfänder, *Du Ca.*

1508. Chilchères (Remüs); cf. 1477.

1509. Pleun Gion Chilgèr (Ruaun) = Boden des Schusters Johann; cf. 1484.

1510. Chiltgera (Vrin, Rein); cf. 1477.

1511. Chischnè (Vrin).

1512. Clavair (Somv.), zu ml. *clavis*, Gehege, Verschluss; cf. 1139.

1513. Clavera (Bondo); cf. 1512.

1514. Coclers (St. Maria), zu l. *cucullus*, Zipfel, Gipfel

1515. Costeras (V. Cava), zu r. *costa*, Halde.

1516. Crasteira (Soazza), zu r. *craista*, Büchl; cf. 183.

1517. Cucler (M.); cf. 1514.

1518. Cravunera (Silvapl.); cf. 1495.

1519. Laviner digl Cruscher (Filis.) = Lawinengang des Kreuz(feldes), aus **labinarium-de-illum crucearium*.

1520. Cudè (Brigels), zu l. *cauda*, Schwanz, schmales Grundstück.

1521. Jl Queir (St. Maria), zu *cubare*, lagern? cf. *Buck* XII: *cubum*.

1522. Cumassera (Vrin) = r. *cauma a sera*, Abendrast?

1523. Chürer (St. Maria), zu r. *chüra*, Hut, Weide zu l. *cura*.

1524. Curséras (Tiefenk.), zu l. *cortex* od. eher zu *cursus*, Laufplatz: cf. *Schn.* p. 47: in Ital. viele *Corso*.

1525. La Curvanèras (Tiefenk.) = Kohlenmeiler cf. 1495.

1526. Plam las Curvaneras (O. Vatz) = Kohlplatzboden.

1527. Curver (Roten), zu l. *corvus*, Rabe; in Ital. viele *Corvaro, Corvara*.

1528. Piz Curvèr (Salux) = Rabenspitz.

1529. Piz Curvèr (Stürvis); cf. 1528.

1530. V. Curvera (Salux) = Rabenth.; cf. 1527.

1531. Cutschalera (Andeer).

1532. Dalmèras (Tiefenk.) = *ad ulmarias*; cf. 1464.

1533. Darschaleras (Razen) = „Lehmgrund", aus *ad argillarias*; cf. 410.

1534. Derschalè (Laax) = *ad argillarium*; cf. 1533.

1535. Derschaler (Ruaun); cf. 1533.

1536. Digieira (Soazza) = Abzugsgraben; cf. ml. *dugaria* = it. *doggia*; cf. *Rosa: dügal.*

1537. Durtgiera (Vrin) *ad urticarium*; cf. 1467.

1538. Bott-duzera (Andeer). zu r. *bott*, Bühl. u. r. *dutg*, Graben. — l. *ductus*.

1539. Cresta Fallera (Scharans). zu r. *falla* = (Bären)-falle; cf. *Du Ca.*: *falla* = *turris lignea*; der O. *Fellers* findet sich bei *Moor* J. 766 als *Falaria*, heisst r. *Fallera*.

1540. La-Prada-dil-Farrer (Alven.) = Schmiedwiese.

1541. Plaunsurferrera (Alv.) = Ebene von Schmitten, r. *Ferrera*, aus l. *ferraria*.

1542. Figlers (Vrin). zu *föglia*, Laub: cf. *Alton* p. 40 u. it. O. wie *Fogliaro*.

1543. Filier (Samn., Salux); cf. 1542.

1544. Foppa Flemer (Somv.). zu r. *foppa*, Grube. — aus l. *forea* — u. l. *flum(en)* + *-arium*.

1545. Flidiar (O. Vatz); cf. *Moor* J. 1231: *valle Flugair*; zu r. *fluh*, Felsen?

1546. Foura Tschivera (Zutz). zu r. *foura*, Loch, u. *tschivera*, Tagmahd. aus l. *cibaria?* d. h. Wiese. die an einem Morgen von einem Mann gemäht werden kann.

1547. Frachera (St. Maria). zu r. *fracha*, Einengung, Pforte. Erdrutsch; in Italien 5 *Fratta*.

1548. Val Fulera (Celer.) = Grat, Thal. zu r. *fil*, Berggrat.

1549. Fuldera (*O. M.*). zu r. *fuolda*, Rand. Saum eines Berges.

1550. Traunter Fulderas (M.) = „zw. den Gütern am Fusse des Berges“: cf. 1549.

1551. Funtauna Carpèr (Alven.) = „Steinfeldquelle“, zu r. *crap*, Stein.

1552. Furmié (Mons) = „Ameisenhaufen“. aus l. *formicarium*; cf. *Schn.* p. 66; *Moor II* J. 1344 nennt eine Wiese *Furmigair*: in Italien Orte, wie *Formigara*.

1553. Gallera (Vrin). zu l. *gallus*, Hahn, meist „Spielhahn“.

1554. Garnèr (Mons. O. Vatz). aus l. *granarium*, Stadel.

1555. Galinè (Vals). zu *gallina*; cf. 1553; in Ital. viele *Gallinaro*.

1556. Garvèra (Somv.) = Rüfenrunst, zu r. *grava*; cf. 673.

1557. Giavera (Castas.).

1558. Ghigliner (Tinzen); cf. 1555.

1559. Crap dalla Glatschera (Filis.), zu r. *crap*, Stein, u. r. *glatsch*, Eis.

1560. Glavaira (Vicos.), aus *gravaira*; cf. 1556 u. it. O. wie *Gravera*.

1561. Sut Glitschè (Somv.) = **subtus glaciarium*; cf. 1559.

1562. Graveras (Riein, M.). G. (Lufis), urk. *Gravairas*; cf. 1556. 1560.

1563. Gravera (Rover.); cf. 1556—1562.

1564. Guandscheras (Scanfs).

1565. Pra guarnèr (Lavin), zu *guarnar*, prügeln, wie das Volk meint.

1566. La Gulèra (Alven., Surava), zu r. *gula*, Schlucht; cf. *Schm.* p. 82.

1567. La Guzleras (Alven.).

1568. Lamorera (Rovered.), zu r. *mar*, Pfütze.

1569. Langanera (St. Martin) aus *illae in canaria*; cf. 1490a.

1570. Lavanaira (M.) = Schwarzwasser — *illa aqua nigra*.

1571. Lavinar (Zernetz) = Lawinengang, aus **labinare?* cf. 1576.

1572. Lavinèrdvall (Samn.) = Thallawinengang, zu r. *laviner* aus l. *labina* + *-arium*.

1573. Lavinèr- Larsina (Süss); cf. 1572, u. l. *illa* + *larsina* zu r. **arsum*, Brand.

1574. Lavinèr (Cierfs); cf. 1572.

1575. Laviners (Zutz, Lavin); cf. 1572, 1574, 1576.

1576. Laviner da Mstrel Clos = L. des Herrn Nikolaus, aus **labinarium de ad magistrellum Nicolaus*.

1577. Lischiera (Tiefenk.).

1578. Bleis digl Linner (Filis.), zu l. *plexum* — cf. 716 — u. *lignum* + *-arium*.

1579. Litschers (Vrin).

1580. Lubianeira (Soozza) = schwarze Laube; cf. it. *loggia*, fr. *loge*.

1581. Luéras (Salux); cf. *Du Ca.: Luperia = locus ubi sunt lupi*; cf. *Alton* p. 46: *Lovára*; *Schn.* 48, 49.

1582. Lumers (Vrin), zu r. *lam*, feucht.

1583. Frust Lusé (Somv.) = Stück des Elsebeerbaums; cf. 1459.

1584. Luvera (Bondo); cf. 1581; im Ital. viele *Lovera, Lovara, Lupara, Luparia.*

1585. Madè (Vrin), zu surs. *medè*, Bergmähder.

1586. Malè (Razen, Flond), Malèr (Lufis), Malés (Trins), zu r. **maler*, Apfelbaum.

1587. Maneras (Silvapl.) = „Bergwerke"; cf. it. *miniera*, u. *Schn.* p. 191.

1588. Pläu Marener (Bondo) = „Matrosenboden"?

1589. Marighièrs (Sins), von einer Fam. dieses Namens.

1590. Bot mazaser (O. Vatz), zu it. *maggesse*, Neubruch? u. *bot*, Bühl.

1591. Plan Menister (Soglio) = *planum ministri.*

1592. Miglé (Brigels) = d. Meiler?

1593. Miglèr (Waltensb.); cf. 1592.

1594. Sut-Mischieras (Waltensb.), zu r. *misch*, feucht, od. zu l. *mansus*, Gut; cf. *Schn.* p. 97, u. r. *mischun*, Hühnerstall, aus *mansionem.*

1595. Morters (M.) = hohe Alpenweiden; cf. 60.

1596. Mugliner (Fettan); cf. 948, 949.

1597. Muladeretta (Vrin) = kl. Schafhürde; cf. § 113.

1598. La Muledera (Waltensburg); cf. 1597, u. *Buck* XII: ml. *maladeria.*

1599. Mulinera (O. Vatz), zu r. *mulin*, Mühle; cf. *Moor* J. 1275 ein *curt de Mulnera.*

1600. Mulladera (Laax); cf. 1597.

1601. Plan Mundanaira (Fettan) = Boden der schwarzen Schwände, zu *mundare?*; cf. 275.

1602. Mstair (O.) = Münster — l. *monasterium.*

1603. Igls Plaz de Munter (Salux), zu l. *montem* + *-arium.*

1604. Murè (Razen), zu l. *murus*, Mauer.

1605. Murtaira (Vicos.), zu *murta*; cf. 1595; in Ital. viele O. *Mortara.*

1606. Murter (St. Maria, Zernetz, Scanfs, Tinzen), la Murtera (Süss, Lavin, Guarda), Murters (Alveneu. Silvapl.), Murtès (Somv.); cf. 1595.

1607. Muttlèr (Bg. Schleins), zu r. *muott*, Hügel, + *-ellus* + *-arius*.

1608. Nalar (Fettan), am wahrscheinlichsten aus *novalare*, zu *novale*, Neubruch: bei *Moor* 1273 ein *Noualar*.

1609. Nantreras (Mons) = „in den Grotten", aus *in antrarias*; cf. *Buck* XII: *antrum*.

1610. Navaras (Salux) = *in aquarias*, zu *aqua?* cf. *Buck* XII: *aqua*.

1611. Il Noler (Somv.), zu ml. *novale*; cf. 1608.

1612. Nurmera (Bondo) = *in ulmaria*; cf. 1464.

1613. Paclera (St. Maria), zu l. *patella*, Pfanne.

1614. Il Pairer (Alven.) = Birnbaum l. **pirarius*.

1615. Pala digl Uaul-ner (Ruaun) = „Kelle — cf. 255 — des Schwarzwaldes", d. h. Koniferenwaldes.

1616. Valpargära (Chur), zu *val*, Thal, u. r. *barga*, Heustadel; cf. 1157, 1158.

1617. Prau-parvé (Levg.) = *pratum* + *praturium*, Wiesenfeld?

1618. Pasquer (M.), aus *pascuarium*.

1619. Patler (Safienth.), zu *patella*; cf. 1613.

1620. Pedrapurtgera (O. Vatz) = „Schweinestein", zu l. *petra* u. *porcus*: cf. 1628.

1621. Perair (Vicos.) = Birnbaum: cf. 1614.

1622. Peschera (Lostallo), aus l. *piscaria*, Fischteich.

1623. Petmaira (Stampa), unter der *Maira* — zu *pes*, *pedis*, Fuss, u. dem Flusse *Maira*.

1624. Pindeira (Soazza), zu *penda*, Binde, schmales Feld.

1625. Pischleras (Ruaun), zu r. *pisch*, Wasserfall.

1626. Pisqué (Duvin); cf. 1618.

1627. Plamzeuter (O. Vatz).

1628. Plandapurschers (Samn.) = „Schweineboden" aus *planum* u. *porcus* + *-arios*; cf. 1620.

1629. Plansmier (Guarda).

1630. Platé (Vrin), zu r. *plat*, Platte.

1631. Plattera (Filis.), zu r. *plat*: cf. 1630.

1632. Plaun della Plattera (V. Cava M.); cf. 1630.

1633. Plaunca rudera (Trins), zu r. *plaunca*, Halde. Abhang. und zu *rudar*, roden?

1634. Plajères (Schleins) = „rinnendurchzogenes Terrain“, zu r. *playa*, Rinne. — l. *plaga*.

1635. Plazaira (Stampa), zu r. *plaz*, Platz.

1636. Plazzers (Celer.): cf. 1635.

1637. Plitschè (Flond).

1638. Alp Porcher (Scanfs), zu l. *porcus*; cf. 1628.

1639. Porchera (Bondo); cf. 1620.

1640. Posseira (Soazza), zu r. *puozz*, Pfütze.

1641. Praders (Guarda) = Bergmähder, zu r. *pradèr* — *pratarium*; cf. *Schm.* p. 26.

1642. Pranzaira (Vicos.), aus **planitiaria*.

1643. Pravender (Münster), zu l. *praebenda*, Pfründe, Stiftung.

1644. Pravoler (Celerina), aus l. *pratularium*: cf. r. *praun*, grosse Wiese, aus l. *pratonem*.

1645. Puleras (Razen), zu l. *pala?* cf. 255.

1646. Pulvrera (Zutz) = staubiges, d. h. trockenes Grundstück, aus l. *polreraria*; cf. *Moor* J. 1220: *ager longus in Pulveraira*; in Ital. viele *Polverara*.

1647. Pra dellas Püncheras (Cierfs) = „Feld der Bewässerungsgräben“, zu r. *p.* = *aual per asarer*.

1648. Puozzavalar (Lufis), zu r. *puozza*, Pfützen, + r. *valar*, Grube, aus l. **vallare*.

1649. Plaz Purchèr (Campovasto); cf. 1638.

1650. Raschära (Chur), zu r. *rascha*, Harz, Pech.

1651. La Val dil Raschèr (Surava) = Thal d. Pechsammlers.

1652. Ravair (Stampa, Vicos.); cf. surs. *ravera*, Rüfe, od. zu l. *rapa*.

1653. Raveras (Somv.), zu r. *ravera*; cf. 1652.

1654. Rivair (Taufers); cf. 1652.

1655. Riveira (Soazza), Riviera (Brus.): cf. 1653.

1656. Ruderas (Guarda), zu r. *rudar*, roden.

1657. Runnè (Somv.) = Haufen, zu r. *runar* = **reunare*; cf. r. *runa*, Haufen.

1658. Runparler (Ruaun), zu r. *run*, Rodung, u. *parler*, Kesselmacher.

1659. Ruschneras (Flond, Lufis), zu r. *rusna*, Loch.

1660. La Sablunera (Guarda) = Sandgrube.

1661. Saclers (Guarda), zu l. *sacculus*, kl. Sack.

1662. Sagazaira (Vicos.), zu r. *sega*, Mahd, von l. *secare?*

1663. Sagers (Duvin), zu r. *sega*; cf. 1662.

1664. Salazzer (Brusio), zu l. *salix*, Weide; cf. r. *salgier*, Weidenbaum (*Capol*).

1665. Busc-saltair (Soglio), zu it. *bosco* u. *saltarius*, Pfänder; cf. § 112.

1666. Salteras (Tinzen), zu l. *saltus*, Landgut; cf. 1665; viele *Saltara* in Italien.

1667. Crap Sanè (Surava); cf. *E. sann* = Zaun.

1668. Davos Santeri (Somv.) = ht. d. Friedhofe.

1669. Zappener (Riein).

1670. Zaseras (Laax), von l. *caesa?* cf. bresc. *sesa*, Hecke, u. *Du Ca.: caesae* = *munimenta ex arboribus stratis.*

1671. Scalära (Chur), zu r. *scala*, Stiege.

1672. Skarnera (Malix), zu r. *scrign*, Trog?

1673. Scatlè (Vrin), zu r. *scatla*, Schachtel.

1674. Scatlès (Somv.); cf. 1674.

1675. Schamschères (Spiss); cf. r. *chamuotsch*, Gemse u. 1489.

1676. Şcharneras (Trins), zu l. *cardo?*

1677. Pleum da Schers (Razen) = „Ahornboden"; Churwaldens r. N. *Aschera*, sowie *Schiers* im Prättigau gehören hierher.

1678. Şchindleras (Bergün) = „Scheiterhaufen" zu l. *scandula*; in Ital. O. wie *Scandolara, Scandolera.*

1679. Schler del Podestà (M.) = Keller des Ammans.

1680. Schlonder (Fuldera); cf. 1678.

1681. Schlonders (St. Maria); cf. 1680.

1682. Scunteras (Pitasch).

1683. Silvanera (Felsb.) = Schwarzwald; cf. 1580.

1684. Spatlera (Samn.), zu r. *spatla*, Achsel; 231.

1685. Crest dil Spree (Präz) = Geiers Kamm zu r. *crest*, fr. *crêt* (Genf), zu l. *crista.*

1686. Staderas (Laax, Riein), zu r. *stad*, Sommer?

1687. Stavaras (Stürvis), zu *aestivus*, sommerlich; cf. *Moor* II. J. 1320: *de Estuario.*

1688. Studaires (Taufers), zu r. *studa*, Pferd?

1689. Summaseras (Vigens), zu l. *summum* u. *acer*?

1690. Sott Talar (Stürvis), zu **torale*, dem vermutlichen Stammworte von schw. d. *Tobel.*

1691. Tarter (Lavin), zu r. *tort*, krumm.

1692. Tavaner (St. Martin), zu r. *taran*, Hummel, l. *tabanus.*

1693. Tavar (Celerin.), zu r. *ter*, Fichte, Tanne, aus l. **taedus.*

1694. Teischera (Vals), zu r. *tegia*, Sennhütte.

1695. Teranaira (O. Vatz) = schwarze Erde; cf. 1683.

1696. Terraschne (Guarda)?

1697. Tschaldeires (Samn.) = *caldarias*: cf. 1478.

1698. Pleun tschalès (Somv.) = „Kellerboden". aus **planum cellarios.*

1699. Tschantaners (Pitasch), zu r. *tschenta* Gürtel; cf. 768.

1700. Tscharschers (Levg.) = Kirschbäume.

1701. Tschavera (Duvin) = Mannsmahd; cf. 1546.

1702. Val Tschavera (Brigels); cf. 1701.

1703. Tschavera bletscha (Levg.) = nasses Mammet: cf. 1701.

1704. Tschaveras (O. Vatz); cf. 1701.

1705. Tschavezeras (Präz), zu *capitium*, Ackerrain; cf. *Götz.* p. 21, *Schn.* p. 37.

1706. Tschengler (Vals), zu r. *tschengel*, Fels.

1707. Tschentanè (Degen); cf. 1699.

1708. Tschentaneras (Vrin, Levgiein); cf. 1699 u. *Moor* II. J. 1307: *Schentanare.*

1709. Tschera (Andeer).

1710. Tschifera (Vals); cf. 1701.

1711. Tuffera (Sins), zu r. *tuff*, Tuffstein: cf. *Schn.* p. 177.

1711a. La Chamonna del Vadler (Filis.) = „Hütte des Kälberhirten".

1712. Valar (Mons, Somv., Lufis, Tiefenk., Stürvis), zu r. *vallar*, Grube, zu l. *vallaris*

1713. Prodagir Valar (Roten) = „Brachfeld, Grube“ aus l. **pratum de ad gyrum vallare.*

1714. Valbuera (St. Martin) = *vallis boraria*, Ochsenthal.

1715. Valdera (Schmitten), zu r. *wault*, Wald.

1716. Valer (Filis.), zu l. *vallis*; cf. 1724.

1717. Valer lisch = glattes Thal.

1718. Valera (Schleins); cf. 1716.

1719. Ils Valiers (Laax), Valièra (Tinzen), zum Fam.-N. *Valier* = *Valerius*: cf. *Muoth* p. 32.

1720. Vallar (Scharans): cf. 1712.

1721. Vallè (Vals); cf. 1716.

1722. Valler Amez (Samn.) = Mittelthal.

1723. Valler della Crapa (St. Maria) = „Steinthal“.

1724. Valler Gruobas (St. Maria) = Grubenthal; *valler*, Seitenthal, aber *val*, Hauptthal.

1725. Valscolare (Schleins) = Scholarenthal.

1726. Valtgiaclera (Lufis).

1727. Valzelära (in der Rabiusa), bei *Moor* J. 1221: *Valzelaires*; zu l. *vallicella.*

1728. Vaschler (Andeer) = Küfer?

1729. Plaz-vatger (Alveneu) = „Kuhplatz“, zu l. *platea* u. *vaccarium.*

1730. Ogl Veier (Razen) = beim Weiher, zu l. *viravium.*

1731. Verdès (Trins) = l. **viridiarios*; cf. fr. *verger.*

1732. Vichara (Fettan), zu *vicus* od. *vacca?*

1733. Il Vivè-paleu (Laax) = „Moorweiher“.

1734. Il Vivè (Laax) = Weiher; cf. *Moor* II. J. 1280: *in loco Vivair.*

1735. Vivel (Bergün) = Weiher.

1736. Vulpera (O.) heisst bei *Moor* 1097: *Fontana Vulpaira*, = „Fuchsquelle“.

Lippert & Co. (G. Pätz'sche Buchdr.), Naumburg a. S.

MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

IX.

METHODISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE LAST CENTURY.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

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List of the Chief Works Consulted.

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„ London. London 1755—57, 1760—63. 7 vols.

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Monthly Review. London 1749 etc. (cf. p. 91).

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„ Cælebs in Search of a Wife. 14th Ed. London 1813. 2 vols.

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Southey, Robert. Life of Wesley. London 1820. 2 vols.

„ Life of Wesley. Cavendish Library Edition. London and New York 1889.

Stephen, Leslie. History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. London 1881. 2 vols.

Sterne, Lawrence. Works. London 1843.

Stevens, Abel. The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism. New York 1858—61. 3 vols.

Tyerman, Luke. Life and Times of John Wesley. London 1870—71. 3 vols.

Walpole, Horace. Letters. Edited by Peter Cunningham. London 1857—59. 9 vols.

„ Works. London 1798—1822. 8 vols. 4to.

Wesley, John. Works. London 1881. 14 vols. (Reprint of Thomas Jackson's Edition of 1831. Vol. I—IV: Journals).

Whitefield, George. Works: Letters and Sermons. London 1771—72. 7 vols.

Note: The work. entitled "Methodism and Literature", by J. A. Archibald, Cincinnati 1883, has no connection with the present dissertation, for it is a series of articles on the literary enterprise and achievements of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America.

Introduction.

A Short Sketch of the Rise of Methodism.

Biographies of John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

By way of introduction to the work before us we purpose giving a very short and concise sketch of the rise and progress of Methodism during the life of its founder. This of necessity involves the biographies of its three chief promoters, John Wesley, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield.

The principal sources for a life of John Wesley are his Letters and Journals (1739—1791). Apart from the numberless lives or rather sketches of this great man, eight biographies stand out above the rest and must be considered as standard works on the subject: —

1. Memoirs of the late Rev. John Wesley A. M. with a Review of his Life and Writings. By John Hampson A. B. Sunderland 1791, 3 vols.

Hampson had seen himself obliged to leave the Methodist body, because he considered himself neglected by Wesley. Though on the whole he has written a faithful account of Wesley, yet his estimation of this great preacher's character is naturally a biassed one. [1])

[1]) Tyerman vol. I. Preface p. III; Monthly Review, Dec. 1791 Art. IV. p. 389 ff. See also below p. 107 ff.

2. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley A. M. etc. By Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore. London 1792.[1])

This was a hasty publication and consequently very imperfect. It is written in the true methodistic style and was intended above all for the edification of Mr. Wesley's followers.

3. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley etc. By John Whitehead M. D. London 1793—6. 2 vols.

This biography is very highly recommended by the "Monthly Review",[2]) but said by Mr. Tyerman to have been composed in the midst of disgraceful conditions which ensued on Mr. Wesley's death and to be tinged with party feeling.[3])

4. Life of Wesley. By Robert Southey. London 1820. 2 vols.

From a literary point of view this is the best of the biographies, but it is of little value for exact historical purposes, no attention at all being paid to chronology, which renders it very confusing.[4])

5. Life of Wesley. By Mr. Moore. London 1824.

Mr. Tyerman says that this is the fullest and most reliable of the earlier biographies, but that it is a mere collaboration of Dr. Whitehead's.[5])

6. Life of Wesley. By Mr. Watson. London 1831.

This work is of no great importance as it was avowedly prepared for the general public.

7. The History of the Religious Movement of the Eight-

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[1]) Tyerman l. c.; Monthly Review. Sept. 1794 Art. IV. p. 28 ff.

[2]) Cf. Oct. 1794 Art. VIII. p. 159; June 1797 Art. IV. p. 137.

[3]) Tyerman l. c.

[4]) It is well-known that Southey intended reissuing his "Life of Wesley" with emendations. He had represented Wesley as being carried away by his ambition, but was afterwards convinced of his mistake by Mr. Watson. Several years ago (Cavendish Library Edition, London and New York 1889) a reprint of his work was published by the Rev. J. A. Atkinson with notes written in the sense that Southey himself would probably have followed, had he carried out his intention.

[5]) Tyerman l. c.

eenth Century, called Methodism. By Abel Stevens L. L. D. New York 1858—61, 3 vols.

The first two volumes of this work contain a very full and comprehensive, well-written and reliable life of John Wesley, of his brother Charles and of George Whitefield. It seems quite unaccountable that the latest biographer of Wesley does not mention this work in referring to the previous Lives of Wesley, and quotes it but exceedingly sparingly.

8. The Life and Times of John Wesley. By the Rev. Luke Tyerman. London 1870—1, 3 vols.

This is the latest and probably will be the last of Wesley's biographies. It is perhaps more comprehensive than the work of Stevens, and is very carefully and impartially written.

Though the first six biographies mentioned in our list did good service in their day and are still valuable, they are now almost superseded by the two latter, and it is from these two latter that we have principally drawn the materials for the following sketch.

John Wesley 1703—1791.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was born at the Rectory of Epworth in Lincolnshire on the 17th (OS.) of June 1703. He was the second surviving son of nineteen children. After a very careful home-training, especially on the part of his mother, he was sent to the Charterhouse, when he was but ten years and a half old. Here, according to his own account, he was anything but devoted to religion.[1]) In the year 1720 he was elected to Christ College, Oxon., but it was not before 1725 that he expressed any desire to take holy orders, having been principally influenced in making this resolution by reading the works of Thomas à Kempis and Jeremy Taylor. His ordination took place on Sunday Sept. 19th 1725. He did not, however, devote himself to church-work for some years, being elected Fellow of Lincoln College,

[1]) Cf. Wesley's Works, vol. I. p. 98.

and Greek Lecturer and Moderator. In the year 1726 was published William Law's "Christian Perfection", and in 1729 his "Serious Call". These two works were the cause of Wesley coming to the determination "to be all devoted to God, to give Him all my Soul, my body, and my substance".[1])

On account of his father's advanced age and debility, Wesley officiated at Epworth and Wroote from August 1727 to November 1729, when he returned to Oxford. Here he remained until he sailed on his mission to Georgia on the 14th October 1735. This mission did not fulfil the expectations formed of it, and Wesley returned to England after an absence of more than two years.

Methodism (so-called) really took its rise as early as 1729, while John Wesley was at Epworth, the real author being his brother Charles. The latter had begun to be religious and to attend the weekly sacrament. He had also induced two or three of his fellow-students to join him. On John's return to Oxford in Nov. 1729 he heartily united with his brother, and along with Robert Kirkham and William Morgan, they began to spend some evenings a week in reading the Greek Testament together. The next year, two or three of John and Charles Wesley's pupils desired to be allowed to meet with them. In 1732 Mr. Ingham, Mr. Broughton and Mr. Clayton were added to their numbers. Mr. Whitefield joined them in 1735.

The exact regularity of their lives as well as studies occasioned some one to style them "Methodists", alluding to some ancient physicians who were so called.[2]) This name was catching and stuck to their followers ever after. Wesley himself never recognised the term as signifying a sect, and when he uses the word, he repeatedly apologises, as it were, by adding some such limiting attribute as "vulgarly termed", or "so called."[3])

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[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 50; Wesley's Works vol. XI. p. 367.

[2]) Cf. A Short History of Methodism. By John Wesley. London 1789, p. 4 ff.; Wesley's Works vol. IX. p. 130; Tyerman vol. I. p. 67.

[3]) Cf. Journals vol. II. pp. 25. 30. 31. 37.

These "Methodists" were zealous members of the Church of England, tenacious of all her doctrines, conscientious observers of the University Statutes, their greatest desire being to prove themselves Bible Christians, "taking the Bible as interpreted by the primitive Church and our own for their whole and their sole rule". They were charged with being righteous overmuch, too scrupulous and too strict, carrying things to extremes, taking the Scriptures too literally, so that if they were right, few indeed would be saved. [1])

Wesley was so impressed by the spiritual piety of the Moravians whose acquaintance he made on his voyage out to Georgia, that on his return to England he set out, in the summer of the same year (1738), on a journey to the Moravian settlement at Herrnhut in Saxony, in order as he himself expressed it "to see the place where the Christians live". [2]) Wesley was delighted with most of what he saw, but had weighty accusations against them. Later he felt himself compelled to separate from them altogether.

After his return to England the "Methodists" began to be convinced that *by Grace we are saved through Faith;* that Justification by Faith was the doctrine of the Church, as well as of the Bible. As soon as they believed they spoke. Salvation by faith was now the centre of their preaching. This implied: 1. That men are all by nature *dead in sin* and consequently *children of wrath.* 2. That they are *justified by faith alone.* 3. That faith produces inward and outward holiness. They became popular preachers and their former name was revived. The clergy, however, began to close their churches against them, which was the reason why Mr. Whitefield on Feb. 17th 1739 (having returned from Georgia on Nov. 30th 1738) began to preach in the open air to two hundred colliers at Kingswood near Bristol. Wesley at first felt the impropriety of this procedure, but when he saw the blessings attending it, he hesitated no longer and

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[1]) Cf. Wesley's Short History of Methodism, p. 4 ff.

[2]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 199.

from henceforth Field Preaching was one of the principal ways of spreading Methodism. In spite of the large assemblies they gathered together, they were attacked from all sides, by the mob, by the press and by the Church. but they continued boldly preaching according to their convictions and were rewarded by the success they attained. Much offence was taken at the strange scenes. the so-called "signs". which attended Wesley's preaching in the early part of his ministry. These scenes were occasioned by persons being so overwhelmed by the conviction of the enormity of their sins. that they shouted and screamed, and really seemed as though they were possessed. Many dropped down as dead: others roared and beat themselves. but most of them returned to a right state of mind and were healed physically and spiritually when special prayer was offered up for them. Wesley has described many cases of this kind in his Journals, and it is a curious fact that these "signs" were seldom repeated after the year 1739. nor had the preaching of Whitefield and Charles Wesley the same effects. The latter, indeed, considered they were a device of Satan to stop the course of the gospel. Various reasons were suggested in explanation, but John Wesley himself. supported afterwards by Isaac Taylor, explained them "by principles of reason and Scripture". [1])

The year 1739 was an important one in the history of Methodism. for in it the first lay preacher began to help the Wesleys. the first Methodist meeting-house in the metropolis. the London Foundery, was hired and arranged for public services, and finally Kingswood School was founded. During the next year occurred Wesley's dissensions with the Moravians. which ended in his being excluded from their pulpits. It was in this year too that the Calvinian disputes with Whitefield took place on the doctrine of Election. Wesley's objections were that it renders all preaching vain. tends to destroy holiness. the comfort of religion and our zeal for good works. Further he considered that it had a direct and manifest tendency to overthrow the whole Christian revelation.

[1]) Cf. Tyerman vol. I. 265 f.

and is full of blasphemy. The result of these disputes was that Wesley and Whitefield separated in March 1741. An attempt at reunion was made soon after, but it was unsuccessful, and though Wesley and Whitefield were reconciled themselves and remained personal friends to the end, the schism was never healed. This crisis is very important in trying to obtain a correct view of the attitude assumed by the stage and the press in reference to the Methodists. As we shall see in the course of our researches the doctrine of Election was carried to its extremes and treated accordingly.

Wesleyan Methodism now began to be formed into an organisation. Methodist Societies had been started in 1739, but it was not until 1742 that they were divided into classes, the members of which met their leader once a week with the object of speaking about their Christian experience, of exhorting and of encouraging one another. Each member received a *ticket*, on which the member's name was written. In Bristol and London Wesley wrote the names himself. He regarded these tickets as being equivalent to the "ἐπιστολὰι συστατικαὶ" [1]) mentioned by the apostle Paul (II. Cor. 3. 1). They were renewed every quarter so that if any member proved disorderly he simply did not receive a ticket, and was thus excluded from the society. The Methodists were further divided into four sections, namely the united societies, the bands, the select societies, and the penitents.[2]) The members of the bands were chosen from the united societies, and those again of the select societies from the bands, while the penitents were those who had for the present fallen from grace.

In the early years of Methodism persecution was rife on all hands. The riots in Staffordshire and the persecution in Cornwall in the year 1743 are glaring examples of the degraded and sorry condition of many of the clergy, as well as of the powerlessness of the magistrates to prevent the mob

[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 354.
[2]) Ib. vol. I. p. 444 ff.

from doing as they liked. As an answer to the charges brought against the Wesleys of getting rich at the expense of their followers it may be stated here that in the year 1743 the total income amounted to about £800. Out of this all chapel expenses had to be defrayed; a large proportion was given to the afflicted poor; something was necessary for Wesley's helpers; and the remainder was perhaps given to the two Wesleys.[1]) Again, in Nov. 1753. when Wesley was on the verge of the grave. in order to prevent vile panegyric, he wrote his epitaph as follows:[2])

Here lieth the Body
of
John Wesley
A Brand Plucked out of the Burning:
Who died of Consumption in the fifty-first year of his age,
Not leaving. after his debts are paid,
Ten Pounds behind him,
Praying:
God be merciful to me. an Unprofitable Servant!

In the year 1744 was held. the first Methodist Conference at which were present four clergymen, and four lay preachers besides the two Wesleys. The subjects of debate were: — 1. What to teach? 2. How to teach? 3. How to regulate doctrine. discipline and practice?[3])

Ireland was first visited by Wesley in 1747, from which time he continued to include it in his itinerancy until his latest years. It was not until 1751 that he entered Scotland, this being also the year of his marriage which brought him anything but happiness. The year 1755 formed a crisis in the history of Methodism. At the Conference of that year the subject of Separation from the Church was seriously and warmly discussed. The Wesleys set their faces against it, while such men as the two Perronets and Thomas Walsh were anxious to come to some arrangement. For the present it

[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 423.
[2]) Ib. vol. II. p. 174; Journals vol. II. p. 309.
[3]) Ib. vol. I. p. 443.

was agreed after three days' discussion that whether it was *lawful* or not, it was not *expedient* for the Methodists to separate from the Established Church. This subject continued to be a sore point as long as the Wesleys lived, for though it was repeatedly considered at their conferences, yet the two brothers would never yield, and it was thus that the separation did not take place until the end of the century after John Wesley's death.

In 1755 Wesley first made the acquaintance of John Fletcher who afterwards became Vicar of Madeley and was Methodism's principal champion against the Calvinists.[1]) He was a native of Switzerland, his real name being Jean de la Fléchère.

In spite of the continued attacks on Methodism its followers increased rapidly. Wesley was an indefatigable worker. He travelled thousands of miles every year, published sermons, pamphlets, and books on all manner of subjects and erected chapels in different parts of the country. Meanwhile Methodism was also spreading in America under the care of Philip Embury and Captain Webb. Whitefield had preached in all the towns along the east coast from Savannah in Georgia to New York and Boston. In 1769 Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were sent from England in order to help in forming an organisation. On the 30th of September 1770 Mr. Whitefield died at Newburyport near Boston, being called away suddenly in the midst of his work of evangelisation. Instead of his decease putting an end to controversy, it burst forth with greater violence than ever. On the part of the Calvinists it was conducted principally by the two brothers Hill along with the Rev. Augustus Toplady. They were unfortunately very far from being calm and unprejudiced, forming a great contrast to the principal defender of John Wesley. This was "the sainted Fletcher" who wrote his five "Checks to Antinomianism" during this controversy. Finally, the polemics came to an end without either party confessing that they were in the wrong.

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[1]) Cf. Monthly Review, Dec. 1771 etc.; below p. 103 f.

John Wesley survived Whitefield by more than twenty years and his brother Charles by three. He was active in his labours as minister of the gospel until the very last. On Thursday February 17th 1791 he preached at Lambeth and on returning home he seemed to be unwell, saying that he had taken cold. On the following Thursday, however, he was able to preach in City Road Chapel, and again on the following day in the dining-room of a magistrate at Leatherhead some eighteen miles from London. This was his last sermon. The next day he was confined to his room, and passed away utterly exhausted, but full of happiness and praise on Wednesday March 2nd 1791. His remains were interred behind the Chapel in City Road on the 9th of March. In order to prevent the inconvenience of a large unmanageable crowd, the funereal solemnities were performed at 5 o'clock in the morning.

Thus, in a few words, we have tried to give an outline of the life and work of the most wonderful man of his age and we trust that it will serve to render the opinions and views of Wesley's contemporaries in the world of literature clearer and more intelligible than they might otherwise be.

Charles Wesley 1708—1788.

As we have already pointed out, the real founder of Methodism, that is the first who was called a Methodist, was the younger brother of the apostle of Methodism. That he never gained the same world-wide renown as his brother, is easily explained by his character. He was "the child of feeling and emotion, and John of intellect, who demanded a reason for everything".[1])

Born on Dec. 18th (OS.) 1708 he was sent to Westminster School, in 1716, and was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1726. According to his own account he wasted the first year, but afterwards applied himself diligently to his studies, and graduated in

[1]) Life of Charles Wesley. By Thomas Jackson. London 1841. 2 vols.; cf. vol II. p. 24. The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism. By the same. London 1839. p. 115.

due course. It was in 1729 that the Oxford Methodists began to meet in order to exhort one another on matters of religion. Charles Wesley's stay in Georgia was but little longer than five months. He had been appointed Clerical Secretary to the Governor, but he became the innocent victim of a foul conspiracy, by means of which the former was for a time deceived. When it was too late, the plot was unravelled and the Governor did what he could to atone for the harsh treatment to which he had subjected Mr. Wesley. When the doctrine of salvation from sin by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ was first proposed to him by his brother, he was angry with him for departing from what they had been taught by Mr. Law. After passing through a serious illness, and after due consideration of the question, he concurred in sentiment with his brother and was actually the first to receive the blessing. Like his brother he began to preach the new doctrine and followed his example too in itinerating up and down the country. However, after the autumn of 1756, he ceased his labours as a travelling preacher, or at all events restricted his ministrations to Bristol and London. On the 6th April 1749 he married Sarah Gwynne, who was of a good Welsh family and with whom he passed a happy thirty-nine years. In spite of his Methodist principles, which excluded him from so many of the pulpits in the Church of England, he remained firm in his resolution never to separate from that church. In this he agreed with his brother, though he excelled him in his devotion to it. They disagreed on the subjects of spiritual darkness, and Christian perfection. The point, however, which caused an estrangement for a time was the ordination by John Wesley of preachers and especially of Dr. Coke as "superintendent" or "bishop" of the American Churches. With this point was very closely allied the difference between the two brothers on the subject of the administration of the sacraments. Charles was considered to be a better preacher than his brother, but was altogether wanting in the power of organisation. He is the poet of Methodism and it is by his sacred hymns that he is now principally known. He began to display his poetic talents at a very early age

and it has been said that "from the time of his conversion till his fires were quenched in death, he thought, he breathed in sacred verse. His was not 'made poetry', but 'poetry that made itself'".[1]) His last years were passed in enfeebled health, and a cloud hung over his spirit because his younger son had gone over to the Church of Rome. He died on the 29th March 1788, aged seventy-nine, and at his own desire was buried in Marylebone Churchyard. This was a great disappointment to John Wesley, because he had hoped they would be buried together in City Road Chapel burial-ground. Charles had, however, objected to this, because it had not been consecrated by a bishop. Apart from the notices of Charles Wesley in the Lives of his brother, have been published separate Lives of the former by Dr. Whitehead (prefixed to his Life of John Wesley 1793) and by Thomas Jackson in 1841.

George Whitefield 1714—1770.

George Whitefield's name is just as inseparable from the early history of Methodism as are those of the two Wesleys. His principal biographers are: The Rev. John Gillies D. D. whose "Memoirs"[2]) appeared in 1772: Mr. Philip, who published his "Life and Times of Whitefield" in 1837, and finally, the Rev. L. Tyerman who wrote a Life of Whitefield in 1876—77.

George Whitefield was born at Gloucester on the 16th Dec. (OS.) 1714. His father kept an inn and died when George was but very young. The boy helped his mother to keep on the inn, but his education was not neglected. Between the years of twelve and fifteen he made good progress in the Latin Classics and at eighteen was sent to Oxford. Here he cultivated the acquaintance of the Methodists and was ordained

[1]) Cf. Jackson's Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism, p. 116.

[2]) German translation: Leben Georg Whitfields. Nach dem Englischen von Dr. John Gillies, herausgegeben von Dr. A. Tholuck. Leipzig 1834.

by Dr. Benson. Bishop of Gloucester, on Sunday June 20th 1736. when he was only in his twenty-second year. His very first sermon must have created a great impression, for it was complained of him that "it drove fifteen persons mad".[1]) He thus very soon gained for himself great popularity as a preacher, and embarked for Georgia towards the end of December 1737. He only remained there a few months, but succeeded, in that short time. in founding an Orphan House at Savannah, which always remained a child of his affections. On his return to London he conferred with the Moravians. and although he could not fall in with their way of expressing themselves, yet he fully accepted the doctrine of Justification by Faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ. He was the first Field Preacher, the chief scenes of his action being Moorfields, Kennington Common and Blackheath. In the year 1741 he separated himself from Wesley on the vexed question of Election. It is impossible to lay too much stress on this separation and the cause of it, for, as we have already mentioned, and as we shall repeatedly see in the course of our dissertation. it is so often just this doctrine or its consequences which are the subjects of ridicule or severe criticism. Even contemporary writers were very apt to overlook the difference between the two sections of Methodists and to treat them all as though this were a particularly methodistical teaching. An attempt at reconciliation was unsuccessful, except so far as the personal friendship of the two leaders of Methodism was concerned. The fact is that the two were quite differently constituted: Wesley's mind was severely didactic, while Whitefield's logic was in his heart rather than in his head.[2]) As a preacher he gained the favour even of some of the noblest, cleverest, and wittiest men of the Kingdom. The Countess of Huntingdon made him her Chaplain, and it was at her chapel that Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, Hume and Bolingbroke came to hear him. Chesterfield listened to him with delight and gave him one of

[1]) Cf. Whitefield's Works, vol. I. p. 19, Letter XVI.
[2]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism, vol. I. p. 149.

his courtly compliments: "Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve you". Walpole heard him with admiration, though his rampant wit trifled with him behind his back. Hume listened with wonder, and said he would go twenty miles to hear him. Bolingbroke complimented him, approved his Calvinism, and received his sermons and his visits: his brother, Lord St. John, became a convert and died in the hope of the Gospel.[1]) It should not be forgotten that one of the results of Whitefield's preaching in America, which certainly does not belong to the least important of them, was the founding of Princeton College, New Jersey. He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, a feat, which even nowadays with our modern ocean-steamers still excites general surprise and admiration. His ascetic observances in his youth seem to have laid the foundation of the ill-health from which he suffered during the greater part of his life. In 1749 he sought relief in the Bermudas, but as early as 1761 he was reduced almost to extremity and expected death, and for the first time in his ministerial career he did not preach for several weeks. He, however, still continued his "ranging", though with interruptions, until he passed away, as he had always desired, in the midst of his work. He died at Newburyport near Boston in New England from an attack of asthma on the 30th September 1770. He was buried according to his own desire in the Presbyterian Church of the town where he died. His old friend Wesley preached a funeral sermon both in Tottenham Court and in the Tabernacle in Moorfields.

It was under these three great leaders, assisted by the hearty co-operation of a number of earnest fellow-workers, that Methodism grew and spread until it became an undeniable factor in the world's history.

The doctrines of Methodism as especially preached by John Wesley can be given most succinctly as they are expressed by the apostle of Methodism himself in his Minute at the Conference of 1770[2]):

[1]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism. vol. I. p. 167 and p. 474.

[2]) Cf. ib. vol. II. p. 411.

"*Justification* is distinguished from Regeneration only logically. It is a relative fact — a work done for us rather than in us — the pardon of sin, whereby the relation of the Sinner to the Divine law is changed, and he is recognised, through the Atonement, as no longer guilty, but just, and has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

"*Regeneration* is a work wrought by the Holy Spirit in the believing soul, whereby it passes from death unto life, and receiving "the spirit of adoption", enters into communion with God."

Sanctification, as a doctrine, received peculiar illustration and enforcement from Wesley. "It is the purification of the believer subsequently to regeneration. It is usually gradual; it may be instantaneous, as, like justification, it is received by faith." According to Wesley, sanctification "begins when we begin to believe, and as faith increases, holiness increases". This experience, he taught, should be sought at once and may be the privilege of every believer. This is Wesley's doctrine of Perfection, which was so often the cause of misunderstandings between him and his friends, not to speak of his adversaries.

As regards the moral conduct of the members, the strict rules which they took upon themselves to observe, and the impartiality with which they were enforced, are sufficient answers to many of the charges that were brought against the Methodists as a body. Here again is a marked difference between the preacher Whitefield and the organiser Wesley. The former never kept his followers together by forming bands and classes, and it is said that he regretted his mistake in after years when it was too late. Among the things to be avoided by every member of the societies were the profaning of the Day of the Lord, drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity, fighting, selling or buying of uncustomed goods, all evil speaking, and the taking of such diversions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus. Every body was expected to do good especially by visiting the sick, to attend the ordinances of God, to hold family and private prayer,

not to marry an unbeliever, to guard against formality in public worship and on no account to call another heretic, bigot or any other disrespectful name.[1]) Wesley was, however, broad enough to admit anyone as member who expressed a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from his sins. Another proof of Wesley's broad heart may be seen in the letter he addressed to all the evangelical clergy of the Church of England, with the hope that they might all find some principles in common, along the lines of which they might work in harmony. Union should only depend on three essentials: I. Original Sin. II. Justification by Faith. III. Holiness of Heart and Life; providing their life be answerable to their doctrine. This circular letter was sent to about fifty evangelical clergymen, but to Wesley's great disappointment only three condescended to return an answer.[2])

In spite of the severest opposition from all quarters, Methodism continued to grow. We perhaps cannot conclude this introductory sketch better than by quoting a few statistics of its progress during Wesley's life-time. In the year 1767, in the United Kingdom, there were 41 circuits, 104 preachers and 25,911 members[3]); in 1790, the year before Wesley's death, the Methodist circuits throughout the world numbered 240, the preachers 541, and the members 134,549.[4])

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[1]) Cf. The Nature, Design and General Rules of the Methodist Societies established by the Rev. John Wesley. London 1798.

[2]) Cf. Wesley's Journals. April 1764. vol III. p. 169 ff.; Tyerman vol. II. p. 509 ff.

[3]) Tyerman vol. II. p. 609.

[4]) Ib. vol. III. p. 620.

Methodism in the Light of English Literature.

I. Methodism in the Drama.

We cannot imagine a religious subject of this kind being put upon the boards except for the purpose of ridicule and satire. Consequently we can only expect to find the Methodist Movement presented to the public in the most unfavourable light, especially as the Methodists, like the Puritans of the Commonwealth, were decided and open enemies of the Theatre. As a proof of this it is only necessary to read a letter written by John Wesley himself and quoted by Tyerman (vol. II. p. 514). This letter is dated Dec. 20th 1764 and is addressed to the mayor and corporation of Bristol with the object of trying to dissuade them from carrying out a proposal to build a new playhouse, which, he says, had given him and his brother great concern, "and that on various accounts: not barely as most of the present stage entertainments sap the foundation of all religion, as they naturally tend to efface all traces of piety and seriousness out of the minds of men: but as they are peculiarly hurtful to a trading city; giving a wrong turn to youth especially, gay, trifling, and directly opposite to the spirit of industry and close application to business; and as drinking and debauchery of every kind are constant attendants on these entertainments, with indolence, effeminacy, and idleness, which affect trade in a high degree."

In perusing the theatrical literature of the period one is struck by the fact that playwriters as a rule seem to have avoided any reference to the Methodists, as indeed to religion generally, even in comedies and farces. There appears to have been a deep-rooted feeling of respect for anything sacred which prevented profane use being made of religion in any shape or form. This was perhaps not one of the least merits due to David Garrick (1716—1779) who for nearly thirty years was the chief authority in theatre matters and who brought about quite a revolution by his constant efforts to purify the stage, especially by popularising Shakespeare. He was always very fearful of offending individuals by anything that was performed at his theatre [1]). Hence it is not to be wondered at that no references to the Methodists are to be found in his own plays. The only mention we have found of these people by Garrick is in one of his epigrams for which he was celebrated. Quin, the most renowned tragedian of the day, was so jealous of young Garrick's attracting such great crowds to Goodmansfield that he gave vent to his indignation by saying: "This is the wonder of a day; Garrick is a new religion; the people follow him as another Whitfield, but they will soon return to church again". Garrick's sharp retort was: —

"Pope Quin, who damns all Churches but his own,
Complains that Heresy infects the town;
That Whitfield Garrick has misled the age,
And taints the sound religion of the Stage:
'Schism', he cries, 'has turned the Nation's brain:
But eyes will open, and to Church again'!
Thou great infallible, forbear to roar,
Thy Bulls and Errors are rever'd no more:
When doctrines meet with general approbation,
It is not Heresy, but Reformation." [2])

[1]) The only exception was Bickerstaffe's "Hypocrite" in the year 1768.

[2]) Cf. The Private Correspondence of David Garrick. London 1831—32, 2 vols. Biographical Memoir p. XIII.

This epigram was written in October 1741 and is thus one of the earliest references we have in polite literature to the Methodist Movement. If we are allowed to judge of Garrick's opinion of this religious revival from this reference, it is quite evident that he believed their success was a clear proof they were doing the work to which they had been called. Like Gamaliel of old he seems to have considered it was better not to oppose them, for "if this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found to fight against God". (Acts V. 38. 39.)

Apart from this expression of opinion, which, to say the least, is not unfavourable to the Methodists, the only tendency at all represented in the works of the contemporaneous dramatists is one of opposition, and that of the most extreme phase. The principal play written with the express purpose of ridiculing this religious movement, was Samuel Foote's (1720—1777) "Minor". This writer was comedian, dramatist, actor and humorist, but was only successful as a mimic.

"The Minor" was first produced at the Crow Street Theatre, Dublin, Jan. 28th 1760. In its first shape it was a failure, but became a great success after it had been altered, being performed at the Haymarket for 38 nights running. In the hope of obtaining for it the stamp of authority from the State Church, Foote was so bold as to send the manuscript to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a request that he would excise or alter whatever was objectionable. It was returned untouched, the archbishop shrewdly surmising that Foote wished to advertise it as "corrected and prepared for the press by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury".[1]) Foote himself played the parts of Shift, Smirk and Mrs. Cole. The plot of this farce is in short as follows: —

The "Minor", a young scapegrace and spendthrift, who had been living for several years in France and Germany, has just returned to his native country where he is given to understand that his father is dead. The latter, however, Sir

[1]) Correspondence of Garrick, vol. I. p. 120.

William Wealthy by name, assumes the character of a French baron, and associates himself with his son as a boon companion. Sir William's brother, Mr. Richard Wealthy, who is a rich merchant, acts as guardian to his nephew Sir George (the minor) and constantly upbraids him with his loose conduct, while, at the same time, he reproaches his brother for his method of educating his son. Sir William contrives to get his son into great difficulties in money affairs in order to appear at the critical moment in his capacity of father to discharge all debts. The *dénouement*, however, is brought about sooner than the father intends, in consequence of the accomplice, Shirk, revealing to Sir George that he is the subject of a plot. The latter thereupon charges his father and his accomplices with being rogues and sharpers, and hands them over to the constables. Explanations are then made and the farce ends to the complete satisfaction of all concerned. Sir George begs permission to marry his pretty cousin after having providentially been the guardian of her honour without knowing who she was. This poor girl had been turned out of her home by her father because she would not consent to marry the man of his choice. Accident places her in a house the mistress of which is a methodist.

"*There,*"[1]) to use the girl's own words, "*as enthusiasm is the child of melancholy, I caught the infection. A constant attendance on their assemblies procured me the acquaintance of this woman* (i. e. Mrs. Cole, the hypocrite and pimp who had finally succeeded in bringing her to Sir George), *whose extraordinary zeal and devotion first drew my attention and confidence. I trusted her with my story, and in return, received the warmest invitation to take the protection of her house. This, I unfortunately accepted. By the decency of her appearances,*" so she continues in her appeal to Sir George to spare her. "*I was some time imposed upon. But an accident, which you will excuse my repeating, reveal'd all the horror of my situation. I will not trouble you with a recital of all the arts us'd to seduce me. Happily they hitherto have failed. But this morning I was acquainted with*

[1]) Cf. Foote's Plays. London 1778—97. 3 vols.; vol. II. "The Minor" Act III. p. 69 ff.

my destiny; and no other election left me, but immediate compliance, or a jail. In this desperate condition, you cannot wonder, Sir, at my choosing rather to rely on the generosity of a gentleman than the humanity of a creature insensible to pity and void of every virtue."

Sir George, touched by her story, was converted from being the spoiler of her honour to be the protector of her innocence. The woman who had thus so shamefully tried to entice this girl to evil was Mrs. Cole, who is represented as being a regular attender at the meetings held at the Tabernacle of Tottenham-Court. The following quotations together with the fact that her profession was that of a procuress, will be sufficient to show the light in which the writer of the farce intended, in the person of this monster of a woman, to present the adherents of the new sect to the play-going world: —

Dick (man-servant to Sir George). *She* (Mrs. Cole) *bade me say, she had just stopt on her way to the tabernacle; after the exhortations, she says, she'll call again.*

Sir Geo. *Exhortation! Oh, I recollect: Well, whilst they only make proselytes from that profession, they are heartily welcome to them. — She does not mean to make me a convert?*

Dick. *I believe she has some such design upon me; for she offer'd me a book of hymns, a shilling and a dram, to go along with her.*

Sir Geo. *No bad scheme, Dick. Thou hast a fine sober, psalm-singing countenance; and when thou hast been some time in their trammels, may make as able a teacher as the best of 'em.*

Dick. *Laud, Sir, I want learning.*

Sir Geo. *Oh, the spirit, the spirit will supply all that, Dick, never fear.*[1])

Again, Mrs. Cole when in conversation with Sir George and Mr. Loader, after complaining about her rhumatism, expresses herself as follows: —

"*No, no, I am worn out, thrown by and forgotten, like a tattered garment, as Mr. Squintum*[2]) *says. Oh, he is a dear*

[1]) Act I, p. 33.

[2]) A take off on Mr. Whitefield.

man! But for him I had been a lost sheep; never known the comforts of the new birth: no!" — and then in the same breath she continues: *"There's your old friend, Kitty Carrot, at home still. When shall we see you this evening? I have kept the green room for you ever since I heard you were in town."* [1]) On Mr. Loader asking for some Burgundy she says: *"I have done with these idle vanities: my thoughts are fixed upon a better place. — What, I suppose, Mr. Loader, you will be for your old friend, the black-eyd girl, from Rosemary-lane. Ha, ha! Well, 'tis a merry little tit. A thousand pities she's such a reprobate! — But she'll mend; her time is not come yet; all shall have their call, as Mr. Squintum says, sooner or later; regeneration is not the work of a day."* [2])

Again we read: Mrs. Cole. *Mercy on us where do you expect to go when you die, Mr. Loader?*

Loader. *Crop me, but this Squintum has turn'd her brains.*

Sir Geo. *Nay, Mr. Loader, I think the gentleman has wrought a most happy reformation.*

Mrs. Cole. *Oh, it was a wonderful work. There had I been tossing in a sea of sin, without rudder or compass. And had not the poor gentleman piloted me into the harbour of grace, I must have struck against the rocks of reprobation, and have been quite swallow'd up in the whirlpool of despair. He was the precious instrument of my spiritual sprinkling. — But, however, Sir George, if your mind be set upon a young country thing, to-morrow night I believe I can furnish you.*[3])

She further says: *"At one time I thought of dying a Roman, which is truly a comfortable communion for one of us, but it wou'd not do.*

Sir Geo. *Why not?*

Mrs. Cole. *I went one summer over to Boulogne to repent: and wou'd you believe it, the bare-footed bald-pate beggars would not give me absolution, without I quitted my business —*

Sir Geo. *Oh, scandalous!* . . .

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[1]) Act I, p. 38.
[2]) Act I, p. 39.
[3]) Act I, p. 41 f.

Mrs. Cole. *So in my last illness I was wish'd to Mr. Squintum, who stept in with his saving grace, got me with the new birth, and I became, as you see, regenerate, and another creature.*" [1])

On Mrs. Cole's exit, Sir George exclaims: — "*Ha, ha, what a hodge-podge! How the jade has jumbled together the carnal and the spiritual; with what ease she reconciles her new birth to her old calling! — No wonder these preachers have plenty of proselytes, whilst they have the address so comfortably to blend the hitherto jarring interests of the two worlds.*" [2])

At the *dénouement* Mrs. Cole is received by Sir George with the following scathing words: — "*... Abominable hypocrite! who tottering under the load of irreverent age and infamous diseases, inflexibly proceed in the practice of every vice, impiously prostituting the most sacred institutions to the most infernal purposes.*" [3]) —

In the Introduction Foote represents himself discussing with two friends, Smart and Canker, the subject of his next farce i. e. of the "Minor", whereby he takes the opportunity of publishing his reasons for thus attacking the Methodists.

Foote. *I may produce something that may hit your palate.*

Smart. *Your bill of fare?*

Foote. *What think you of those itinerant field orators, who tho' at declared enmity with common sense, have the address to poison the principles, and at the same time pick the pockets of half our industrious fellow subjects?*

Cank. *Have a care. Dangerous ground. Ludere cum sacris, you know.*

Foote. *Now I look upon it in a different manner. I consider these gentlemen in the light of public performers, like myself, and whether we exhibit at Tottenham-court, or the Haymarket, our purpose is the same, and the place is immaterial.*

Cank. *Why indeed, if it be considered —*

Foote. *Nay, more, I must beg leave to assert, that ridicule is the only antidote against this pernicious poison. This is a*

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[1]) Act I, p. 42 f.
[2]) Act I, p. 44.
[3]) Act III, p. 73.

madness that argument can never cure: and should a little wholesome severity be applied, persecution would be the immediate cry; where then can we have recourse, but to the comic muse, perhaps the archness and severity of her smile may redress an evil, that the laws cannot reach, or reason reclaim.[1])

Foote was not content to ridicule the Methodists in one farce. He seized every opportunity that offered itself. Besides the "Minor" we find allusions and references to the sect in nine of his other plays. Taking them chronologically the next reference we meet with is in "The Lyar" (performed Jan. 12th 1762). Young Wilding and his valet de chambre. Papillion, are engaged in conversation, the latter giving an account of his past.

Y. Wild. *What was your next change?*

Pap. *I was mightily puzzled to choose. Some would have had me turn player, and others methodist preacher: but as I had no money to build me a tabernacle, I did not think it could answer; and as to player — whatever might happen to me, I was determined not to bring disgrace upon my family, and so I resolved to turn footman.*[2])

In the same year appeared the "Orators", in which occurs a scene in a Hall of Justice. An imaginary charge is instituted against Fanny Phantom, the phantom of Cock-lane. Shadrach Bodkin is called up as a witness, and in the cross-examination is drawn out to say that he had often heard "the scratchings and knockings" of the ghost, and to assert that the spirit within him compelled him to do things.

Counsellor. *When did you first feel these spiritual motions?*

Bod. *In the town of Norwich, where I was born; — one day as I was sitting cross-legged on my shop-board, new seating a cloth pair of breeches of Mr. Alderman Crape's — I felt the spirit within me, moving upwards and downwards, and this way and that way, and tumbling and jumbling — at first I thought it was the colic —*

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[1]) Introd. p. 13 f.

[2]) Vol. III. "The Lyar" Act I, p. 10.

Couns. *And how are you certain it was not?*

Bod. *At last I heard a voice whispering within me, crying Shadrach, Shadrach, Shadrach, cast away the things that belong to thee, thy thimble and shears, and do the things that I bid thee.*

After several indecent allusions the sergeant gets impatient and asks: "*But to what do all those interrogatories tend?*" [1])

Another witness, a Mr. Paragraph, is brought forward and interrogated. Among other things he accuses Bodkin of having communicated scratchings to a rival publisher after he himself had bought all the materials from the girl's father. He calls Bodkin: "*a lying son of a wh—e and a rascally Methodist*". The latter makes his escape under the anathemas of the enraged publisher who threatens that he will have justice or turn his (Bodkin's) tabernacle into a pigstye. [2])

In the year 1763 appeared "The Mayor of Garratt" in which occurs the following conversation: —

Major. *Pray, Sir Jacob, is Matthew Marrow-bone, the butcher of your town, living or dead?*

Sir Jacob. *Living.*

Major. *And swears as much as he used to?*

Sir Jac. *An alter'd man, Major; not an oath comes out of his mouth.*

Major. *You surprise me; why, when he frequented our town of a market-day, he has taken out a guinea in oaths — and quite changed?*

Sir Jac. *Entirely; they say his wife has made him a Methodist, and that he preaches at Kennington-Common.*

Major. *What a deal of mischief those rascals do in the country — Why then we have entirely lost him?*

Sir Jac. *In that way; but I got a brace of bind-orers from him last week for a couple of bastards.*

Major. *Well done, master Matthew.* [3])

The fifth play in which Foote ridicules the Methodists

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[1]) Vol. II. "The Orators" Act II, p. 41 f.

[2]) Act II, p. 43 ff.

[3]) Vol. II. "The Mayor of Garratt" Act I, p. 15 f.

is "The Devil upon Two Sticks", a comedy in three acts, which was first performed on the 30th of May 1768. Two lovers who have escaped from Madrid by the mediation of the Devil find themselves transported to London, where the latter shows them the rottenness of society, especially the corrupted state of the apothecaries and doctors. At the close, when the Devil feels himself recalled to Madrid by the irresistible spell of the magician by whom he had been confined in a bottle until released by the lovers — Le Sage's well-known story —, the lovers ask him what they are to do in a country where they are unknown and of which they do not know the customs. After proposing several trades and professions in which the Devil says they might succeed, but to which the lover replies that he cannot submit because they are so dishonest, the Devil says: "*I think you are rather too squeamish. What say you then, to a little spiritual quackery?*

Invoice. *Spiritual?*

Devil. *Oh, Sir, there are in this town mountebanks for the mind as well as for the body. How should you like mounting a cart on a common, and becoming a Methodist preacher?*

Inv. *Can that scheme turn to account?*

Devil. *Nothing better: Believe me, the absolute direction of the persons and purses of a large congregation, however low their conditions and callings, is by no means a contemptible object. I, for my part can say, what the Conqueror said to the Cynic: "If I was not Alexander, I would be Diogenes": So, if I was not the Devil, I would chuse to be a Methodist Preacher.*

Inv. *But then the restraint, the forms, I shall be obliged to observe.*

Devil. *None at all: There is in the whole catalogue but one sin you need be at all shy of committing.*

Inv. *What's that?*

Devil. *Simony.*

Inv. *Simony! I don't comprehend you.*

Devil. *Simony, Sir, is a new kind of canon, devised by these upstart fanatics, that makes it sinful not to abuse the confidence, and piously plunder the little property, of an indigent nun and his family.*

Inv. *A most noble piece of casuistical cookery, and exceeds even the sons of Ignatius! But this honour I must beg to decline*".[1])

The devil then proposes the stage. He says that the several arts of the drama are no longer under his direction. but that they are directed by the Genius of Insipidity. However. he recommends Foote's new playhouse in the Haymarket of which he says: "*Oh, that's an eccentric narrow establishment, a mere summer fly! He! But, however, it may do for a coup d'essai, and prove no bad foundation for a future engagement.*" [2])

In the "Maid of Bath" which was first performed on the 26th of June 1771. Sir Christopher Cripple. a visitor at Bath. reproaches his friend Major Rackett with being the cause of his having lost caste. and vows reform in order to recover his credit. Among other things he says: — "*I am determined besides to hire a house in Harlequin Road and be a constant hearer at the countess's chapel.*" Rackett interposes: — "*And, perhaps, turn out a field preacher in time.*

Sir Chris. *I don't know but I may*".[3])

The countess here referred to is Lady Huntingdon who had entered heart and soul into the Methodist cause. or more exactly, the cause of the Calvinistic Methodists, for whom she founded and maintained a theological institute at Trevecca in South Wales. and appointed Mr. Whitefield to be her chaplain.

In the following year (1772), on the 29th of June, the first performance of the "Nabob" took place, in which this species of exotic plant in England was ridiculed and held up to public contempt. Sir Matthew Mite is visited by an old schoolfellow of the Blue Coat School. who reminds him of some of the pranks of his youth, e. g.: "*One fifth of November I shall never forget! how you frightened a preaching methodist taylor, by throwing a cracker into his pulpit.*

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[1]) Vol. III. "The Devil upon Two Sticks" Act III. p. 53 f.
[2]) Act III. p. 57.
[3]) Vol. I. "The Maid of Bath" Act I, p. 8.

Mite. *Another pretty exploit!*

Putty. *At every bounce, how poor Stitch capered and jumped!*" [1])

In "A Trip to Calais" (1776). in speaking to the Colonel of her mistress's character. Hetty says: "*Why, then, as to this lady of ours: in hypocrisy she would be an overmatch for a Methodist.*" [2]) And again in the "Capuchin" (altered from the "Trip to Calais") Mrs. Clack is made to say: "*The young jade whines about fasting and penance like a Methodist teacher, and talks of embracing poverty, as if she was a peer of the realm*". [3])

The last of Foote's plays that we have to notice is "The Author" which was performed for the first time at Drury Lane in 1782. Mr. Vamp. a bookseller. visits young Cape. the author, in his garret at the time when the latter's friend Sprightly is with him. This friend is introduced as being a voluminous author, whereupon they enter into a conversation, in the course of which Vamp says: — "*No, no. I don't deal in the Sermon Way, now; I lost money by the last I printed, for all 'twas wrote by a Methodist.*" [4])

We have thus passed in review all the passages in Foote's plays and farces that ridicule or have any reference to our subject. [5]) He was very prolific in writing for the stage and wrote eleven [6]) more plays in which he did not find an opportunity of giving vent to his assumed indignation at the Methodists. He spares no one who has anything to do with them, neither young nor old. neither high nor low. neither

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[1]) Vol. I. "The Nabob" Act III. p. 58.

[2]) Ib. "A Trip to Calais" Act III. p. 66.

[3]) Ib. Act III. p. 126.

[4]) Vol. II. "The Author" Act I, p. 14.

[5]) Cf. Appendix, Note A., p. 159.

[6]) The "Biographia Dramatica". (vol. I. part 1. p. 247) mentions seven more which we have not seen, three of which were never printed.

people nor preachers. Yet in spite of himself he has occasionally a word or two which may be taken to favour the movement rather than otherwise, e. g. in the "Maid of Bath", where Sir Christopher's last resource of reform is to turn Methodist. In the "Mayor of Garratt" too it is admitted that Matthew Marrow-bone, the butcher, from being a great swearer has "learnt to swear no more" through his having turned Methodist, which according to the Scriptures is one of the signs of a man having entered upon a changed life. Foote, however, seems only to have made this concession in order to make the contrast all the more striking and the man all the greater hypocrite by a suggestion that he is leading an immoral life. Indeed, this would-be humorist takes a special delight in making out that the Methodists generally were the most immoral of any class, and would make his hearers and readers believe that this despicable standard of morals was the natural consequence of the doctrines they held and preached. Even supposing that his characters were really drawn from life, it is certain they must have been the black sheep of the flock, and what religious sect or party of any kind is free from such? This way of representing things, is, on the face of it, unfair, and the more so in this case, because Foote's performances were very popular [1]) and drew large crowds of playgoers, whereby he was making an unjustifiable use of his great powers of mimicry. The opinions of such a man are very useful in trying to get a correct general view of such a movement as the one in question, because they are the expression of the extreme opposition, but they cannot have much weight in forming an unbiassed opinion, especially when we take into account the general tenor of his life combined with the character given him by his contemporaries. Of these it is here only necessary perhaps to quote two. In Boswell's Life of Johnson (Croker's Edition, 1831, vol. III, p. 320) we read the celebrated doctor's opinion of Foote drastically expressed in a single line: "Foote is most impartial, for he tells lies of everybody". The other author

[1]) Cf. Appendix, Note B., p. 159.

and poet we will quote is the unfortunate Chatterton who also seems to hit the nail on the head when he says in his Elegy on "February": —

> *"Now, Foote, a looking-glass for all mankind,*
> *Applies his wax to personal defects;*
> *But leaves untouch'd the image of the mind,*
> *His art no mental quality reflects".*[1])

Foote often got himself into trouble for his personal skits, nor did he spare even his friends. We agree with the writer of the preface to the "Minor" as published in Bell's Collection of plays entitled the "British Theatre"[2]) and published in the year 1792, when he says: — "It is at all times dangerous to attack any mode of piety, but true devotion suffered little, it is believed, on the present occasion."

Though the "Minor" was seen and applauded by thousands, the indignation of religious people was aroused and swarms of articles and pamphlets went forth in denunciation of the author of such profanity. Foote had the impudence to defend himself and that in such coarse and vulgar language that we prefer rather simply to mention his reply or refer to the specimens of his ribaldry as quoted by Tyerman (vol. II, p. 368), who also cites Everett's Folio (vol. III p. 451), where we learn that Foote continued mocking the Methodists until the day of his death, for he was suddenly seized with his mortal illness while mimicking religious characters in general and the Methodists in particular, and almost immediately expired.

Another playwriter took upon himself to ridicule hypocrites of all religious classes in general and the sect of Methodists in particular. This was Isaac Bickerstaffe (1735—1812?),[3]) who as far as can be ascertained passed the

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' English Poets, vol. XV. p. 454.

[2]) Vol. XVIII. p. 5.

[3]) Uncertain. Cf. Stephen's Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. V. Article: Bickerstaffe (Isaac).

last forty years of his life abroad in wretched circumstances. His play in question is called "The Hypocrite",[1]) (1768) being a comedy altered from Colley Cibber's "Non-Juror" (1717) which in its turn was borrowed from Molière's "Tartuffe". The character of Maw-worm was especially introduced by Bickerstaffe for the comedian Mr. Weston. In Murphy's "Life of Garrick" (vol. II. p. 82) the compiler characterises this play as follows: "Bickerstaffe would have done well to respect a superior genius and to have reserved Maw-worm for some original work of his own. The crab cannot be grafted on the laurel-tree. And yet. "The Hypocrite" under the patronage of the manager [Garrick] had a run of twelve or thirteen nights; we trust never more to rise again." Leslie Stephen in his "National Biography" makes no mention of this play, but does refer to the unkind expressions made use of by Bickerstaffe in reference to the stage-manager David Garrick, and supposes that the latter had refused to accept one of Bickerstaffe's plays. This, if true, was very ungrateful on the part of Bickerstaffe after the success he had gained with the help of Garrick for "The Hypocrite".

The following specimen will suffice to display Maw-worm the Methodist's character.

Old Lady Lambert (= Molière's Madame Pernelle). *But what is the matter with you, Mr. Maw-worm?*

Maw. *I don't know what's the matter with me — I'm a breaking my heart. — I think it's a sin to keep a shop.*

Old Lady L. *Why, if you think it is a sin, indeed — pray, what's your business?*

Maw. *We deals in grocery, tea, small-beer, charcoal, butter, brick-dust and the like.*

Old Lady L. *Well; you must consult with your friendly director here.*

Maw. *I wants to go a preaching.*

Old Lady L. *Do you?*

Maw. *I'm almost sure I have had a call.*

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[1]) Cf. Biographia Dramatica, vol. II. p. 317; Tyerman vol. III. p. 35.

Old Lady L. *Ay!*

Maw. *I does them extrumpery, because I cann't write: and now the devils in our alley says, as how my head's turned.*

Old Lady L. *Ay, devils indeed, — but don't you mind them.*

Maw. *No, I don't — I rebukes them and preaches to them, whether they will or not. We lets our house in lodgings to single men; and sometimes I gets them together, with one or two of the neighbours, and makes them all cry.*

Old Lady L. *Did you ever preach in public?*

Maw. *I got up on Kennington Common the last review day, but the boys threw brick-bats at me, and pinned crackers to my tail: and I have been afraid to mount ever since . . .*

Old Lady L. *But how do you mind your business?*

Maw. *We have lost almost all our customers, because I keeps extorting them whenever they come into the shop* etc. etc.[1])

Dr. Cantwell (Molière's Tartuffe) under whose influence this wretched fellow stands, is a much more despicable and dangerous character because he tries to conceal his hypocrisy under the specious cloak of a dignified and unctuous righteousness. We shall, we think, not be very far from the truth in supposing that Bickerstaffe had either Mr. Whitefield or Mr. Wesley in his mind when he worked out this repulsive part of his play. This point can, however, never be determined with any amount of certainty, for the compiler himself has made that impossible by what he says in the preface to this play as published in the edition (1792) of the "British Theatre". His words are: — "Among the audiences of the present day the Cantwell of this piece will be variously attributed through the whole circle of fanatics, as one sect or another may from personal motives have become obnoxious to the spectator. Happy is the writer to say, that he does not imagine any one can be found, who will liken this odious being to any Member of our liberal and enlightened National Church." But it has been said that the character of Mawworm seems to be more particularly intended to ridicule the sect of the Methodists. If we accept this view, it follows as

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[1]) Cf. British Theatre, vol. XV. "The Hypocrite" Act II, p. 5.

a matter of course that the Doctor who had so much influence over him must also have been one of the leaders of the same sect.

As in the case of Samuel Foote's plays there is nothing here that can be seriously taken to affect the Methodists as a body. The insinuations and innuendos raised against these people only concern individuals, for whose wicked and immoral conduct it is unfair to charge the doctrines preached by that sect. That such men did go in and out among the Methodists and even act as preachers and assistants we know from contemporary history as well as from John Wesley's own letters. Of this Westley Hall, John Wesley's own brother-in-law and preacher at Salisbury, is a glaring example. But we also know that he and many others, even those whose offences were virtues when compared to the licentiousness of Hall, were at once disowned by the Methodists, and their names struck out of the list of members. John Wesley was constantly examining both preachers and members with a view to sifting out those who were a discredit to their fellow-methodists or who did not carry the principles of the gospel into their daily lives.

References to the Methodists in the plays and farces of Henry Fielding (1707—1754) are conspicuous by their absence, as is also the case with his contemporary and rival in the sphere of novel-writing, Tobias Smollett. Fielding has only one reference to this sect in all his plays, of which he wrote two dozen. This is, however, a very early allusion, perhaps the first in all the contemporary polite literature of the day, certainly the first on the stage. The farce in which it occurs is called "Miss Lucy in Town", a sequel to "The Virgin Unmasked" [1]), and must have been written between the years 1737 and 1742, for it was first performed at Drury Lane on May 5th

[1]) Written in 1734.

1742, and had been written long before.[1]) In this farce the following conversation takes place between a certain Lord Bawble and Mrs. Midnight, a pimp: —

Baw. *So, old Midnight, what schemes art thou plodding on?*

Mid. *O fie! my lord: I protest if sir Thomas and you don't leave off your riots, you will ruin the reputation of my house for ever. I wonder you have no more regard to your own characters.*

Baw. *Why, thou old canting offspring of hypocrisy, dost thou think that men of quality are to be confined to the rules of decency, like sober citizens, as if they were ashamed of their sins, and afraid they should lose their turn of being lord mayor?*

Mid. *We ought all to be ashamed of our sins. O my lord, my lord, had you but heard that excellent sermon on Kennington-common, it would have made you ashamed: I am sure it had so good an effect upon me, that I shall be ashamed of my sins as long as I live.*

Baw. *Why don't you leave them off then, and lay down your house?*

Mid. *Alas, I can't, I can't; I was bred up in the way: but I repent heartily; I repent every hour of my life; and that I hope will make amends.*

Baw. *Well, where is my Jenny Ranter?*

Mid. *Ah, poor Jenny! Poor Jenny is gone. I shall never see her more; she was the best of girls: it almost breaks my tender heart to think on't; nay, I shall never outlive her loss* (crying). *My lord, sir Thomas and you forgot to pay for that bowl of punch last night.*

Baw. *D—n your punch! is my dear Jenny dead?*

Mid. *Worse, if possible. She is — she is turned methodist, and married to one of the brethren.*

Baw. *O, if that be all, we shall soon have her again.*

Mid. *Alas! I fear not; for they are powerful men ...*[2])

Though Fielding never showed himself favourably disposed towards the Methodists, he does not always represent

[1]) Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. XVIII. Art. Fielding (Henry).

[2]) Fielding's Works, ed. by Roscoe. London 1840, p. 1072.

the "brethren" to be such fickle, weak-minded people and so easily induced to become renegades as his lordship would here make them out to be. It is, however, in his novels that he treats of the Methodists more fully and there it is that his opinions on the subject are to be sought.[1])

To the above plays we may add[2]) a comedy which we have not been able to procure, but which is criticised in the "Monthly Review" for July 1778,[3]) and referred to by Tyerman.[4]) This is "The Gospel Shop, a Comedy of Five Acts, with a New Prologue and Epilogue. Originally intended for public Representation, but suppressed at the particular Desire of some eminent Divines. By R. Hill Esq. of Cambridge".

The reviewer is disgusted at the author, who is so dull and illiterate, having the vanity to call the performance a comedy. He says that it only reflects disgrace on the wretched writer himself. The name given in the title, he asserts, carries fiction in its very face. The motto on the same page may serve to show how infamous the whole performance is: —

"Beware! these dire illusions! strange to tell,
A gospel shop's the very spawn of hell!"

We thus see that the proportion of plays written with the special object of mocking the Methodists is really exceedingly small, if we may judge by the number of plays that were published in the two collections, "The British Theatre" and "English Comedies" (1791—1793), the former comprising twenty-two and the latter nine volumes. The best and most respected playwriters of the times, Aaron Hill, Colley Cibber, Glover, Colman, Cumberland, Murphy, Goldsmith and Brinsley Sheridan, did not condescend to defile their hands by libelling the new sect of enthusiasts, whatever they may have thought of them personally. This

[1]) Cf. below p. 141 ff.
[2]) Cf. also Appendix, Note C., p. 159 f.
[3]) Art. XXII. p. 71.
[4]) Vol. III. p. 362.

is, of course, no proof that they were even in the slightest degree favourably disposed towards them, but only that they did not consider the stage the proper place for expressing their opinions on religious topics.

To be historically faithful we cannot conclude this part of our subject without referring to an anonymous play which coming last is also to be least noticed because it is almost too coarse and low even to be worthy of quotation. This is a comedy called "The Methodist",[1]) which was advertised in 1761 as being a "Continuation and Completion of the plan of the 'Minor' written by Mr. Foote etc. 3rd edit. London", but which according to the "Biographia Dramatica",[2]) is a most impudent catchpenny of Israel Pottinger,[3]) and which is also ascribed to this same Pottinger in the advertisement of plays printed for W. Lowndes in the tenth edition of Foote's plays. printed in London. 1789. All we know of this Pottinger is that he was the author of a comedy called "Duenna", published in 1776 without name and perhaps also of a "Tale in Verse", called the "Methodist and the Mimic", which we shall have occasion to mention in its proper place. We have not been able to procure a copy of the "Methodist", but Tyerman[4]) gives two or three quotations from it, adding that Foote durst not act it. Whitefield's "countenance is not only inexpressive, but ludicrous; his dialect is not only provincial, but barbarous; his deportment not only awkward, but savage". Whitefield himself, in his boyhood, "was dull, stupid, and heavy, totally incapable of attending to the business of his mother's public-house, though he had the credit of inventing the practice of soaping the tops of the pewter pots to diminish the quantity of liquor, and to increase and sustain the froth".

This special reference to George Whitefield, the head and leader of the Calvinistic Methodists reminds us that the ridicule and ribaldry aimed at the followers of the Methodistic movement in the above mentioned plays are intended most

[1]) Cf. Appendix, Note D., p. 160.
[2]) Vol. I. part 1. p. 580.
[3]) Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biogr. vol. XIX. Art. Foote (Samuel).
[4]) Vol. II. p. 368.

especially for Whitefield and his friends rather than for Wesley and his. The division which took place as early as 1741 between Wesley and Whitefield on the doctrine of Predestination, which the latter firmly held and preached, should never be overlooked in trying to obtain a correct view of the way in which the Methodist movement is reflected on the stage and in the polite literature generally of Wesley's contemporaries. The consideration of this fact throws more light than anything else on the hypocritical and immoral character which is represented as being the type of a methodist, for it is quite certain that the calvinistic doctrine is far more liable to be abused than any of the peculiar doctrines held by Wesley. The repeated mention of the Tabernacle at Tottenham-Court and of the field-preaching on Kennington Common is another proof that the writers had Whitefield rather than Wesley in view.

II. Methodism in Poetry.

One of the earliest references in the poetical works of authors, who were Wesley's contemporaries, to the religious sect which was destined to spread over the whole of the United Kingdom, to Ireland and across the ocean to the New World, is to be found in one of the principal works of "the great Poet of Reason" and "the Prince of Rhyme", in Alexander Pope's "Dunciad".[1])

The king (poet laureate) being proclaimed, the solemnity is graced with public games and sports of various kinds. After the races follow exercises for the poets, of tickling, vociferating. diving etc.:

"So swells each wind-pipe: ass intones to ass,
Harmonic twang! of leather, horn and brass;
Such as from labouring lungs th'enthusiast blows,
High sounds, attemper'd to the vocal nose;
Or such as bellow from the deep divine;
There Webster! peal'd thy voice, and Whitfield thine!...
In Tottenham fields, the brethren with amaze
Prick all their ears up, and forget to graze!"

(Book II. v. 253 ff.)

The "Dunciad" was first published in 1728, but the two lines bracketed together were an after-thought added in the

[1]) Cf. Elwin's Pope, vol. IV. p. 148.

year 1742, two years before Pope's death, and some three years after the clergy began to close the doors of their churches for Wesley and Whitefield. "This allusion was evidently introduced to gratify the spite of William Warburton, the bitter controversialist, who wrote a defence of Pope's 'Essay on Man' in answer to the attack on that work by M. de Crousaz. Webster had attacked Warburton's 'Divine Legation of Moses' (1738) and Whitefield is here mentioned with Webster because he had made some public remarks on Webster's 'Miscellanies' and had also criticised the 'Divine Legation'." [1])

This is the only mention Pope makes of these enthusiasts whom he seems to have regarded as a society of people whose chief occupation was that of making disagreable noises. When we remember that he was born and bred a Roman Catholic, it is no wonder that he should have a prejudice against the Methodists, a prejudice which was probably confirmed by what he heard from other people, for it is scarcely conceivable that he ever came into personal contact with them. and the work entitled "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared" which afterwards became such a bone of contention, because it tried to prove that the Methodists had much in common with the Roman Catholics, was not published until 1754. [2]) The only wonder is that Pope did not write more satirically and scathingly of them. It is, however, worth noting that he made the acquaintance of Mr. Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of the revivalists, and must have thought well of him, for once he desired to employ him to convey an important letter for him, and on another occasion he proposed to dine with Lord Oxford and asked that Mr. Samuel Wesley might be invited to meet him. [3]) We find too that Pope interested himself very much in the Commentary on Job, which was written by the father of the

[1]) Cf. Elwin, vol. IV. pp. 17 and 333.

[2]) Cf. below p. 67.

[3]) Cf. Elwin, vol. X. p. 246; vol. XII. p. 191 ff.; vol. XIII. p. 240 ff.

Wesleys. He corresponded with Swift on the subject and gained the interest of Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford. From these facts it seems natural to conclude that Pope could not but have been acquainted with the early movements of the Methodists, though it is probable that his interest in the Wesley family ceased with the deaths of the old father in May 1735 [1]) and of the eldest son on Nov. 6th 1739. [2])

Pope's own views of religion soared above mere sects as we learn from his 'Essay on Man' (Ep. III. 302 and IV. 327).

His friend and contemporary Dean Swift who died about a year and a half after him has not left us any record of his thoughts about the movement, but this is easily accounted for by the fact that, as is well known, his last years were enveloped in the mist of hopeless insanity.

John Byrom, who was born in 1691 at Kersall Hall, Manchester, where he also died in 1763, is the first representative of those poets who looked with favour on the Methodist movement. He appears at first to have been a disciple of Mr. Law, the author of the "Serious Call" (1729) and expounder in England of the doctrines of Jacob Bœhme (Behmen, 1572—1624). Byrom was a zealous churchman, but had pretty strong prejudices against the Hanoverian succession being the author of the well-known Jacobite lines: —

"God bless the King and bless the faith's defender,
God bless — no harm in blessing — the Pretender.
But who Pretender is, and who is King,
God bless us all, that's quite another thing."

He afterwards held doctrines which are usually termed methodistical, but he rejected Mr. Hervey's doctrine of

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[1]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 102.
[2]) Ib. vol. I. p. 286.

imputed righteousness and entertained an abhorrence of predestination.[1]) He became a good friend of the Wesleys, having probably made their acquaintance in June 1731 when he taught them his system of shorthand which was at that time very much in vogue.[2]) After the year 1739 in which Methodism became a power, Byrom's notices of the Wesleys and of Methodism are unusually copious. He wrote many letters to his family and friends, in which he makes frequent mention of revivals in religion and of his personal interviews with those who took a prominent part in them. There was, however, a difference between his opinions and those of Mr. Wesley on the subject of Mysticism as expounded by Mr. Law which caused him to be less warm towards the Wesleys.[3])

In Byrom's poems we find a considerable number of allusions to the Methodists and their teachings. First of all we have an "Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple"[4]) in which the poet speaks of the Methodist tenet of the new birth as being "*No part of scripture, but the whole*". A little further on[5]) we find "A Poetical Essay on Enthusiasm". The poem is prefaced by a letter written to a friend in town and dated "Manchester, Sept. 3rd 1751". Byrom takes the cry of 'Fly from Enthusiasm' for his text, and then proceeds to show that the word 'enthusiasm' is very often misapplied and that there are enthusiasts in every profession and in all classes. Finally, he points out the difference between a praiseworthy and a blameable enthusiasm: —

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 177 ff.

[2]) Cf. Dr. Hoole on "Dr. Byrom and the Wesleys", London 1864. p. 6.

[3]) Cf. Byrom's account of Mr. Wesley's visit to him in Manchester April 2nd 1761 as given by Dr. Hoole, p. 39. This does not, however, tally with Mr. Wesley's Journal. He does not mention any visit to Byrom, but says that he left Manchester on the 1st and was at Chester and Tattenhall on the 2nd. Cf. Journals vol. III. p. 49.

[4]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 245.

[5]) Ib. p. 248 ff.

"Think not that you are no enthusiast then:
All men are such, as sure as they are men.
The thing itself is not at all to blame. . . .
You need not go to cloisters or to cells.
Monks or field-preachers, to see where it dwells:
It dwells alike in balls and masquerades:
Courts, camps and 'Changes, it alike pervades.
There be enthusiasts, who love to sit
In coffee-houses, and cant out their wit. . . .
Fly from Enthusiasm? Yes, fly from air,
And breathe it more intensely for your care. . . .
Bend all your wits against it, 'tis in vain,
It must exist or sacred or profane. . . .
Blame not enthusiasm, if rightly bent."

Only he who has received the new birth *"may be christen'd man"*:

"Then flows the love that no distinction knows
Of systems, sect or party, friends or foes."

All other systems are false. This lively faith is kept up by the means of grace and this is the kind of enthusiasm in which the true Christian should wish to live and die.

Again, in some "Verses with a print representing the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin", occur the lines (p. 262): —

"That holy thing that saves a soul from sin,
Of God's good spirit must be born within:
For all salvation is, upon the whole,
The birth of Jesus in the human soul."

The same subject is referred to (p. 276) in "A Soliloquy on the Cause and Consequence of a doubting mind", in which it is said that *"the blissful life which God design'd to give"*, can only be obtained by a *"second and heavenly birth"*. Again he speaks of the *"joyful truth of being born again"*, and says:

"In all the sav'd, right reason must allow
Such birth effected, tho' it knows not how."

This doctrine of the 'new birth' on which the Methodists laid so much stress. is further explained in a few lines (p. 276) "On the True Meaning of the Scripture Terms Life and Death, when applied to Men".

"True life, according to the scripture plan,
Is God's own likeness in his image, man:
This was the life that Adam ceas'd to live.
Or lost by sin: and therefore could not give:
So that his offspring, all the born on Earth,
Want a new parent of this heavenly birth."

Again, in his poem "On the Meaning of the Word Wrath" (p. 281). the poet describes how the wrath in our nature is appeased by love, *"When the birth of his Christ, being formed within, Dissolves the dark death of all selfhood and sin"*.

In his "Paraphrase" on the prayer used in the Church Liturgy for all sorts and conditions of men, he speaks of rising by a second new birth *"to that life which Adam had lost at his fall upon Earth"* (p. 286).

In his "Prayer" (p. 288), from Mr. Law's "Spirit of Prayer". the poet prays for the *"birth of the holy Jesus in his soul"*, and in the first part of the poem "On Church Communion" (p. 289), he says that all true salvation is begun and carried on by the new birth.

This new birth which was evidently for Byrom that part of religion, on which everything else depends, is also referred to in "A Comment on John I. 1" (p. 292), and the necessity of it is laid before us in a Fragment called "Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness" (p. 296 ff.). In another Fragment entitled "Thoughts on Predestination and Reprobation" (p. 299), he shows his abhorrence of those doctrines which *"contradict all gospel and good sense"*.

From all these quotations, as well as from the general tenor of all his productions we see that Byrom was deeply absorbed in the doctrine which was the foundation and bulwark of Methodism, though he himself never became a member of the Methodist body. He was a good friend to the Wesleys, but as we have already stated he followed Mr. Law more closely and thus cooled somewhat in his friendship towards the former.

John Gilbert Cooper (1723—1764), the "English Anacreon" wrote in the year 1758 "Epistles to the Great, from Aristippus in Retirement". The Fourth Epistle which is dedicated to Mark Akenside is written in imitation of some fashionable French writers, Chapelle, Chaulieu (styled "the French Anacreon"), la Fare, Madame Deshoulières, and particularly Gresset. In this epistle the poet claims to be called by Jove's behest "*A Paphian and a Delphian Priest*" and thus to be inspired from above. "*As modern methodists derive Their light from no divine alive*".[1]) This is only a very slight allusion to these people but it has a satiric ring about it which in default of any further information makes us inclined to class the author with the opponents rather than with the friends of Methodism.

Charles Churchill (1731—1764) who has been called the "British Juvenal", and who by a wild life shortened a brilliant career which had only lasted four years, could not restrain from making the Methodists feel the keenness of his satirical pen. He was so gifted that Garrick said of him, "Such talents, with prudence, had commanded the nation".[2])

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[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets. vol. XV. p. 514.

[2]) Cf. Henry Morley's Sketch of English Literature. Seventh Ed. London s. a., p. 862.

In 1763 he wrote a long poem in 4 books on the notorious Ghost of Cock Lane, which had caused such a sensation at the time and by which even many respected persons had been deceived. Dr. Johnson, too, who was known to have been rather superstitious, was thought to have believed in this Ghost, but we are assured by his biographer Mr. Boswell that he went to the trouble of testing it, and proved there was no foundation for the truth of the assertions in reference to the knockings.[1]) In a most satirical and biting style Churchill describes a visit to Fanny of a parson, named Plausible, but the parts of the poem that interest us here are those where the author speaks of enthusiasm and hypocrisy, for these subjects at once afford him an opportunity of lashing the Methodists, and above all one of their leaders, Whitefield. The poem begins with a reference to the astrology of the Chaldeans and their science of finding out the future. From them it passed to the Egyptians and then on to the Grecian sages. The poet expresses the opinion that it was all tomfoolery only practised for gain, and he continues: —

"A Mystery, so made for gain,
E'en now in fashion must remain.
Enthusiasts never will let drop
What brings such business to their shop,
And that great saint we Whitfield call,
Keeps up the Humbug spiritual."[2])

Further on we read how that man is ruled by Superstition, Credulity and Curiosity at the expense of Reason, Judgment and Common Sense (p. 299): — ·

"Impostures cannot but prevail,
And when old miracles grow stale
Jugglers will still the art pursue,
And entertain the world with new.

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[1]) Cf. Boswell's Johnson vol. I p. 415 f.; vol. IV. p. 123.
[2]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XVI. p. 296.

The real story of the Ghost does not begin until the second book and here we have also several allusions to the Methodists (p. 302) where the poet speaks of *"She-saints ... Wits ... Fools ... Cowards ... Courtiers ... Cits"* and of:

> *"The canting Tabernacle-Brother,*
> *(For one rogue still suspects another)",*

asserting that all these and many others:

> *"To Fanny come, with the same view,*
> *To find her false, or find her true."*

Then Plausible's visit is described (p. 304). He is an orthodox Church brother and pulls from his pocket a book of private prayer which is *"not a pin the worse for wear."* The poet here makes the insinuation that *"None but small saints in private pray."* Religion, he says, once possessed this gift, but

> *"Hypocrisy, of Cunning born,*
> *Crept in and stole it ere the morn.*
> *Wh — t e — d, that greatest of all saints,*
> *Whom she to her own brothers bore,*
> *Rapine and Lust, on Severn's shore,*
> *Receiv'd it from the s q u i n t i n g dame;*
> *From h i m to Plausible came,*
> *Who, with unusual care oppress,*
> *Now trembling, pull'd it from his breast"*
>
> (p. 304).

Robert Lloyd (1733—1764) was endowed with a fair share of poetical gifts, but, like his friend and boon-companion Charles Churchill, he ruined himself very early in life by his dissipation. Besides writing translations of Molière's "École des Femmes", Klopstock's "Tod Adams", and the first book of Voltaire's "Henriade", several poems, epistles, fables etc. he has left us a "T a l e" in iambic verses of eight syllables,

in which he gives a satirical description of the way in which a lady of fashion of the day received her visitors. A conversation is described between Caecilia and Venus *"of laughter queen and love"*. Caecilia is a Methodist, but knows how to outdo her friends in speaking anything but the truth, as is seen from the following quotation: —

"Caecilia, too, with saint-like air,
But lately come from evening pray'r,
Who knew her duty, as a saint,
Always to pray, and not to faint,
And, rain or shine, her church ne'er mist,
Prude, devotee and Methodist,
With equal zeal the cause promoted,
Misconstru'd things, and words misquoted,
Misrepresented, misapplied,
And, inspiration being her guide,
The very heart of man dissected,
And to his principles objected."

The so-called *"sanctified"* are further reproached for roaming about from one church to another, leaving their poor children to starve at home, for giving to preachers what they should pay to their creditors, and for scorning honest labour saying *"None need to work who love to pray"*. Again they are despised as those

"Who from Moorfields to Tottenham-Court
In furious fits of zeal resort,
Praise what they do not understand,
Turn up the eye, stretch out the hand,
Melt into tears, whilst — blows
The twang of nonsense through his nose,
Or — deals in speculation,
Or — hums his congregation,
Or — talks with the Lord of Hosts,
— with pillars and with posts; etc. etc." [1])

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 84 ff.

What preachers were intended by the blanks it is now impossible to ascertain at this distance of time, as not even the initial letters of the names are indicated. As the poet himself confesses, this poem is a rambling one, a hodgepodge of things *"jumbled up in one large dish"*, without connexion and without plan.

In 1761 this same poet wrote an "Epistle to David Garrick Esq." entitled "The Cobbler of Tessington's Letter".[1]) This is another satire, this time on a Methodist parson who had severely criticised Foote and his "Minor" and who preached

"like an arrant fury.
'Gainst all your show folks about Drury.
Says actors all are hellish imps,
And managers the devil's pimps."

But the parson

"Knows not what he sets about,
Puts on his surplice inside out,
Or leaves a collect in the lurch"...

The author professes to like a good story or song

"But always feels most grievous qualms,
From Wesley's hymns, or Wisdom's psalms."

The preachers, he asserts, try to turn old religion topsy-turvy, but he himself refuses to give up his pleasures for any man. Poor fellow! His pleasures did not last very long. His debts brought him to the Fleet where he died at the age of thirty-one, a few weeks after having heard of the death of his friend Charles Churchill which took place at Boulogne.

Evan Lloyd (1734—1766), the author of "The Powers of the Pen", the "Curate", and an "Epistle to David

[1]) Cf. Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 123 f.

Garrick"[1]) also wrote a poem entitled "The Methodist", which was criticised in the "Monthly Review" for October 1766[2]). It is only from this periodical and from Tyerman[3]) that we have been able to make the acquaintance of this poem.

Magus, the sorcerer of Tottenham Court (of course Mr. Whitefield is meant) is represented as having, Faust-like, made a contract with Satan, and in the extract quoted by the reviewer we have the manner in which the former kept his oath of allegiance to the latter. *"Right faithfully his oath he kept"*, for he did his best to make it appear that man has no love to expect from God, but that he has every reason only to fear his Creator:

> *"He knows his Master's realm so well,*
> *His sermons are a Map of Hell.*
> *An Ollio made of Conflagration,*
> *Of Gulphs of Brimstone, and Damnation,*
> *External Torments, Furnace, Worm* etc. etc."

One is only surprised that the "Monthly Review" would condescend to quote so much of this obscenity and filth. While admitting that vice and folly, and especially religious follies, are very suitable objects of satire, the reviewer says that the application requires the most skilful management, but leaves the reader to judge for himself from the extract given as to whether the poet is qualified for such an undertaking. We think decidedly not. He himself admits in a note that Mr. Lloyd has dwelt much on a natural bodily defect and been very severe on Mr. Whitefield for the unpardonable crime of squinting.

Mr. Tyerman[4]) also quotes two extracts, one in which Wesley is described and the other in which that worthy man's itinerants afford the author wondrous amusement.

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[1]) Cf. Stephen's National Biography, vol. 33, Art.: Evan Lloyd.
[2]) Cf. Art. 27, p. 319.
[3]) Cf. vol. II, p. 592.
[4]) Cf. vol. II, p. 591.

Thomas Chatterton (1752—1770), being asked what he intended to do on his arrival in London, whither he was going to seek his fortune, gave the remarkable answer: — "*My first attempt shall be in the literary way; the promises I have received are sufficient to dispel doubt; but should I, contrary to my expectation, find myself deceived, I will, in that case, turn Methodist preacher. Credulity is as potent a deity as ever: and a new sect may easily be devised. But if that too should fail me, my last and final resource is a pistol.*"[1]) This expression of his idea as to the position of a Methodist preacher will prepare us for the way in which he treats that body in his poetry.

We have a poem called "Apostate Will".[2]) written by this prodigy in the poetical world when he was only eleven years and five months old.[3]) It seems to have been aimed at somebody who had formerly been a methodist and was afterwards promoted in the Established Church. The verses are in the usual metre of octosyllabic rhyming couplets. The subject of them was a preacher of the Wesleyan body only as long as he could get money, but when a better position was offered him in the Church of England, he left the Methodists and accepted the more lucrative post. It is, however, one of the principal things that redound to the honour of the earlier Methodist preachers, including their leaders, that they had to be content with £20 a year, which is certainly a very modest sum, when we consider all that was required of them, and especially as compared with Goldsmith's model parson in the "Deserted Village", who "was passing rich on £40 a year". Strangely enough Chatterton excludes the Methodists from being protestants (v. 42).

In Chatterton's "Journal" for Saturday Sept. 30th 1769 are some verses in which a squire disputes with his

[1]) Cf. Complete Edition of the Poets of Great Britain. Lond. and Edin. 1795. vol. XI. p. 303 f.: also Works of Chatterton. Cambridge 1842. 2 vols; vol. II. p. 442.

[2]) Works vol. II. p. 326 ff.

[3]) Works vol. I. Life: pp. XXXI and XXXV; vol. II. p. 326 ff.

rector about the condition of the church. The latter gets enraged at the reproaches of the former and exclaims: —

"'Invidious slanderer!' quoth the priest,
'O may I never scent a feast,
If thy curst conscience is as pure
As underlings in Whitfield's cure etc." [1])

These verses are followed by a poem in Hudibrastics without title, which in its turn is succeeded by an ode, [2]) also without title. It is a long recitative poem, the sole object of which is to represent what the poet considers to be the whining piety of the Methodists generally and the cant, vulgarity, and interestedness of Whitefield in particular. The recitative parts and the airs are interchanged alternately. The former describes the preacher from the standpoint of a listener and observer, while the latter are supposed to be Whitefield's own words.

The poem begins by representing Whitefield

"jumping
"Tearing, sweating, bawling, thumping"

and crying out to the people to repent or die damned. He then gets quite enraged because the people do not give enough and threatens to "forswear his trade":

"Now he raves like brindled cat,
Now 'tis thunder,
Rowling,
Growling,
Rumbling,
Grumbling. [3])

[1]) Works vol. II. p. 558.
[2]) Works vol. II. p. 563 ff.
[3]) These lines occur again in "The Revenge", cf. Works Vol. II. p. 495.

Noise and nonsense, jest and blunder:
Now he chats of this and that,
No more the soul jobber,
No more the sly robber,
He's now an old woman who talks to her cat."

In the succeeding air the preacher appeals to his beloved congregation and asks if he has not helped them in the hour of tribulation and given them absolution. In return he expects them not to withhold their contributions:

"Give but freely, you've remission
For all sins without condition:
You're my debtors, pay me, pay me!"

Then he begins to wander, gets lost, chatters, and sputters gibberish about Adam's fall. This is followed by groans, a sharp howl and a song. Then the theme is again changed and he relates a dream, in which he thought his soul had been transformed into a crow, though

"(The preacher or metre has surely mistook
For all must confess that a parson's a rook.)"

He flew to Hell's door, where on knocking he was pressed to enter as the company were just taking tea. He entered and was surprised to find that instead of sulphur, fire, and stink, it was a masquerade. Haymarket Theatre seemed to have been transplanted there and the devil-actors were giving "Othello" without having to black themselves! He was told that he was also expected to learn his part and join the actors. A lawyer demanded a fee to plead his right to drink tea, but he replied that he preferred brandy for it *"rais'd the spirits up"*. He then awoke and found all well. The concluding recitative contains a further description of his manner of preaching and a special reference to his defective organs of sight:

"Reason tortur'd, scripture twisted,
Into every form of fancy;
Forms which never yet existed,
And but his oblique optics can see."

The concluding cry is "*Contribute, contribute*"! Nor is it without its effect:

> "'*Whoever gives, unto the Lord he lends.*'
> *The saint is melted, pays his fee, and wends;*
> *And here the tedious lengthening Journal ends.*"

This description is certainly beyond measure exaggerated and we think the poet right in calling his own production "tedious".

In his poem called "The Defence"[1]), written in heroic couplets and dated Dec. 25th 1769, Chatterton, who was then just entering on his eighteenth year, makes an attempt to defend his own free thoughts on religion, which he styles "*opinion's bastard son*", and says "*As education taught us we're inclin'd*". Reason, "*a thorn in revelation's side*", is his only sure guide. No sect, neither "*the church supreme*" nor "*Whitefield's new elect: No individual can their God define*". After explaining what he does believe, namely, "*I own a God, immortal, boundless, wise*" etc., he continues:

> "*Indulgent Whitefield scruples not to say,*
> *He only can direct to Heaven's high-way,*
> *While bishops with as much vehemence tell,*
> *All sects*[2]) *heterodox are food for Hell*"

and concludes by asserting: —

> "*What I think right I ever will pursue,*
> *And leave you liberty to do so too.*"

In May of the following year he wrote a poem called "The Methodist".[3]) Tom gives advice to his friend Jack who is one of the sect:

> "'*Tis very odd,*
> *These representatives of God,*

[1]) Works vol. II. p. 439 ff.

[2]) *Sorts* is written under *sects*: both in the author's handwriting and uncancelled.

[3]) Works vol. II. p. 348 f.

In colour, way of life and evil,
Should be so very like the devil."

Jack is represented as being a pronounced hypocrite, *a red hot Methodist; his face was full of puritanic grace,* and it is said of him in conclusion: —

"Jack, or to write more gravely, John,
Thro' hills of Wesley's works had gone.
Could sing one hundred hymns by rote.
Hymns that will sanctify the throte:
But some indeed compos'd so oddly,
You'd swear 'twas bawdy songs made godly."

Finally we have a fragment which still exists in Chatterton's own handwriting. A Church of England priest announces that all servants are free from their labour on the following day, because it is the feast of Epiphany. The connexion with what follows is not very clear. We are told that this announcement is regarded as a jest and that

"In every corner of the room are seen
Round altars covered with eternal green etc.:"

A strange jumble of things are brought before our eyes

"Anti-venereal med'cine check-by-joul
With Whitfield's famous physic for the soul." [1])

On April 14th 1770 Chatterton wrote a last will and testament. He says himself that it was written in the night between eleven and two o'clock and that he was in utmost distress of mind. He seems even then to have entertained thoughts of suicide, but this was written before he went to London. It is only a note, by which the will is prefaced, that is of interest here. In it he speaks of a dispute with Mr. ** concerning the character of David. That gentleman believed that David was a holy man from the strains of piety that breathe through the Psalms. Chatterton, on the other

[1]) Works vol. II. p. 594.

hand, asserted that a great genius can effect anything and speaks of some "foregoing Poems" in which he had tried "to represent an enthusiastic Methodist and intended to impose it upon the infatuated world as a reality". He does not seem to have put his intention into execution, nor is it known what poems he here refers to.[1])

We further learn from a letter to his sister, dated May 30th 1770,[2]) that he was writing "for a whim" in the "Gospel Magazine", of which, he says, he believes "none are sent to Bristol, and that they are hardly worth the carriage, methodistical and unmeaning". Mr. Chalmers says that he was unable to find a magazine of this title earlier than 1774, but that there was one in Chatterton's time called the "Christian Magazine", which may probably be meant.[3]) This seems strange, for in "Lloyd's Evening Post" for March 1st 1771, a long letter appeared from Mr. Wesley in answer to the attacks of the "Gospel Magazine" against his sermon on the death of Mr. Whitefield.[4]) We know too that for many years this Magazine had for its editor the Rev. Augustus Toplady who died in his 38th year on Aug. 11th 1778. Mr. Tyerman says of this last event that "Mr. Wesley lost one of his bitterest opponents, and Calvinism its ablest champion".[5])

Chatterton's position in regard to the Methodists is thus not a very decided one, for though in all the poems quoted he makes these people out to be fanatics and hypocrites, yet from his letters we find that he at all events did not keep clear of them himself and thus showed himself to be inconsistent with his own views. We may, however, assume that though certainly talented in a certain direction, yet he was much too young and had had too little experience in religious matters to be able to form a judgment which could be regarded as an infallible criterion.

[1]) Works vol. II. p. 622.
[2]) Ib. p. 722.
[3]) Chalmers' Engl. Poets vol. XV. p. 374 note.
[4]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 89.
[5]) Ib. p. 266.

Edward Lovibond (d. Aug. 25th 1775), the author of "The Tears of Old May Day" (= July 25th 1754 New Style), written on the reforming of our calendar to the general usage of the rest of Europe, and of which Chalmers gives it as his opinion that the English language cannot boast a finer example of the power of poetry, has left us a poem entitled "To Laura on her receiving a Mysterious Letter from a Methodist Divine".[1]) In this poem the author advocates natural religion and would try to make out that the 'methodist's plan' is not consistent, but admits of a man yielding to and indulging in forbidden pleasures. This charge might have been made to other sects with just as much truthfulness. That there should be one black sheep in a flock is no proof that the rest are black too, and a system cannot be expected to stand or fall with the characters of individual members. There is no date attached to the poem, but it seems very probable that it may refer to Mr. Westley Hall, who married a sister of the Wesleys and who, though at first apparently of a deep religious turn of mind, finally proved a wretched scamp, as we know on John Wesley's own authority from a letter written Dec. 1st 1747,[2]) and also from the "Gentleman's Magazine" for November 1747, where in an article from the Salisbury correspondent we read that "he [i. e. Westley Hall] set out in our stage-coach for London, having first stripped his wife (a virtuous woman, by whom he has had several children) of all her child-bed linnen, and whatever he could readily convert into money, leaving her in the deepest distress". Such an individual case could not, however, be laid to the charge of the whole body of Methodists, especially seeing that the preacher in question had been disowned by them.[3])

As regards the poem itself, a methodist preacher is represented as stealing early from his consort's side in order to write an epistle to a fair one. In it

> *"He raves upon grace, and the union of saints,*
> *Idolatry, rapture and flame."*

[1]) Chalmers' English Poets vol. XVI p. 303 f.
[2]) Tyerman vol. I. p. 561.
[3]) Cf. Gentleman's Magazine, Supplement 1747.

The poet reproaches him as being either a deceiver or himself deceived, and adjures him to analyse better "*the flames of religion and love*". He then addresses the fair one, and advises her to listen to his principles of natural religion which are "*less grave and severe*". God is a wise father and smiles on the innocent pleasures of his creatures, but

> "*By the winds of unreconcil'd principles driven,*
> *Still fluctuates the Methodist's plan;*
> *Now he wishes you chaste for the glory of heaven,*
> *Now frail — for the pleasure of man.*"

It is with feelings of relief that we turn from these shallow mockings to a poet, who, while he awakens our deepest sympathies on account of the mental sufferings it was his lot to pass through, yet in his poems always touches the noblest side of our nature. We mean the poet and philanthropist William Cowper (1731—1800). Dr. Chalmers [1]) tells us that his first volume of poems, which did not appear until the year 1782, when the poet was fifty one years of age, did not meet with the success it merited. Mr. Hayley, Cowper's Biographer, has supposed that he gave offence by his bold eulogy on Whitefield, "whom the dramatic satire of Foote, in his comedy of the 'Minor' had taught the nation to deride as a mischievous fanatic". We think, however, that Chalmers is right in saying in answer to this that the character of Whitefield had long been rescued from the impious buffooneries of Foote and that the public could bear his eulogism with tolerable patience. It is more likely, he continues, that it was the austerities in the poems which rendered them at first unpopular. Many superficial observers and especially the enemies of religion have often tried to prove that Cowper's disease was the direct consequence of his religious views, which were thought to savour too much of Methodism. This theory has been successfully exploded by his faithful biographer Mr. Hayley. As early as 1771 Cowper

[1]) Chalmers' English Poets vol. XVIII. p. 591.

had helped his friend, the Rev. John Newton, in the composition of the "Olney Hymns", but it was not until 1779 that he began to write a sustained work in verse. Cowper's poems breathe so decidedly the spirit of Methodism that he has been claimed as one of the Methodistical Calvinistic Churchmen of the day and as the poet of English Methodism.[1])

Among other poems that were contained in the first volume, published in 1782, are "The Progress of Error", and "Truth", written between December 1780 and March 1781[2]); "Hope", "Charity" and "Conversation" were added while the book was being printed. All these poems include clear and distinct references to the leaders of Methodism or their cause.

"The Progress of Error" contains a satirical description of *"a cassock'd huntsman, and a fiddling priest"*. Cowper's neighbours thought they recognised his models in two clergymen near Olney, but the public was led by the pseudonym "Occiduus" to believe that one of the Wesley's was *"the pastor of renown"*, of whom the poets says: —

> *"When he has pray'd and preach'd the Sabbath down,*
> *With wire and catgut he concludes the day,*
> *Quavering and semiquavering care away."*

Cowper deprecates this way of ending the Sabbath day, however sober and demure the audience may appear. He insists that

> *"Love, joy, and peace, make harmony more meet*
> *For Sabbath evenings, and perhaps as sweet."*

It is an example which may be only too easily imitated or rather abused by *"the sickliest sheep of the flock"*, who when they see *"apostolic gravity"* free to play the fool on Sundays, will go further and play cards, dance and be gay generally.[3]) It is well known that Charles Wesley's sons

[1]) Cf. Stevens' Methodism, vol. II. p. 95 ff.

[2]) Cf. Morley's Sketch, p. 865.

[3]) Cf. The Poetical Works of Cowper. Aldine Edit. London 1865, 3 vols.: vol. I. p. 39 f, vv. 124—151.

were endowed with a great talent for music and that their father allowed them to give Sunday evening concerts. It is equally certain that this passage refers to this custom, especially as it is confirmed by the fact that in a letter to Newton of the 9th Sept. 1781 Cowper alludes pretty distinctly to them.[1])

This is of course no direct attack on Methodism, but only a reproof intended for an individual. At this period of his life Charles Wesley had retired almost if not altogether from the itineracy and his influence on Methodism generally was no longer what it had been.

In "Truth" we read of *"one who wore a coronet and prayed"*.[2]) This is a reference to Lord Dartmouth, the only nobleman who represented Methodism at the court.[3]) It should perhaps be added that Cowper has also immortalised the name of Conyers in this poem. After a comparison of a *"happy cottage-woman"* with Voltaire *"the unhappy bard"*, the poet laments the fact that the wise and rich find it so hard to enter the kingdom of heaven, while the poor gain it so much more easily. He will not however admit that the Creator is governed by caprice in this matter, as some would teach, but he says, *"the silver trumpet's heavenly call Sounds for the poor, but sounds alike for all."* In answer to the question why royalty, nobility, and state do not enter in at the open gate, the poet continues:

"Because ye will not, Conyers would reply"
(v. 358).

A friendship sprang up between Wesley and the Rev. Richard Conyers L. L. D. in the year 1759. Conyers was the vicar of Hemsley and devoted himself to the spiritual and moral improvement of his parishioners. He was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Methodism, but he was so prejudiced by the Calvinists against the Arminians that, when Wesley

[1]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 40 Note.
[2]) Ib. p. 68, vv. 377—380.
[3]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.

visited him a year later he found him cold and distant.[1]) He became the friend and correspondent of Lady Huntingdon and one of her most zealous workers.[2])

In his poem called "Hope" the poet begins by asking the question: "*What is human life?*" and by answering it from the points of view of age and of youth. The remedy is Hope, of which the qualities and power are described, and man without hope is depicted in various classes and professions. Hopes that are not centred in the hallowed ground of Gethsemane, are "*weeds, arrant weeds*" (v. 301).[3]) After introducing several illustrations from life the poet again speaks in his own person and shows that it is only the Christian hope that can give a man real liberty. The poet rejoices that he lives in a land where Christian liberty is preached in such a way that the "*simplest minds can soonest comprehend*" (v. 452). He then celebrates the Methodist revival in the following words: —

> "*God gives the word, the preachers throng around,*
> *Live from his lips, and spread the glorious sound:*
> *That sound bespeaks Salvation on her way,*
> *The trumpet of a life-restoring day*"
>
> (v. 453 ff.).

Further on he introduces a eulogy on Mr. Whitefield who had been dead more than ten years. He does not mention him by his real name, but says: —

> "*Leuconomus (beneath well-sounding Greek*
> *I slur a name a poet must not speak)*
> *Stood pilloried on Infamy's high stage*"
>
> (v. 554 ff.).

The poet describes how the preacher had to suffer from slander and malice, and was accused of "*such as Sodom never*

[1]) Tyerman vol. II. pp. 336. 502 f.
[2]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.
[3]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 110.

knew, And Perjury stood up to swear all true" (v. 562 f.). He then summons Truth to perform her office and

> "*Reveal (the man is dead) to wondering eyes*
> *This more than monstre in his proper guise*"
> (v. 573 f.).

Then follows the eulogy "in words that will never die".[1]) in which Whitefield is declared to have "*loved the World that hated him*" (v. 574) and that "*his only answer was a blameless life*" (v. 577). He imitated Paul in his love of Christ:

> "*Like him, cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,*
> *Forsaking country, kindred, friends and ease*"
> (v. 584 f.).

In conclusion the poet exclaims: —

> "*Blush Calumny! and write upon his tomb,*
> *If honest eulogy can spare the room,*
> *Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies*"
> (v. 588 ff.).

This poem further treats of the worldly man who is released from his fetters by Hope and finally closes with a reference to the high aim which a bard ought ever to place before him.

Besides the above mentioned lines on Whitefield our poet gives us a very faithful picture of John Wesley in his poem entitled "Conversation". After presenting to us in very apt and striking language the manifold ways in which conversation is carried on, the poet points out that the conversation of the truly Christian man is the most edifying and ennobling:

> "*A Christian's wit is inoffensive light,*
> *A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight*"
> (v. 599 f.). [2])

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[1]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.
[2]) Aldine Edit. vol. I. p. 166.

Then as an example of such a Christian the poet exclaims, referring, as above mentioned, to Wesley:[1] —

> *"Oh I have seen (nor hope perhaps in vain*
> *Ere life go down, to see such sights again)*
> *A veteran warrior in the Christian field,*
> *Who never saw the sword he could not wield;*
> *Grave without dulness, learned without pride,*
> *Exact, yet not precise, though meek, keen-eyed:*
> *A man that would have foil'd at their own play*
> *A dozen would-be's of the modern day"*
>
> (v. 605 ff.).

The poet further says that though the subject of his verse possessed *"bright wit"*, and was well versed in philosophy and the learning of ancient Greece and Rome, yet *"his chief glory, was the gospel theme"*. Speaking of enthusiasm Cowper grants that *"frantic frenzy"* is dangerous (v. 651 ff.), but like Byrom,[2] he believes that *"Sage observers oft mistake the flame, And give true piety that odious name"*. He also asserts that there are such *"blest inhabitants of Earth"*, who are partakers of a new ethereal birth, and continues to describe their lives as contrasted with the lives of men of the world.

"The Task" was written in the summer of 1783, and in 1784, being published in 1785.

In the "Time-Piece" ("The Task", Book II) is a description of a model preacher *"such as Paul would approve"* (v. 396 ff.).[3] Though it is not expressed in so many words, yet it seems probable that the poet was here again thinking of Wesley or one of his assistants. At the end of his description he exclaims: *"Behold the picture! — Is it like! — Like whom?"* This question is only answered by a sketch of the clerical coxcomb who was to be seen in so many pulpits of the day and who of course, was the very last to answer to the poet's

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[1]) Stevens' Methodism l. c.

[2]) Cf. above p. 41 f.

[3]) Aldine Edit. vol. II. p. 51 ff.

description of the ideal preacher. It may be here noted that in every book of this poem and indeed in all Cowper's longer poems we find the spirit of true religion on almost every page. Even when he has no distinct reference to the Methodists and their evangelical teachings, his sympathy for them and their influence on him are distinctly felt. The quotations we have made are, with the exception of one, all favourable to the cause. They are the breathings of a warm and sincere heart and of a cultivated mind ripened by the experiences of nearly half a century. Such opinions are consequently of more value than those of men who wrote in the heat of youth or were the professed enemies of revealed religion under any circumstances, or who blindly thought they were aiding the work of God in general and the Church of England in particular by hurling their darts of satire and reproach at the poor simple-minded Methodists.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to mention several poems, which though they can hardly claim the right of being included in literature properly so-called, are here referred to, because they are criticised in the "Monthly Review", and of which one at least would appear to have become popular. The first is called "The Mimic: A Poem. By the Author". The reviewer speaks of it[1]) as a bare-faced plagiarism of a poem bearing the same title by the Rev. Mr. Pitt.[2]) The present performance is said to be a compliment to Mr. Foote, the purloiner having added a few "scurvy" lines of his own as well as some pilfered passages from the "Minor".

The next poem of this class appeared in the same year as the first edition of Anstey's "New Bath Guide", namely in 1766. The title is: — "The Methodist and Mimick. A Tale in Hudibrastic Verse by Peter Paragraph

[1]) Monthly Review, May 1761. Art. XXXIII. p. 356.
[2]) Said to be found in Dodsley's Miscellanies vol. III.

inscribed to Sam[l] Foote Esq." The latter, says Mr. Tyerman [1]) "doubtless nursed the bantling with natural affection". The "Tale" represents a Methodist trying to persuade the Mimick to be one of them. The latter, however, instead of showing himself inclined to join them, only mocks and raves at them in language which is so ribald and obscene, that it is difficult to chose any extract which may be called mild:

"But, if each Church of England's brother
Would wisely stick by one another,
And call a General Convocation
Of all true Churchmen in the nation,
And on this article insist,
That none should deal with Methodist,
They'd soon leave Squintum in the lurch
And glide like snakes again to Church.
Till then let all like me determine
To fly the infectious canting vermin."

In the "Monthly Review" for November 1767 [2]) a severe criticism is passed on an anonymous poem entitled "Methodism Triumphant, or the decisive Battle between the Old Serpent and the Modern Saint". It consists of no less than five books and is written in the epic verse of Milton. The review says that this choice of metre shows a want of judgment, "for the absurd doctrines and extravagances of fanaticism would be more effectually ridiculed in the farcical strain of Butler". Mr. Tyerman [3]) quoting Nichol's "Literary Anecdotes" (vol. II. p. 380) says that it is there stated to be the work of Dr. Nathaniel Lancaster, rector of Stanford Rivers.

Further, we have six disgusting poetical effusions which were all published in the year 1778 by the same anonymous writer. As they can hardly be said to have any claims to

[1]) Vol. II. p. 59.
[2]) Art. XXVI. p. 394 f.
[3]) Vol. II. p. 616.

literary merit, and are one and all accompanied by frontispieces that are the most indecent libels on Mr. Wesley, we prefer to content ourselves with mentioning them and referring to Mr. Tyerman's account of them.[1])

Speaking of pictures it should not be forgotten that William Hogarth (1697—1764), the celebrated engraver and painter, among his many works that were intended as satires on the follies and immoralities of the day, also produced a satirical print against the Methodists. The picture is entitled: — "Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism". The interior of a church is represented with a ranting preacher in the pulpit and a congregation consisting of the most varied types of listeners in the pews. Symbols of enthusiasm and fanaticism are to be seen in almost every object depicted. A thermometer, fixed on a human heart and placed upright on a volume of Wesley's Sermons and Glanville's Book of Witches, indicates that lukewarmness is the source of all the excess represented in the picture. On the top of the thermometer are the Cock Lane Ghost and the Drummer of Tedworth. In a basket that stands upon King James's "Treatise on Demonology" is a volume of Mr. Whitefield's Journals. The preacher is of course the most conspicuous object of all. He has got so excited in the heat of his discourse that the sounding-board over his head has cracked, while his gown has flown open and displays a harlequin's jacket. His wig has fallen off, thus revealing his tonsure and discovering him to be a jesuit in disguise. A figure, like a cherub, wearing a post-boy's cap, is flying towards the preacher, bearing a letter addressed to "Saint Money-trap", thus indicating that the main object the minister has in view is his own self-interest. In the back-ground is a lay-preacher pointing a poor wretch, whose hair stands on end, to a globe suspended from the ceiling and which is a symbol of hell. Looking in at the window

[1]) Vol. III. p. 262 ff. See also Monthly Review 1778 Jan. Art. 14. p. 73; April. Art. 11. p. 305; Aug. Arts. 23. 24. 25. p. 156 f. Also 1779 June Art. 29. p. 478, and below p. 105 f.

is a Turk, who, as he gazes at the scene in amazement, exclaims: "If this be Christianity, Great Prophet, I thank thee that I am a Mahommedan!" This is the picture which Lord Orford [1]) considered to be the best of Hogarth's productions, but we must agree with Dr. Paley that fanatics of the nature here depicted are subjects rather of pity than of biting satire. The editor is right in thinking that "the artist has here overstepped the modesty of nature". [2])

We now come to speak of a work which was the composition of a second-rate poet, who, however, is included in Johnson's "Lives", as also in Campbell's "Selections from the Poets". This is "The New Bath Guide" by Christopher Anstey (1724—1805) which was first published in 1766 [3]) and had passed through eleven editions in 1779, a sufficient proof of its popularity at the time. In 1790 we find it was imitated by someone who took the *nom de plume* of Antony Pasquin and entitled his poem "A Postscript to the New Bath Guide". [4]) The "Guide" is a satirical sketch in verse of the life at Bath and consists of a collection of letters supposed to be written by a family during their residence at this fashionable watering-place of the period. The family consists of a brother (Simkin) who writes most of the letters to his mother, of his sister Prudence, on account of whose health they have come to Bath, a friend (Jenny) and Tabby Runt, their maid. In anapaestic rhythms we have a very lively account of the way in which the visitors spent their days, of the pump-room, the bathing, the concerts, doctors' consultations, gaming, public breakfasts, and among other subjects several references are made to the Methodists and Moravians, who are, of course, ridiculed just as are the physicians who make so much fuss and do nothing but help

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[1]) Cf. Horace Walpole's Works, vol. III. p. 461 "Anecdotes of Painters".

[2]) For a copy of the print with a full description, cf. Complete Works of William Hogarth, including The Analysis of Beauty etc. In Three Volumes. London 1837.

[3]) Cf. Monthly Review, June 1766, p. 467.

[4]) Cf. Monthly Review, May 1790. Art. XXI. p. 105.

to keep their patients as long as possible. In the same house, in which the family is living, lodges a certain Nicodemus or Roger, who is very kind to Prudence and of whom Simkin says:

"He's a pious good man, and an excellent scholar,
And I think it is certain no harm can befall her;
For Roger is constantly saying his prayers,
Or singing some spiritual hymn on the stairs...
Our Prudence declares he's an excellent preacher,
And by night and by day is so good as to teach her." [1])

In the form of a poem in trochaic tetrameters, Miss Prudence writes to a friend and tells her that she has been elected to Methodism by a vision. All her friends, she continues, are *"embarking for the fiery gulph of hell"*. She alone is blessed:

"For I dream'd an apparition
Came like Roger from above
Saying, By divine commission
I must fill you full of love." [2])

The letter continues in so obscene a strain that the editor might well break off suddenly and try to excuse himself by saying that he cannot give the sequel, but refers the reader to the Bishop of Exeter's Book, entitled "The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared",[3]) where, he says, many instances are to be found (particularly of young people) who have been elected in the manner above described.

In the brother's next letter he says: —

"Religion design'd to relieve all our care,
Has brought my poor sister to grief and despair;" [4])

and concludes by expressing his opinion that the best thing for them will be to return home.

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[1]) Letter II.
[2]) Letter XIV.
[3]) Publ. 1754; cf. above p. 39.
[4]) Letter XV.

In the second edition, the author added an epilogue in which he represents *"a good lady of delicate taste"* buying his 'Guide' and saying to the bookseller: —

"Fie! Mr. Bookseller, bring me some paste:
I'll close up this leaf, or my daughter will skim
The cream of that vile methodistical hymn."

The only hymn in the book is a Moravian hymn on the death of an infant. The Guide who is in conversation with this and other ladies answers for himself and says: —

"Indeed, my good ladies, religion and virtue
Are things that I never design'd any hurt to."

The author then adds a letter from Jenny's friend, Lady Elizabeth, and expresses the hope that this ode, which is the form the letter assumes, will atone for past offences. Lady Elizabeth tells how she has to nurse her father, and quotes her mother's dying prayer, in which she is exhorted to be good and religious, but to beware of all extremes. The Guide then concludes the Epilogue by saying: —

"Come on, then, ye Muses, I'll laugh down my day,
In spite of them all will I carol my lay;
But perish my voice, and untun'd be my lyre,
If my verse one indelicate thought shall inspire."

Mr. Chalmers says that this poem may still be read with pleasure, but he adds that it is difficult at the present day to understand how some of its grossnesses could have been tolerated. "The son of a doctor of divinity was no doubt held to do good service, by writing indecent verses against those who sought, however mistaken they might appear in some points, to arouse men from the prevailing indifference to all questions touching the spiritual side of their nature. The last editor of the 'New Bath Guide', Mr. Britton by name, omitted some of the more offensive passages, but it is difficult to purify what is radically corrupt." This is the best comment we can give on this poem which carries its

own condemnation about with it.[1]) A monument has been erected to the author in the Poet's Corner. but, what his merits were, does not appear. This performance, one would have thought, had been alone sufficient to have precluded such an honour.

George Crabbe (1754—1832). the poet who described the poor. among whom he had long lived, to the rich, and whose "Tales" became so popular, was only a lad of nine when John Byrom died. They were men of very different characters. Byrom's poetry is strongly influenced by mysticism, Crabbe's is realistic. We know that once, at least, the latter heard Wesley preach, and that when the apostle of Methodism was eighty-seven years of age. This was on the 15th Oct. 1790 some five months before Wesley's death, at Lowestoft. We are told that Crabbe "was greatly struck with the reverend appearance of the aged preacher, with his cheerful air, and the beautiful cadence to the lines he quoted [referring to some well known lines from Anacreon on growing old, which Wesley had cited with an application of his own]. and after the service was introduced to him and received with benevolent politeness."[2]) Crabbe was one of the last of those poets who made use exclusively of the heroic couplet before it was supplanted by the freer measures of Coleridge, Scott. Southey and Byron. It is in this metre that his "Tales" were composed, in which are the following references to the Methodist movement.

In "The Parish Register"[3]) in 3 parts (1. Baptisms, 2. Marriages, 3. Burials) published in 1807, Crabbe describes an old sexton who is lying at death's door and tells his experience of the five rectors whom he had served.

[1]) We give this opinion in spite of the pleasure felt by Horace Walpole when he read it. Cf. Walpole's remarks in his Letters, vol. IV. p. 504 f.

[2]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 628 f.

[3]) Crabbe's Works, London 1823, 8 vols.; vol. I p. 36 ff.

Among them was one who came to the church fresh from Cambridge. He was at first modest *"seldom venturing on reproof, But touch'd his neighbours tenderly enough"*. He, however, got into the power of *"a clamorous sect"*, to whose censures and flatteries he yielded, till at last he developed all the attributes of an enthusiastic preacher. The consequence was *"He here conviction, there confusion wrought"*, but became an early prey to disease and death. In his last illness he lamented the wicked pride of worldly works in spite of all saving faith. In his mental and spiritual distress he consulted the old sexton who comforted him by telling him he believed he was safe.

In "Sir Eustace Grey",[1]) according to the author's own preface, we have "an attempt to describe the wanderings of a mind first irritated by the consequences of error and misfortune, and afterwards soothed by a species of enthusiastic conversion, still keeping him insane". Sir Eustace had passed a happy youth, was wealthy, had married well, and enjoyed every earthly blessing, until his faithless friend seduced his wife, which drove Sir Eustace to slay the deceiver. His wife then pined, *"she died, she loath'd to live"*: his children also drooped and died. Sir Eustace is then attacked by madness, but soothed by conversion. In a note[2]) Crabbe admits that the change from restlessness to repose in the mind of Sir Eustace is wrought by a methodistic call. A sober and rational conversion, he says, could not have happened while the disorder of the brain continued.

In the year 1810 Crabbe published "The Borough".[3]) in 21 Letters. Although this work, as well as those already mentioned, strictly belongs to the present century, yet it must be included here, as also his later works, in order to obtain a complete survey of the poet's views on the subject in question.

In the preface (p. XXIII ff.) the author gives us a succinct explanation of the purpose of this poem. He here

[1]) Works vol. I. p. 229 ff.
[2]) Ib. p. 239.
[3]) Ib. vol. II and vol. III.

calls attention to the two great divisions of the Methodist body, namely, the Calvinistic and Arminian Methodists. The latter, he says, were still considered as one body, but the Calvinistic societies were to be looked upon rather as separate and independent congregations, and it is to one of these that he more particularly alludes. At the same time he expressly remarks that he must entreat not to be considered as one who takes upon himself to censure the religious opinions of any society or individual. It is the *spirit* of the enthusiast and bigot, not his opinion, manners or creed that have engaged his attention. As his sources of information on their tenets he refers to the journals of the first Methodists, or rather to the extracts quoted from them by their opposers (cf. "Methodists and Papists Compared; Treatise on Grace by Bishop Warburton"). Among their tenets he seems to regard as the most dangerous, are their offensive familiarity with the deity, their belief in miracles wrought at their request and for their convenience, and their wretched jargon, composed of scriptural language, debased by vulgar expressions. We learn further that the poet not only refers most particularly to the Calvinistic Methodists, but also to a sect, 'a church' of this body, and especially to its founder, a man who seems to have been a very popular preacher at the time, whose name is not communicated to us, but who is said to have been the author of fourscore pamphlets with the strangest titles, such as "Satan's Lawsuit", "Way and Fare for Wayfaring Men", "The Naked Bow of God" etc.

Of the 21 letters in heroic couplets that make up the poem, the following are some of the principal titles: The Church, The Vicar etc., Sects and Professions in Religion, Elections Professions, Inns, the Poor, etc. etc.

In the letter on "Sects and Professions"[1]) we learn that all manner of sects are tolerated in the Borough, and are *'as frequent as fashions'*. The people always run after those who stir up their feelings and set their hearts in a glow, and none prize the cool and prudent teacher.

[1]) Works vol. II. Letter IV. p. 51 ff.

The poet mentions and describes the effect of the zeal of a number of sects, as of Deists, of Church Reformers, of the Church of Rome, of Baptists and of Swedenborgians. Finally he comes to speak of the Methodists, who, he says, are fierce and strong, though long divided into hostile parties, namely, the Calvinists and Arminians, Wesley and Whitefield having been long before called away by death from their positions as leaders. Now they have various leaders with new divisions. One of the preachers is described in very drastic and realistic language as follows:

"Borne up and swell'd by tabernacle-gas,
Much he discourses, and of various points,
All unconnected, void of limbs and joints;
He rails, persuades, explains, and moves the will,
By fierce bold words, and strong mechanic skill." [1])

This preacher compares himself favourably in his own eyes to the churchman who only preaches moralities, but he contends that strife for virtue would be *"proud and vain"*. Grace alone is self-sufficient. He then exclaims:

"Oh! babes and sucklings, dull of heart and slow,
Can Grace be gradual? Can conversion grow?" [2])

This question he answers in the negative by comparing the converted man to him who gains the twenty-thousand prize. In opposition to the priest, who says a man's sins are forgiven him when he repents and relies on mercy, he asseverates:

"It is the call! till that proclaims us free,
In darkness, doubt and bondage we must be." [3])

He continues by giving a succinct account of conversion: — First the sinner hears a cry that tells him he is condemned.

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[1]) l. c. p. 63.
[2]) l. c. p. 65.
[3]) l. c. p. 66.

When in the torments of an awakened conscience and looking for hell, "*this travail, the new birth comes on. And in one instant every pang is gone*". The preacher concludes his harangue by saying that he is meek and modest and not proud like the pope, bishops, deans, and prebendaries, though the great crowds he is able to gather to hear him are proof enough that he has a just claim to be proud. All he has, however, he says, has only been consigned to him and he is "*nought but steward and trustee.*" [1])

The poet then passes on to speak of the doctrines of the Arminians, whose representative in the poem cries:

> "*Seek Grace, for he shall find who seeks.*
> *This is the ancient stock by Wesley led.*
> *They the pure body, he the reverend head:*
> *All innovation they with dread decline,*
> *Their John the elder was the John Divine.*" [2])

They believe firmly in the power of Satan and in their certain victory over him. This Arminian preacher is also represented by the poet as attacking the Church of England and asking to be shown one churchman who will rise and pray "*Through half the night, though labring all the day*". [3]) Their sheep are devoured by Satan while they sleep, but the Methodists drive him from the fold. He then describes the different ways in which a sick sinner is treated by the church-physician and the methodist. The former requires repentance, amendment of life on recovery, readiness to pardon others, belief in what the Lord has done, and thankfulness for forgiveness. The latter asks:

> "*How dropped you first the legal yoke?*
> *What the first word the living Witness spoke?*
> *Perceived you thunders roar and lightnings shine,*
> *And tempests gathering ere the birth divine?* etc." [4])

[1]) l. c. p. 68.
[2]) l. c. p. 68.
[3]) l. c. p. 68.
[4]) l. c. p. 71.

This letter concludes with the application of the minister, who put the question personally as to whether his hearers are deeply touched. He feels that they are not and accuses them of being all asleep, listless and lazy, as if at church. He goes on to lament the good old times when first this mighty work of theirs began.

In the 20th Letter, entitled "The Poor of the Borough — Ellen Orford",[1]) the latter's husband, who was pensive by nature, went to hear those who *"preached of destiny and fate"*. But he did not feel his call, while persuasion, prayer, and reason only darkened his despair. His very nature changed: he reproached his child and cursed his bed. He gave himself up to gloomy thoughts until his son one day found him *"suspended, long bereft of life"*.[2])

The next Letter is a continuation of the same subject, being the history of poor "Abel Keene", a teacher of a school of the lower order.[3]) He obtains a place at the office of a merchant where he is alarmed by the ungodly discourses of the clerks. Unable to give answers, he finally becomes converted to their opinions himself. The remonstrances of his devout sister are in vain and when the merchant dies, Abel loses his position and returns to poverty unpitied. Relief is brought to him, but he falls into a state of melancholy, and, on being found wandering about, gives an account of himself and the revolution in his mind. He goes to a famous soul-doctor, who tries to comfort him by telling him that the fact of his trembling for sin is a sign that he is now *"an object meet for healing grace"*.[4]) But the poor fellow, on asking what he must do, is told, it is not necessary to do anything. *"If thou art call'd, thou wilt the faith receive."* When he says he cannot repent, the reverend gentleman angrily replies: *"If thou art call'd, thou needest nought besides... The call will come — if not, ah! wo for thee!"* The call does not come and he is told to give up repining and die in peace.

[1]) Works vol. III. p. 119 ff.
[2]) l. c. p. 131.
[3]) l. c. p. 139 ff.
[4]) l. c. p. 150.

He asks for comfort, but the hard Calvinist says: *"Raise not thy voice against th'Eternal will, But take thy part with sinners and be still."* [1]) Abel Keene concludes his history by saying:

> *"... I'm full of doubts: — Adieu!*
> *Perhaps his reverence is mistaken too."* [2])

In a note the poet refers to a particular periodical in which this dialogue is pronounced to be a most abominable caricature, if meant to be applied to Calvinists in general, and greatly distorted, if designed for an individual. He again quotes his own preface and defends his position by citing a pamphlet, entitled "A Cordial for a Sin-despairing Soul" the whole tenor of which is to show the uselessness of religious duties and to inculcate that sort of quietism which is alluded to in the above dialogue.

In No. 14 of the "Tales in Verse" (1812), called "The Struggles of Conscience", [3]) we have a young fellow attending the ministrations of a preacher of the elect. But the effect on him was that he always tried to quieten his conscience and passed on from one crime to another until he had to suffer the terrors of it.

In No. 15 of the same "Tales", is the story of "The Squire and the Priest". [4]) The former finds his priest too strict for him, and determines to put a young man, a relation, in his place, one *"who had easy views of life, a friendly patron, and an obliging wife"*. He said he was anxious to assist *"an honest lad, who scorn'd a Methodist"*. The young man had also been warned by his mother not to spoil his talents by mingling with *"canting hypocrites"*. But for all that he strayed to a preacher and received a call which he obeyed. It was at this juncture that the rectory at the Hall was offered him. For some weeks the Squire was not able to hear him preach on account of an attack of gout, but on his recovery

[1]) l. c. p. 151.
[2]) l. c. p. 151.
[3]) Works vol. V. p. 73 ff.
[4]) l. c. p. 97 ff.

he called the young preacher to him and gave him his advice as to what and how it behoved a minister to preach. The young man, however, remained faithful to his conscience and of course offended his uncle. This caused trouble in the parish, which became divided, as it were, into two camps, and this division was a great hindrance in the minister's work.

No. 19 is called "The Convert".[1]) The hero, John Dighton, is an illegitimate child. As a boy he was very wild and up to all kinds of tricks. Falling ill he has to face the fear of death, and is converted. On his recovery he is still under the impressions of his conversion and acts accordingly. But his religion is only founded on his feelings and not on reason. By his friends he is placed in a stationer's shop and encouraged in every possible way. He prospers, marries, and lives happily until he begins to sell doubtful literature. His mind also becomes poisoned by reading this literature himself, and he at last separates himself from his friends and the church. Finally his friends visit him again, but have no comfort for him. He is "*sick of life, and yet has no desire to die*". The poet concludes by lamenting that the poor fellow has been so misled instead of being guided by "*reason in her proper place*", by "*grounds of hope and fear*" and "*by virtue*".

We now proceed to examine "The Tales of the Hall", which were published in 1819. In "Ruth", Book V,[2]) the girl of that name has a child by a sailor who is pressed into the service before they can be married. Her lover dies, and she lives in shame with her fatherless child. A teacher tries to comfort her. He professes to be '*sent*', but she finds out that he is a rogue. Her father insists on her marrying him. She consents to speak with him on the subject and tells her mother afterwards that he is not what he seems: —

> "*He talks of heaven, and let him, if he will.*
> *But he has earthly purpose to fulfil;*"[3])

[1]) l. c. p. 189 ff.
[2]) Works vol. VI. p. 79 ff.
[3]) l. c. p. 93.

And again,

> *"And he, the man, who should have taught the soul,*
> *Wish'd but the body in his base control."* [1])

Her father gives her three days to decide. On the last night she disappears and is afterwards found drowned.

In Book VI [2]) which is a continuation of the adventures of Richard, one of the brothers of the Hall, he tells of his illness in the wars with Spain, of his return, and of his having been nursed in the family of a vicar, whose three daughters are described. Matilda, the sweet enthusiast made a great impression on his mind:

> *"My soul, dear girl! she made her constant care,*
> *But never whisper'd to my heart 'beware'!"* [3])

"The Maid's Story", Book XI, [4]) is the counterpart of "The Old Bachelor", Book X. The old maid tells how she lived with her grandmother until the latter died, after which she lived in retirement with her maid. After her step-father's death, however, she returned to her own mother, who had sought comfort in a new sect. She tried all she could to persuade her daughter to join the sect, too, but in vain, until a young preacher, Frederick by name, gave her *"an electric shock"*: [5])

> *"He had not sought me, the availing call*
> *Demanded all his love, and had it all.*
> *But now, thus met, it must be heaven's design."* [6])

When she knew him better, she saw that he was proud, and was more in love with her on account of her possessions. Whereupon she declared that he was changed, and retired

[1]) l. c. p. 97.
[2]) l. c. p. 103 ff.
[3]) l. c. p. 107.
[4]) Works vol. VII. p. 61 ff.
[5]) l. c. p. 84.
[6]) l. c. p. 85.

with her mother to Sidmouth. She here submits herself to a self-examination. Her mother dies and Frederick returns as a soldier. He says that his happiness is now complete and tells of his flight from superstitious zeal and how that he had been *"by reason and exertion freed"*. The renewal of his offer of love is, however, decisively refused.

The last story in which Crabbe takes occasion to refer to the Methodists is in the last book of these 'Tales', viz. Book XIX., entitled "William Bailey".[1]) William has been forsaken by his lady, or rather, she has been seduced. He tries to console himself by bestowing charity on the poor, instead of taking the seducer's life, as did Sir Eustace Grey. He is reproached even by those to whom he shows kindness. They see that he is not perfectly happy, *"yet he loves to pray"*, and they tell him that he has not yet experienced the self-destroying call. William listens to their exhortations and yields to the comforts of their doctrines. He begins to feel *"the enlivening warmth of methodistic zeal"*, attends their meetings and peruses their books. But for all that, he was not *"within the pale and yoke"*,

> *"But felt the comfort, and began to pray*
> *For such companions on the king's highway."* [2])

"Crabbe was a clergyman of the old-fashioned school, and a good friend to the poor, but he was indifferent to theological speculations, suspicious of excessive zeal, contemptuous towards enthusiasts and heartily opposed to Wesleyans, evangelicals, and other troublesome innovators". This quotation from Leslie Stephen's National Biography (vol. XII. Art. Crabbe) seems to us a little too severe, for, taking him to be 'nature's sternest painter' as Byron called him in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers", he only tried to depict things as they actually were experienced by himself, and though in all the cases quoted of his drawing the sect of the Methodists into his poems, he is evidently opposed to them, yet from

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[1]) Works vol. VIII p. 121 ff.
[2]) l. c. p. 148.

the poems themselves it can hardly be asserted that he was '*contemptuous*' towards enthusiasts. He is too natural and serious to be that. It is perhaps a little unfortunate that he has laid so much stress on the dark side of the movement. He saw the excesses to which some of these people went and attempted to show by his stories the evil results of their fanaticism. He is, however, very careful himself, as has already been pointed out (cf. above p. 71) to tell the reader in his prefaces that though he has a particular church and its minister in view, it is not the opinions, manners or creed of any society or individual, but the spirit of enthusiasts, their folly and their craft that have engaged his attention.

III. In Prose.

a) Methodism in the Magazines, Essays, and Published Letters of the Period.

"The Gentleman's Magazine." 1731—1763.

This monthly was published by a gentleman [1]) who assumed the name of Sylvanus Urban, and was printed at St. John's Gate, London. It was commenced in the year 1731 and discontinued in 1763. Articles on the most varied topics were offered every month for the instruction of its readers. There were papers on religious, social, political and literary questions of the day, extracted from the principal periodicals then in vogue, *e. g.* The London Gazette, The Weekly Miscellany, The Craftsman, Common Sense etc., as well as from the daily papers, The Daily Post, Evening Post, St. James's Evening Post etc. There were also Home and Foreign News, Court News, lists of births, marriages and deaths, statistics as to the mortality of London and finally a register of the books of the month. The illustrations, if not equal to what is expected nowadays from a magazine of the same standing, are interesting on account of the subjects of them. The nature and value of this periodical can be perhaps best understood by comparing it with "The Review of Reviews" of our own day. The tone is patriotic and royal, but otherwise free from party spirit, so that discussions are carried on by representatives

[1]) Edward Cave, the printer. Cf. Johnsoniana, or Supplement to Boswell. London 1836. p. 366.

of both sides of the subject in question, and that with all fairness to both parties. This principle is not lost sight of even in questions of religion, and we shall see that the editor is true to it in all references to the Methodists, although the reader feels that the general tendency of the Magazine is decidedly against that sect. In the monthly register of books, the works of Wesley and Whitefield and their adherents are announced side by side with those of their opponents. The first reference of this nature occurs as early as the year 1733 (cf. Feb. p. 107). This is the mention of "The Oxford Methodist: Being some Account of a Society of young Gentlemen, in that City, so denominated; setting forth their Rise, Views and Designs" etc.

It cannot, however, be included in the range of this dissertation to quote every work that is in any way related to our subject, for to do that would require too much space without increasing the value of the results. Nor is this necessary for obtaining an impartial account of the attitude of this periodical towards the Methodists. Suffice it to say that the majority of Wesley's and Whitefield's works published before 1763 are here announced. We intend, therefore, only to refer to those articles that are reviewed at length or that have an intrinsic value in themselves: and even here we shall restrict ourselves to those subjects which at the time were of general interest or aroused the spirit of discussion, whereby the reviewer is moved to express his own opinion. These we propose to take in chronological order.

November 1737 (p. 697). A few lines are quoted from a poem which was addressed "To the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, on his Design for Georgia. Anonymous. Dated from Gloucester, Nov. 1st".

"Long as Savannah, peaceful stream! shall glide,
Your work renown'd shall be extended wide:
Children as yet unborn shall bless your love,
Who thus, to save them, left your native shore."

February (p. 89 f.) and March (p. 137 f.) 1738. Articles from "Old Whig" on "Enthusiasm", showing the ex-

tremes to which enthusiasts are often carried and how they should be treated. The second article considers especially "Contemplative Enthusiasm", of which the bad effects, are said to be: 1. A Consumate Ignorance. 2. Total Neglect of Virtue. 3. Unsociable Pride and Arrogance.

March 1739 (p. 127 f.). The Methodists are styled "*those bold Enthusiasts*" in an article from "The Weekly Miscellany", in which an account is given of an unhappy gentleman, who lived many years an infidel and died a believer, but not a penitent, convinced of the truth of a future state, and of his own miserable portion in it. The writer (Dr. Lucas) tries to show that there can be no such state on this side of the grave. "Since God does not give us any certain criterions, whereby to judge, we are never warranted to pronounce an absolute sentence. Tho'", says he, speaking of the Methodists, the Wesleys, Whitefield etc., "we have some *Spiritual Empiricks* who think *Despair* a most prominent Symptom of Salvation; and accordingly they send People to *Bedlam*, there to repent when they have lost their senses." He further expresses the wish that he could make "an impression upon those *bold Enthusiasts*, who dare to pass a sentence of damnation with less ceremony than a well-bred person would tell another that his hands were dirty". He is, however, very anxious to clear himself from any attempt "to lessen the Malignancy or Danger of Crying Sins, especially if repeated".

May 1739 (p. 238). This month we have a fulfilment of Mr. Urban's promise as expressed in the Dedication to him on his volume for this year. After saying how difficult it was to please everybody the author proceeds:

> *"Is there who controversial Depths would try?*
> *Or to th' amazing Heights of Mystry fly?*
> *Their different Lines, lo! Martin, Walker bring*
> *And Whitefield, Wesley, freely lend their Wing."*

Whitefield, accordingly, is allowed to speak in a long article, called "A Method of Confession drawn up by Mr. Whitefield for the Use of the Women belonging to the Religious Societies. Taken from the Original, under

Mr. Whitefield's own Hand". The questions here proposed are mostly in strict accordance with the wording of scripture. but such questions as: "Are you in Love?" — "Does any court you?" — "How do you like him?" must be allowed even by Methodists themselves to be hardly suitable in a class meeting. On the same and following page is a copy of a private conversation of Whitefield's, in which the latter professes to have been very religious, as he thought, but that he was not so until he saw the necessity of the new birth.

There are also articles quoted from the "Weekly Miscellany" for May 5th and 12th. In a very long article the writer is very severe on the Wesleys and Whitefield, comparing them to quacks and mountebanks and calling upon them to leave the Church of England and declare themselves openly as Dissenters, by putting themselves under the protection of the Act of Toleration. They are "bold Movers of Sedition, and Ringleaders of ye Rabble ... They imagine", he says further, "that vast Concourse of *Hearers* are all *Admirers*, whereas most of them would as eagerly attend any other Monster, equally as strange as that of a *Clergyman* preaching in a *Gown* and *Cassock* on a Common" (p. 239 f., cf. also p. 162).

In the same month is an article (p. 255 ff.) from "Common Sense" for April 19th, entitled "Of the pernicious Nature and Tendency of Methodism".[1]) An Enthusiast, it is asserted, is a more formidable enemy to the Church than a libertine, for there is always hope of the latter being reformed. The writer then proceeds to describe a visit to a young gentleman of liberal education, who, he found, had become morose and reserved towards him. He soon learned that he had fallen under the influence of the Methodists and particularly that of a gentleman whom he had taken for his confident. He laments any system that could have such results and proceeds to show the bad effects it may have upon civil society. Here he lets his indignation carry him to extremes when he uses

[1]) Cf. also "Common Sense" June 30th 1739, and below p. 86.

the words of the author of "The Sentiments of a Church of England Man". "*I think*", he quotes, "*it is clear that any great separation from the Establish'd Church, tho' to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occasion of endangering the Publick Peace, because it will compose a Body always in Reserve, prepared to follow any discontented Heads, upon the plausible Pretexts of advancing true Religion and opposing Error, Superstition or Idolatry.*"

He further pretends to be afraid that by preaching to the Colliers of Kingswood, Mr. Whitefield will be the cause of a prodigious rise in the price of coals about the City of Bristol, and asserts that the same gentleman ought not to be allowed to return to Georgia, "because it is of the utmost Importance, to the happy Settlement of a new Colony, that the People of it should be instill'd with an early Love of Labour and Industry, which we may be certain can never be well supported by the pious Discipline of a Methodist".

The last sad consequence arising from the odd notions of the Methodists he believes to be "the unavoidable Ruin and Loss to the Publick, of as many young People of a Liberal Education as shall unhappily fall into their hands", for "slaves to Principles in Religion will carry along with them the Principles of Civil Slavery".[1] It is hardly necessary to add that this writer's fears were altogether groundless as regards the great majority of Methodists. He himself might justly be accused of the same slavishness to principles in religion which he with such boldness chooses to lay at the door of his opponents.

June 1739 (p. 288 ff.). Extracts from Dr. Joseph Trapp's Sermons on Eccles. VII. 16., entitled "The Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being *righteous overmuch*".[2] The learned doctor accuses the Methodists of being righteous overmuch, and while allowing that "the other extreme is indeed so far more *pernicious*, as it is more common, this is *pernicious*

[1]) Cf. extract from "Common Sense" June 30th 1739. Quoted below p. 86.

[2]) Cf. Wesley's Journals vol. I. July 1st. 1739.

too, and, because not so much observed, is carefully to be guarded against".

In the same month is an extract from a pamphlet, entitled "The Conduct and Doctrine of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield vindicated from the Aspersions and malicious Invectives of his Enemies" (p. 292). The writer says that God raises up special men for special work, and asks where a man of better life and conversation can be found than Mr. Whitefield who has done more towards reforming the people wherever he has gone than perhaps half the clergy of the kingdom have been able to effect in ten times the number of years.

This number further contains Whitefield's answers to the Rev. Mr. T—ck—r with a reply from the latter (p. 292 ff.). These are followed by a poem "On Whitefield's Preaching" (p. 323 f.) and a passage from Whitefield's Journal for Sunday April 29th 1739 concerning Dr. Trapp (p. 329 f.). As regards the poem, it is signed by R. T. and written in heroic couplets. First the Arian preacher is described and then Whitefield is mentioned by name. The palm is given to the latter, though the worldly wise cry:

"'*What monstrous doctrines!*' ...
No words for such a preacher are too bad;
Enthusiast, babbler, and a fool run mad" (p. 323).

The poor in spirit, however, feel their bondage and "*for redemption cry*".

This article is concluded in the July number (p. 358) where Whitefield is spoken of as "a Gentleman, who, by his Enemies, has been held out to the World in a very different light; whose Good has been Evil spoken of, and himself made the Mockery of licentious Tongues".

In the passage quoted from Whitefield's Journal, he writes that he had heard Dr. Trapp at Christ Church preach vehemently against him and his friends upon being righteous overmuch. "God gave me great Serenity of Mind," he continues, "but alas! the Preacher was not so calm as I

wish'd him. His sermon was founded upon wrong suppositions (the necessary Consequence of hearing with other Men's Ears), not to say there were many direct Untruths in it."

July 1739 (p. 358). Wesley is charged with the gross contradiction of asserting in the preface to his Hymns that Faith alone without good works is the only condition of our acceptance with God, and again of saying the opposite in a sermon on Ephes. II. 8., written and published in 1738. The critic thinks it would be better for Mr. Wesley to cease charging the clergy with omitting to preach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Religion until he has reconciled this contradiction.

"Common Sense" June 30th is again quoted in order to show the impartiality of that periodical in admitting an epistle (signed R. S.) in favour of the Methodists, by way of answer to one inserted May 19th (signed P. Q.).[1]) R. S., while allowing the pernicious tendency of Enthusiasm, asserts that it cannot be suppressed by force without invading religious liberty. It would, indeed, he says, perhaps, be of advantage to the people if all were Methodists, for the latter exclaim against slavish principles and other ecclesiastical impositions. He concludes by saying that P. Q.'s principles as regards separation from the Established Church though to a new one which is more pure and perfect, "are slavish, and carry along with them the Principles of Civil Slavery, for by the same Rule that People must submit to a corrupt Church, they must submit to a corrupt Government" (p. 362).

In the same month are a few verses written anonymously in heroic couplets. They describe the Methodists as a people ruled by the *"Blest Spirit"*, as taming their bodies with abstinence, and as depending chiefly on prayer. Their inward and outward life is depicted in very moderate language and altogether in their favour (p. 377).

September 1739 (p. 480ff.). An article taken from "The Craftsman" for Sept. 8th No. 687 proposes the "Scheme of a

[1]) Cf. above p. 83f..

new Court of Judicature, in which Methodists are to preside". This is a satire on the corruption of the government officials and on their high salaries for so little work. The number of the new court was to be limited to twenty-four, with an Archon at the head of them; the first Archon to be "the most excellent and industrious Mr. Whitefield, or in his absence the ingenious Mr. Westley". The writer further pretends to prove that his proposed Court of Methodists would not cost half as much as the salary of one single Commissioner of Excise.

November 1740 (p. 568). A Poem, entitled "Two Common Characters by Anonymous". It contains seven verses of four lines alternately rhyming. The subject is obscene and meant to spread the belief that Whitefield's followers were just as likely to indulge their passions as any body else.

January 1741 (p. 26). The reader is this month offered for perusal a long letter which purports to have been written by a Methodist to a Clergyman upon the occasion of a sermon preached by him against Infidelity, in which he urged the great importance of understanding the Holy Scriptures and the weakness of trusting to any trifling or illiterate expounders. From the tone and wretched murdering of the King's English it is obvious that it is only meant as a satire. The annotations added by the contributor are even more indecent than the letter itself. It is carrying impartiality rather too far for such a respectable periodical to allow such obscenities to appear within its covers.

May 1741 (p. 277). Whitefield's Journal for Sunday Oct. 19th 1740 is quoted, in which he says he sees it is his duty to marry and prays God will choose a wife for him. In the number for November 1741 (p. 608) we find the following laconic notice without comment: — Nov. 18. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield — to the Widow James of Abergavenny in Wales, with 10.000 l.

November 1747 (p. 531). We have here a succinct account of the villanous conduct of Mr. Westley Hall which has been

already mentioned in our chapter on "Methodism in Poetry".[1] In the following January (p. 22) a letter appears from a Methodist in which he complains that the Salisbury correspondent had placed the fault of one deluded man to the account of thousands, and expresses his regret that one who from his own confession knows the Methodists so well, should speak of them with such malice. The editor adds by way of note: — "Our impartiality is called upon to insert the above letter. But in our opinion the writer of it should have considered, whether instead of defending the *methodists*, who are not accused, he has not brought a severe charge against the letter-writer, whose motive might not be malice, or *design to injure* his neighbour's reputation, but the discharge of his conscience, to prevent his *neighbours receiving injury*." Though the Salisbury correspondent, it is true, does not actually attack the Methodists as a body, yet his words seem to imply that he intended it to be so understood. Two other letters on the same subject in the Supplement for the year 1747 also took it in this light.

May 1748 (p. 236). Curiously enough Whitefield's death in Georgia is announced, which of course had to be contradicted in the next number. The reverend gentleman lived another twenty-two years!

November 1750 (p. 503). Specimens are given of Moravian Divine Poetry with a note from the editor to the effect that these hymns were supposed to have been published by Mr. Wesley, whose people were very industrious in dispersing them in order to shew how vastly inferior they were to Mr. Wesley's compositions for psalmody, "which indeed shew a poetical genius".

March 1751 (p. 115). In this month is begun a discussion which is continued and prolonged in the months of April (p. 152), May (p. 202f.), June (p. 274), July (p. 304), September (p. 400), and October (p. 446). Whitefield is accused of giving a shocking account of human nature by asserting that "man by nature is *half-brute and half-devil*". The opponents used as

[1] Cf. above p. 56.

the principal argument the goodness of God and appealed especially to the following passages of scripture, Acts XVII. 29, Matt. XVIII. 4 and Romans II. 14. 15. In the defence it was represented by Whitefield's vindicator that the former had never stigmatized human nature but as degraded by corrupt propensities, principles and practice.

March 1756 (p. 103). A letter appears from Wesley on the truthfulness of the account given of the fall of Whiston Cliff near Black Hambleton, in Yorkshire.[1]) In answer to the wish expressed by the editor for further confirmation two articles appeared in the months of April and June by John Langhorne, the translator of some of "Plutarch's Lives".

March 1760 (p. 151). Upwards of £400 were collected at Whitefield's chapel and tabernacle for the relief of the distressed protestants in and about Custrin in the New Marche of Brandenburgh.

July 1760 (p. 325 f.). "An Account of the Minor, a new Comedy of three acts by Mr. Foote".[2]) In commenting on this farce the editor says that the principal object of it is the *Manners*. "It is, however," he continues, "by no means deficient in fable and incident. As it is by the author adapted to his own peculiar abilities, it is in many respects different from other productions of the same kind and is a very spirited and useful satire, very properly directed." This article is followed in November (p. 502f.) by some extracts from "Christian and Critical Remarks on a Droll or Interlude, called the Minor", and by Foote's answer. The latter asserts that his piece is a comedy and not a droll or interlude, and hopes that the characters are not strained above the modesty of nature nor their employment unsuitable to their rank, or inconsistent with their situation. He pretends to answer all the objections that had been made by a follower of Whitefield. These answers are sometimes very specious,

[1]) Cf. also Tyerman vol. II. p. 212f. and Wesley's Journals vol. II p. 331 ff.

[2]) Cf. above p. 19 ff.

but generally superficial, while it goes without saying that they were regardless of all reverence.

February 1761 (p. 92). In the "Historical Chronicle" of the Magazine for this month we have another statement as to collections at Whitefield's tabernacle. This time, upwards of £550 were taken for the sufferers by the fire at Boston, in New England, and the plundered protestants in the New Marche of Brandenburgh.

May 1761 (p. 204). A long discussion which is carried on through the four following months is here commenced on Mr. Hervey's doctrine of imputed righteousness. There is a great deal of bickering about words and much bitterness of feeling. Instead of keeping to the points in question the arguments get very prolix.

December 1761 (p. 601). In the "Historical Chronicle" we read that £300 were paid by Whitefield into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, His Majesty's German chaplain, being the contribution of the Welsh Methodists, towards relieving the distresses of the Prussians in Germany.

January 1762 (p. 46). The Announcement of the death of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's wife.

The last reference to the Methodists, apart from the lists of books, is to be found in the month of June 1764 (p. 278 f.) This is in a description of Liverpool in which town it is said the Quakers had a meeting-house, as also the Methodists, "so that any person may suit his religion to his fancy".

If we ask ourselves what the result of this survey is, we must conclude, first, that this magazine assumed an attitude of fairness and impartiality towards the Methodists by admitting articles from their own party as well as from that of the enemy. Every opportunity was allowed them to defend their doctrines and their characters. Mr. Urban publishes articles and verses that are in favour of this sect though in no way polemical. In support of this statement we need only refer to the verses on Whitefield (Nov. 1737), the poem on his preaching (June 1739), the extract from his Journal (June 1739), the verses on the Methodists (July 1739), the

article from "Common Sense" (July 1739), the defence of the Methodists in the affair at Salisbury (Nov. 1747), and the vindication of Whitefield in the discussion on the Depravity of Man (March etc. 1751).

Secondly, we see that when the reviewer thinks the Methodists are in the right or sees anything in their work that he can recommend, he is not slow to express his approval. On the other hand again, he does not hesitate to condemn the false arguments or unjustifiable zeal of the advocates of the opposite opinions. The following references may serve as a corroboration of this: — The reviewer's praise of Wesley's Hymns (Jan. 1750) especially as compared with those of the Moravians, Wesley's account (March 1756) of the fall of Whiston Cliff, and the announcement of the collections made by the Methodists for their distressed fellow-men in Germany and America (March 1760, Feb. 1761, Dec. 1761). We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the proportion of articles quoted in this magazine with a view to damage the good reputation of the Methodists as a body far exceeds those cited in their favour.

"The Monthly Review. A Periodical Work giving an Account, with proper Abstracts of, and Extracts from the New Books, Pamphlets etc. as they come out."

This is the title of the next magazine we propose to consider from the point of view of Methodism. The first volume appeared in the month of May 1749. That the undertaking was prosperous is shown by the fact that it continued to be published in the original form with two and three volumes a year up to 1790, when a new series was commenced which appeared up to the year 1836, when it was again republished in a new form. The plan of this periodical is different from that of the "Gentleman's Magazine", being strictly a literary paper; the print, moreover, is much larger and the paper better, so that even at the time of publication the simple effort of

reading must have been attended with a higher degree of pleasure than that of the former. A very considerable part of it is devoted to religious controversies and reviews of theological works, and among others a very fair share, in fact a great deal more than in the Gentleman's Magazine, to those of the Methodists. In the following pages we shall try by suitable references and quotations to show the attitude assumed by it towards the Methodists and their leaders.

August 1749 p. 280 ff. The first reference is to be found in the review of a work which was directed especially against the Methodists and which gained a considerable reputation in its day. This was "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared". [1]) The first part of this work together with a reply from Whitefield had already been published before the first number of the Review. Then a second part, with a preface to Whitefield, was published and it is this part which is here reviewed most especially. The author, though allowing the need of a reformation, does not believe it can be accomplished either by an enthusiastic or fanatical head. He calls the Methodist preachers "the most wild and extravagant, the most ridiculous, strolling, fanatical, delirious, and mischievous of all the saints of the Romish communion". He further charges the Methodists with being hypocrites, with traducing the clergy, with being attended by a sturdy set of followers as their guards, with constantly producing something novel or uncommon to prevent the itch from going off, and with ascribing their zeal to the extraordinary interposition of heaven setting its seal to their mission. Yet he owns, that for want of leisure, or inclination, he has never seen several of their works, and has relied chiefly on their "Journals". Whitefield, in his answer, defends himself from the several charges, but confesses that he had said several unguarded things about Archbishop Tillotson and had "unwarily dropped up and down in his journals several things that had given too much occasion for reflection". He then proceeds to give an account of the doctrines held by

[1]) Cf. above pp. 39 and 67.

the Methodists which he plainly says are those of the reformation. The conclusion of this review is given in the following month of September (p. 321 ff.). In the preface to Whitefield, "the comparer", says the reviewer, "answers Mr. Whitefield's objections in order, one after another, with an air of triumph, and indeed in so masterly a manner, as seems to bid fair for putting a speedy end to the controversy". The comparer among other things tries to make much of the divisions and offences among the Methodists themselves. In the second part of his work the author of "The Enthusiasm etc." finds among the papists parallel instances of the charges he brings against the Methodists. In nineteen sections he speaks of their triumph on account of their success in preaching, of their extravagant language, of their pretensions to the special favour of God, and of their mutual jealousies, including those of Mr. Wesley and the Moravians as well as those of Mr. Whitefield.

In conclusion the reviewer, who is himself evidently tired of the whole discussion, writes: — "But what need we quote more? Let us stop here, and ask with the Comparer, is this methodism? 'And reign such mortal feuds in heavenly minds?' But how stands the question among the disciples? Why, one party sticks to Whitefield, whose *another* gospel is better than Wesley's *another gospel*. A second party sticks to Wesley for just as good a reason. Some are so lost to grace, that they *renounce both* of them, leaving methodism totally in the lurch. In general they are all by the ears."

December 1749. Art. L. p. 114. The reviewer in his remarks on "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield occasioned by his Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled 'The Enthusiasm'" etc. shows his desire to be impartial by expressing his opinion that the author is "a bigotted Churchman and is angry with the Methodists not so much for deviating from the principles of the true primitive church of Christ, as for having the assurance to slight the establish'd doctrines of the church of which he is a member". He concludes by saying that he has not room for a particular view of the author's animadversions on Mr. Whitefield.

November 1750. Art. VIII. p. 33. "The Impostor detected: Or the counterfeit Saint turned inside out. Containing a full Discovery of the horrid Blasphemies, and Impieties taught by those diabolical Seducers called Methodists etc. By John Kirkby, Rector of Blackmanstone in Kent."

The reviewer points out that the expectations raised by the title are not fulfilled. The author rails at Mr. Wesley as the "Impostor", but produces no facts against him. He shows himself to be a churchman of violent spirits and principles. As the author disclaims in his last paragraph on "this great calamity that has befallen the church and which calls for the solemn fasts and humiliations of the same, to beseech God to preserve us from the vengeance which these abominable blasphemies and daring impieties threaten every day to bring upon us", the reviewer is moved to say in conclusion: — "We are, after all, extremely glad to find our author is not so far gone in zeal, as to propose other means for bringing back these deluded people to their right minds, than constant and earnest intercessions put up for them at the throne of grace."

November 1750. Art. XI p. 36. An extract is given from Wesley's "Journals" (Sept. 3rd 1741—Oct. 27th 1743) with the laconic remark that "the tract is so much of a piece with the extracts from the methodist journals given in our first volume[1]) that we shall say nothing more of it here".

September 1751. Art. XXXV. p. 296. "The Enthusiasm of the Methodists and Papists compared. Part. III."[2]) The reviewer takes this opportunity of saying that the learned and ingenious author had addressed this part to Mr. Wesley and that it is filled with just and severe, but general animadversions, not only on the Wesleys, but the whole tribe of methodist preachers.

January 1752. Art. XIV. p. 80. "A Third Letter to the author of a Piece entitled, 'The Enthusiasm of Methodists

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[1]) Cf. pp. 280, 321.

[2]) Cf. above p. 92f.

and Papists compared". Mr. Perronet, the author, is spoken of as a smart controversialist, and the most formidable antagonist that had entered the lists against the comparer in defence of the Methodists.

April 1752. Art. XI. p. 312. "Predestination calmly considered. By John Wesley M. A." In recognition of Wesley's services in the discussion on the subject of this pamphlet it is said here that he "smartly, and in our opinion successfully encounters the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation".

In the Appendix to Vol. VIII. Art. LXI. p. 484, is a notice of the notable expostulatory letter addressed by Whitefield to Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf and lord advocate of the Unitas Fratrum.

January 1755. Art. I. p. 75. "A Dissertation on Enthusiasm etc. By Thomas Green M. A. Vicar of Wymeswould." The reviewer speaks of having read this dissertation with no small pleasure, for, he says, the author writes with candour and judgment and with a seeming desire of promoting the interests of sober and rational piety.

June 1755. Art. VII. p. 479. About the account by Whitefield of the extraordinary processions and other ecclesiastical entertainments he had seen at Lisbon, the reviewer contents himself with saying but very little. He is, however, impartial enough to say that Mr. Whitefield "expresses a just and manly resentment of the miserable bigotry of the Portuguese, and the priestly delusion with which they are so blindly led into even more ridiculous fopperies than ever disgraced the pagan theology".

March 1756. Article VII p. 256. A compliment is paid Wesley for his letter to Law, occasioned by his tracts on the "Spirit of Prayer" and the "Spirit of Love". His observations are said to be very pertinent and sensible, and his advice excellent. In the following Article VIII p. 257 Whitefield is complimented on his "Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion".

November 1757 p. 445. "The Doctrine of Original Sin, according to Scripture, Reason and Experience. By J. Wesley." This work was called forth and directed against Dr. Taylor's writings on the same subject. Wesley speaks of the former's scheme as being "more dangerous than open Deism itself". After quoting a long passage in which Wesley tries to prove the fact of original sin from scripture, the reviewer makes the remark that it was not with pleasure, but with reluctance that he had been obliged to exhibit specimens of Mr. Wesley's manner of arguing, but that otherwise his remarks would have appeared groundless and have been suspected to have proceeded from partiality. He professes, however, that he had quoted them not to shew the weakness of Mr. Wesley's cause, but the insufficiency of the arguments he used. After again citing Wesley who asserts that the source of sin was Adam, the reviewer concludes his criticism by saying that such arguments which exhibit much affection of learning and critical skill cannot fail to disgust the judicious, as much as they will please and gain admiration from readers of a *certain* complexion.

November 1759. Art. XXIV. p. 456. As a result of the discussions on Dr. Free's "Articles proposed to the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Salters",[1]) the reviewer begs the doctor to put aside his fears that the established religion will be totally undermined and to take to himself the excellent advice which Gamaliel gave to the Jews.

October 1760. Art. X. p. 327. "A Letter from the Rev. George Whitefield B. A. to the Rev. Laurence Sterne M. A." is at once stamped as being nonsensical and profane. "The impudence of our low, dirty, hedge-Publishers", says the reviewer, "is now risen to a most shameful height. To take such scandalous liberties with names, as is here done with that of Mr. Whitefield, is surely un-

[1]) Cf. May 1758. Art. XXXVI. p. 499; Appendix to Vol. XVIII. Art. XXVIII. p. 654 f.

sufferable, in any well-regulated community! and if it is not in that Gentleman's power to procure redress of such a flagrant injury, it is high time to provide the means of preventing, or punishing, such audacious proceedings for the future."

As in the "Gentleman's Magazine",[1]) so also here we find several articles[2]) on the subject of Mr. Foote's "Minor". The reviewer considers that he acquitted himself much better in the serious than in the ludicrous part of his "Letter to the Reverend Author of the Remarks, Critical and Christian on the Minor".[3]) "It is a crude piece", he says, "thrown out with little regard to method or correctness, but what more could be expected from such a volatile Genius?" A letter[4]) on the same subject to David Garrick, with the intent to prove it to be unfit for representation, is highly approved of by the reviewer, and yet in an article on the "Life of Erasmus"[5]) the methodist preachers are spoken of as affected actors who affect their auditors also, and it is said further that against such impostors and hypocrites argument avails but little. "Therefore we cannot but greatly extol the design of the Mimick, who lately attempted to expose this sect to ridicule; though we think his performance, in many respects, highly reprehensible, not to say contemptible." The reviewer thus shows himself to be fully in sympathy with the motives which incited Foote to write his play, although he is obliged to criticise his performance more severely than he cares to.

August 1761 p. 121. The reviewer quotes largely from a letter addressed to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield in which the principles and practices of the Methodists are considered. It is said to be couched in very seasonable and moderate terms and that the friends of a rational method of treating religious

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[1]) Cf. above p. 89 f.
[2]) Oct., Nov. 1760, Feb. 1761.
[3]) Oct. 1760. Art. XI. p. 328.
[4]) Nov. 1760. Art. V. p. 407.
[5]) Sept. 1760 p. 199.

subjects, who wish to see the principles of the Methodists shown in a clear light, only need to read this pamphlet.

December 1761 p. 414f. "Sermons on various Subjects. By the late Rev. Mr. John Downes, formerly Rector of St. Michael, Wood Street, and Lecturer of St. Mary-Le-Bow." Though the author's style is admitted to be clear and manly, it is said that it is not correct. As far as the severe attacks on the Methodists are concerned "this work", says the reviewer, "is very reasonable and will be agreeable to every rational Christian". On the other hand, Mr. Tyerman, [1]) speaking of this author's bitterness and trenchant railings, quotes a letter from Wesley, [2]) in which the latter says that if Mr. Downes can prove any one of the charges he has advanced against him, he may call him not only a wolfling or a wolf, but an otter, if he pleases.

September 1762. Art. XXXVI. p. 235f. The reviewer is here more severe on the moral character of the Methodists than he is elsewhere, and we think unjustly, for though the immediate subject in question is fanatical and anything but edifying. yet it is not right to suggest immoral thoughts and charge them to the whole body of Methodists. The book reviewed is called "The Seraphical Shepherd. Being a very remarkable Account of a Shepherd in France, about eighteen Years of Age; who, without any other Means than the Scriptures, and the teachings of God's holy Spirit, attained to a very uncommon and evangelical knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent. Translated from the French, with Notes, by Cornelius Cayley." This long title sufficiently explains the nature of the book itself. The same Mr. Cayley had several years previously published an account of his own conversion which was also reviewed in this periodical.[3]) Mr. Cayley is not actually spoken of as being a Methodist, but as one of "our modern saints", and yet it seems to be taken for granted

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[1]) Vol. II. p. 342ff.
[2]) Dated Nov. 17th 1759.
[3]) Cf. Appendix Vol. XIX. p. 615.

that he was one, for after quoting some verses of his from a dedicatory epistle to Jesus Christ in which the writer says: —

> "... *at thy wounded, pierced feet,*
> *With Mary, I will take my seat,*"

the reviewer continues, "Who this Mrs. Mary is, that is to bear Mr. Cayley company on the occasion above intimated, we are not informed; but, doubtless, it must be some favourite female Saint, from the purlieus of Moorfields or Tottenham Court. Aye! aye! let these Methodists alone for a tête-à-tête with the Ladies! Sly rogues! wherever they take up their quarters, they are seldom at a loss for good accommodation!" If this is not a libel, what is?

From November 1762 to December 1763 a great deal of space is allotted to articles on the Bishop of Gloucester's "Doctrine of Grace", in which he is said by the reviewer "to maul" poor John Wesley without mercy. Of Wesley's defence it is said that "he has answered the Bishop's book with all that art, address and specious appearance of primitive integrity, decency and dove-like innocence, which must be naturally expected by such as are acquainted with the character of a man who is so much master of his own, as well as of other men's passions".[1]) The reviewer thus doubts Wesley's sincerity and further speaks of his 'Jesuitical evasions'. A letter[2]) purporting to be an answer to Mr. Wesley from the learned doctor Samuel Chandler is declared to be very impertinent and even worse than that, a forgery.

May 1763. Art. I. p. 394. A pamphlet is reviewed in which Whitefield makes some observations on some fatal mistakes in "The Doctrine of Grace". The reviewer has to confess that Mr. Whitefield made two or three pretty successful sallies, in which he turns the artillery of his antagonist upon the Bishop himself, but says that the latter might retort upon his adversary what he in his turn has been charged

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[1]) Cf. March 1763 Art. V. p. 235.
[2]) Cf. April 1763 Art. V. p. 315.

with. Whitefield's closing words are recommended to the serious consideration of all the clergy. The former quotes the answer given by Bishop Burnet who, on being asked how the progress of puritan ministers could be stopped, replied: "*Out-live, out-labour, out-preach them*". Similar advice is given by John Andrews L. L. D. of St. Mary-Hall, Oxford, in a article quoted in December 1763 (p. 428 ff.).

March 1765. Art. II. p. 226. Wesley is referred to as being a very free-thinker compared with the Rev. Mr. Hervey, "who, poor, honest, simple soul! was indeed far gone in fanaticism".

January 1768 p. 51. For the first time in this Review Charles Wesley appears on the scene on the occasion of a severe criticism of his "Short Hymns on select Passages of the Holy Scriptures".[1]) The reviewer gives specimens of the worst in the collection and then speaks of the language as "spiritual Billingsgate" and of the hymns themselves as "the prettiest pieces of Moravianism". He does not even mention that the volume contained any good hymns at all, but excuses the author by supposing that he had thus burlesqued the Scriptures quite undesignedly. As if he were conscious that he had not been speaking in earnest, he says: — "Seriously, are these rhyming enthusiasts not apprehensive of the fate of Uzziah on account of their indecent freedom with the holy word of God?"

In the discussion caused by the expulsion of six students from Edmund Hall, Oxford, on account of their methodistical principles, the reviewer is in full sympathy with the authorities. He is, however, obliged to acknowledge the force of the defence of the students in a pamphlet called "Pietas Oxoniensis" by a Master of Arts of the University.[2]) He thinks that it is likely to do a great deal of harm if not properly exposed and refuted.

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[1]) Printed 1762.

[2]) June 1768 Arts. XLIII—XLV. p. 511 ff. See also: Feb. 1769 Art. XXIX. p. 164. June 1769 Art. XXVI. p. 515; Art. XXVII. p. 515.

February 1769. Art. XXIV. p. 162. The most extravagant expressions used against the Methodists are perhaps to be found in Samuel Roe's "Enthusiasm detected and defeated". He is said to be the greatest enthusiast against enthusiasm ever to be met with, and to have represented the Methodists as the "saddest wretches!" He proposes that the government should have the tongues of the Tabernacle preachers and of all Field-teachers cut out! Whereupon, the reviewer suggests that perhaps Mr. R. would be the only man in the kingdom who would undertake to put this sentence into execution.

On the occasion of Mr. Whitefield's death at Newberyport, near Boston, New England, on Sept. 30th 1770, quite a number of sermons, and discourses are announced in the Review.[1])

January 1771. Art. XLIII. p. 90. "A Monody on the Death of the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield." In spite of a number of passages which the reviewer quotes as being inelegant, he confesses that though unequal, it is in many places truly poetical. Having expected trash he was agreeably disappointed.

In the following article (XLIV. p. 90f.) which has for its subject another poem on the death of Mr. Whitefield, the reviewer is very laconic, possibly in consequence of the author professing not to care a pin for the reviewer. The latter answers that he is sorry that the reviewers do not stand in a more respectable light with so extraordinary a genius, for there is something altogether striking in the novelty of his ideas, of which he proceeds to give four specimens. It will be here sufficient to quote two. Mr. Whitefield's tongue, the poet tells us, was loosed by prayer; and what then? — Why then he was silent:

"Prayer loos'd his guilt-bound tongue, his lifted hands
In silent rapture then his God ador'd."

[1]) Nov. 1770 p. 406, Dec. 1770 p. 504, July 1771 p. 79.

He next informs us what this great man endured; and that was — what everybody else endures!

"Each season's various changes he endured."

Of Charles Wesley's "Elegy" [1]) on the same occasion the reviewer takes no notice, except to find fault with a single passage:

"Till quite forsaken both of man and God,
Jesus appear'd, and help'd his unbelief."

"We have been told by most divines", says the reviewer, "that the Author of our religion was both man and God; many have asserted that he was no more than man, but Mr. Charles Wesley it seems will have it that he was neither." It seems quite evident that the reviewer himself did not understand the passage. The next article is also a review of an elegy on Mr. Whitefield, by B. Francis. Here again the reviewer limits himself to render prominent a passage which to him seemed to be all the more humorous in a doleful elegy:

"The gay, the wanton, for redemption groan,
And drunkards thirst — for living streams alone."

May 1771. Art. XXVII. p. 421. In the dispute carried on between the Rev. Mr. Toplady and Thomas Olivers, occasioned by the attack of the former on Mr. Wesley, [2]) after shewing that the champions are well-matched, especially as to rough language, the reviewer makes the following severe, but just remark: "But is it not shameful that, instead of being busied in some honest and useful occupation, any persons should employ their pens in a manner which, among some kind of readers, may tend to expose religion itself to ridicule or neglect!"

March 1772. Art. XII. p. 226. "Eighteen Sermons preached by the late Rev. George Whitefield

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[1]) Feb. 1771. Art. XXXVIII. p. 174.
[2]) June 1770. Art. XXIII. p. 482.

A. M." The reviewer again contents himself with picking out a few of the most extravagant passages and describes them as "strongly characteristic of this celebrated itinerant preacher". He, however, feels himself obliged to tone down this criticism when he comes to review "The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield".[1] Here, speaking of that gentleman's sermons, he says: — "We perceive in them very few of those peculiar flights of fancy, and strong touches of tabernacle oratory, which so richly abounded in a late volume of his discourses, noticed in our Review. They are, indeed, for the most part, such discourses as might be expected from a sober, sensible and pious Calvinistical preacher". At the same time he refers to one sermon which, he says, had been taken *verbatim* from one of the celebrated Dr. Doddridge's and published by Mr. Whitefield as his own. "In that case", the reviewer asks, "what are we to think of the conduct of Mr. Whitefield, whom we have always regarded as an honest enthusiast? honesty and enthusiasm being by no means incompatible."[2] However, in his remarks on the "Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. George Whitefield",[3] by the Rev. John Gillies D. D. he admits that "this 'great apostle of the present age' was without doubt, a most extraordinary man: and we believe, very sincere in his ministry".

In the long dispute between the Calvinists and Antinomians, on which subject articles appear from December 1771 to January 1775,[4] the reviewer takes up a neutral position and constantly laments that such talents should be wasted in disputing questions in which neither party will lay himself open to conviction, and which consequently do far more general harm than good. He compliments Mr. Fletcher on

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[1]) July 1772. Art. XXXIV. p. 79.

[2]) Cf. Appendix Note E. p. 160.

[3]) Sept. 1772. Art. XXXVI. p. 249.

[4]) Dec. 1771 Art. XXXII. p. 500; April 1772 Arts. LXXI., LXXII. p. 468; Aug. 1772 Arts. LI—LIV. p. 159f.; Nov. 1772 Art. XIII. p. 397; March 1773 Arts. XV., XVI., XVII. p. 240; July 1774 Art. LI. p. 78; Jan. 1775 Art. LI. p. 93.

"his sober, decent and seasonable defence against the sharp attacks of Messrs Shirley, Hill etc.", [1]) but speaks of Mr. Hill's weapons being "wit and argument which he handles so dexterously, that we cannot help wishing to see them more usefully employed".

September 1774. Art. XIII. p. 234ff. "Thoughts upon Slavery. By John Wesley A. M." With the views here expressed the reviewer agrees entirely and quotes at large. In the following article he even takes up cudgels for the reverend gentleman against the writer of "A Supplement to Mr. Wesley's Pamphlet, entitled Thoughts upon Slavery", in which the latter tries to use the *argumentum ad hominem* against Mr. Wesley, in order to lead his readers totally away from the subject in question, by seducing them to a laugh at the Methodists. The reviewer, however, justly remarks that all this does not prove that "the tyrannic dominion we assume over the negroes is either consistent with religion or humanity" (Art. XIV. p. 237).

October 1775. Art. XV. p. 349. "A calm Address to our American Colonies. By John Wesley A. M." This address called forth a lengthened and heated controversy on the subject in the Review. [2]) Wesley's opponents deal very severely with him, accusing him of being a Jacobite, of acting the political incendiary, of Jesuitism, and of having an American bishopric in view. The reviewer points out that Mr. Wesley's address is simply a revival of the principles expressed by Dr. Johnson in his celebrated pamphlet on Taxation, [3]) and he further laments that Mr. Fletcher had thought it necessary to defend such Jacobitical doctrines. Neither Dr. Johnson's nor Wesley's opinions on the liberty of colonists can be approved of even apart from the judgment we can nowadays form on this particular sub-

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[1]) April 1772 Art. LXXII. p. 468.

[2]) Cf. Oct. 1775 Art. XVI p. 350; Nov. 1775 Arts. XII., XIII., XV., XVI. p. 438 ff.; Dec. 1775 Art. XV. p. 514; April 1776 Arts. XI. XII., XIII. p. 325 f.

[3]) Cf. Review, March 1775 Art. XV. p. 253.

ject from the coign of vantage of present criticism, but no one can surely doubt the sincerity or the disinterestedness of the one or the other of these two faithful subjects of their king and country.

Of two of Wesley's works on non-theological subjects that appeared about this time, neither meets with the full approval of the reviewer. On the contrary, his "Primitive Physic" is said to show the most disgraceful ignorance, and though the reviewer has to admit that Mr. Hawes, the apothecary, in his "Examination" [1]) of this work is not always accurate and sagacious, he allows that his animadversions are commonly just and that he has satisfactorily evinced the dangerous tendency of the work.

Of Wesley's "Concise History of England",[2]) the reviewer does not see that the compiler has carried out the purpose he had set before him, namely, that of publishing a Christian history, "for", he says, "religious observations are not so frequently interwoven with the narration, as might be expected from a man of good sense and warm piety".

We think that the reviewer again carries his impartiality too far in condescending even to a criticism of the low effusions of an anonymous would-be poet. These are entitled "The Saints, a Satire: Perfection. a poetical Epistle: Sketches for Tabernacle Frames, a poem": and "The Love Feast".[3]) They are all unmerciful attacks on Wesley, his associates and his followers and are usually accompanied by ungodly frontispieces. They are severely criticised as they deserved, but the reviewer does not express his indignation strongly enough at the object for which these "excruciating rhymes" were composed. He contents himself with exclaiming: — "Poor old John Wesley!" Finally, however, in the number for June 1779 [4]) when he has to review two more performances of a similar character, he is

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[1]) May 1776 Art. XXXVIII. p. 419.
[2]) Jan. 1777 Art. XXIX. p. 71.
[3]) Cf. above p. 64 f.
[4]) Arts. XXIX., XXX. p. 478.

quite surfeited with this low satire and asks why the author does not expend his poetic ammunition on knaves and hypocrites in which the nation abounds. The titles of these two poems are: "Fanatical Conversion: or Methodism displayed", and "Voltaire's Ghost to the Apostle of the Sinless Foundery". Referring to the latter, the reviewer remarks that "the ghost of M. de Voltaire may, indeed, condescend to cope with an itinerant preacher; but the living Voltaire would not have deigned to notice so unequal an antagonist".

March 1781. Art. VI. p. 209 f. "The Ancient and Modern History of the Brethren (Unitas Fratrum). By David Crantz. Translated from the German by Benjamin La Trobe." In reviewing this work the reviewer takes the opportunity of quoting Dr. Warburton as having said that Mr. Wesley, according to his own words, "*could* a tale unfold" to the great discomfiture of the Moravians. The reviewer asks why Mr. Wesley did not reveal what he knew and so do an essential service to the church. He can only conceive that it was done purposely and artfully, so that imagination might make it to be much more serious than the reality. But on the supposition that Mr. Wesley could relate a story "a thousand times worse than anything that had yet been told of these wretches", he asks further, if on that account the whole church is to be branded with infamy, because some of its members have wickedly abused its institutions? "Mr. Wesley, for his own sake", he concludes, "and for the sake of Methodism in general, must answer these questions in the negative."

September 1781. Art. IX. p. 232. In considering "A Persian Epistle from Solim, Eunuch at the Grand Seraglio at Ispahan, to the Rev. Dr. Martin Madan, on the publication of the late Koran, called Thelyphthora", the reviewer takes the opportunity of defending the Methodists as a body against the attack made on them in the poem, which is principally directed against Westley Hall, whose teachings were held in abhorrence and contempt by John Wesley. [1])

[1]) Cf. above pp. 33 and 56.

From this date up to July 1789 we have found only one reference to the Methodists and that in March 1785.[1]) This gap points to the fact that the new sect was being gradually recognised as a factor in the community and was allowed to follow its own devices without any fear of persecution. The reference above mentioned is a review of the "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica", in which particular notice is taken of the Wesley family, but especially of the founder of Methodism, "to whose character", says the reviewer, "it seems to do justice, at the same time that it pleads for him, not only as an excellent companion, but in spite of censure, an honest man". Strangely enough very little notice is taken of his brother Charles.

Before 1791, the year of Wesley's death, we have but two or three unimportant articles on the subject of Methodism. In the latter year, however, we have several reviews which were caused by the publication of Colet's "Impartial Review of the Life and Writings: public and private Character of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley";[2]) of "Lines in Memory of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley;[3]) of Whitehead's "Sermon" at Mr. Wesley's funeral;[4]) of "Wesley's Letters" by Dr. Joseph Priestley; and of John Hampson's "Memoirs of Mr. Wesley".[5])

Further, "The Life of the Rev. John Wesley" by Dr. Coke and Moore was reviewed in September 1794[6]) and that by Dr. Whitehead in October 1794[7]) (vol. I.) and in June 1797[8]) (vol. II.).

In all these cases the reviewer maintains his old position of impartiality, despensing blame and praise where he thinks they are due. Of Colet's "Life", he says that the author (a nephew of Wesley) had been too eager to be the first

[1]) Art. VI. p. 189 ff.
[2]) June 1791 Art. XXXI. p. 218.
[3]) July 1791 Art. XXXIII. p. 342.
[4]) July 1791 Art. LIV. p. 356.
[5]) Dec. 1791 Art. IV. p. 389 ff.
[6]) Art. IV. p. 28 f.
[7]) Art. VIII. p. 159.
[8]) Art. IV. p. 137.

in the field and that he had left impressions which were rather disadvantageous to his uncle. A little more time, thought and judgment might have improved his performance.

With the "Lines in Memory of Mr. Wesley" the reviewer is pleasingly disappointed and after quoting a long passus from the poem concludes by saying: — "Wesley's real *worth* is, in our opinion, demonstrated by nothing more convincingly, than by his dying (reader, forgive the pun) *worth* nothing. It proves that the influence, which he acquired and long preserved over a numerous sect, was not employed to any sordid purpose. The poverty of such a man enriches his fame."

In speaking of Mr. Whitehead's "Sermon", the reviewer again takes the opportunity of bearing testimony to the character of Wesley. He says: — "If Mr. Wesley's sentiments were not the truth, he certainly treated them as if they were; for it is impossible that any man could be more earnest and indefatigable in propagating them than he was. His life was truly apostolic, and even those who find themselves unable to receive his tenets are nevertheless irresistibly prompted to venerate the man." In a note we read that this testimony is borne with sincere pleasure, notwithstanding the severe censure which Mr. Wesley thought fit to pass on the review in one of his journals on account of some sentimental differences with him in respect to some religious speculations. Hampson's "Memoirs" are criticised very favourably by the reviewer, who believes the author to be a faithful biographer, though he thinks it probable that "very partial friends and warm admirers of the Apostle of Methodism may, in some places, be displeased with them". The most prominent feature of Wesley's character is considered by Hampson to be fondness for power and he asserts that "during the last ten or fifteen years of his supremacy, he was the most absolute of monarchs". It must, however, not be forgotten that Hampson and others, who could not agree with Wesley on points of church government and whose names were after-

wards (1784)[1]) omitted in the selection of representatives made according to the Deed of Declaration — Methodism's Magna Charta, drawn up for the special purpose of defining what was to be henceforth meant by the term "Conference" —, had thus to experience their leader's power in a special degree. Wesley also wrote a vindication of his so-called "power" as early as at the conference of the year 1766.[2])

Wesley's "Life" by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore is said to contain every important and interesting fact in the life of that great man, but otherwise the reviewer is rather bitter in his remarks, especially because the work is drawn up in the "methodistical style", and the authors lay too much stress on the violent emotions which were considered to be of necessity attendant on conversion. In conclusion, the reviewer affirms that, in spite of their aversion to be called Dissenters, the Methodists really do come under this denomination, for though admitting the doctrines, they will not submit to the authority of the National Church.

Of Dr. Whitehead's "Life of John Wesley" the reviewer speaks in the highest praise. "It is", he says, "superior in point of composition and accuracy, and loses nothing when compared with his competitors." The perusal of the second volume induces him rather to heighten than retract his former encomium and he concludes by designating the work "the most authentic, as well as the best written life of the extraordinary man whom it celebrates".

In reviewing the Review as far its attitude towards the Methodists is concerned, we are again, as in the case of the "Gentleman's Magazine", necessitated to recognise the spirit of opposition to Methodism in general. This spirit of opposition is, however, not always equal. The reviewer tries to be impartial by admitting articles or rather by reviewing articles on all phases of the question. Sometimes he is very bitter and sarcastic. At other times, he expresses himself more moderately and occasionally says a word or two of compli-

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[1]) Tyerman vol. III p. 422.
[2]) Ib. vol. II p. 577 ff.

ment. We notice that the opposition is strongest from the year 1749 (i. e. the first year of issue) to 1770 when Whitefield died. From this time the attacks and indeed references of any kind appear less often. After the gap from 1781 to 1791, during which decennium only three or four unimportant articles are mentioned, the occasion of the publication of several biographies of John Wesley is made use of, in order to pay the founder of Methodism at least the respect due to a great and sincere man, who for half a century had been the leader of an ever-increasing religious society. As long as he himself was alive, this society remained in a formal connection with the National Church, but very soon after his death, it separated and became a distinct sect.

"The Mirror, a Periodical Paper." [1])

This paper appeared for the first time on Saturday January 23rd 1779 and was continued every Tuesday and Saturday until May 27th 1780.[2]) A hundred and ten numbers were published in all. The first is an introductory paper in which the author gives some account of his intentions and discusses the reception a work of this sort is likely to meet with. The second number contains various opinions about the Mirror, supposed to have been overheard by the author in the shop of the editor. Among others who had given their views on the subject an elderly gentleman prognosticated that the paper would become a vehicle of scepticism and that he expected Hume's works would be introduced into it. Another man who is described as being short and squat, with a carbuncled face, maintained that it was intended for the spread of Methodism and he believed that a disciple of Mr. Wesley was the author.

[1]) The "Mirror" was published by a society of literary gentlemen at Edinburgh, and Mr. Henry Mackenzie was intrusted with the conduct of the work. Cf. "Biographia Dramatica", vol. I. Part. II. p. 468.

[2]) No. 5 appeared on a Wednesday as the previous Tuesday had been appointed for the day of the National Fast.

All manner of subjects are treated, for instance, Beauty, Pedantry, Duelling, The Poems of Ossian, Travelling, Shakespeare, Criticisms etc. No. 64 is headed "Of Good Company; in a letter from Modestus". The writer describes an evening passed in so-called good company. Cards soon took the place of conversation. Supper was served very late, and at the same time a gentleman made his appearance whose coming had been looked forward to with some impatience. He was said to be possessed of an infinite fund of humour and superior talents for conversation. He was allowed to talk without any interruption and after a few glasses was requested to sing an innocent song. Some were emboldened to ask him to sing again and this time a little free, and "just before the second bottle was called for, he took off a Methodist preacher with great applause". The ladies now retired and left the gentlemen to pass the rest of the night in carousing. The writer is disappointed and disgusted. If we can speak of any tendency of this paper in regard to Methodism it is rather in favour of it than against it.

"The American Museum or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces etc. Prose and Poetical."

This periodical was published from January 1787 to December 1792, when it ceased to exist because the business of the publisher as bookseller had increased to such an extent as to render it impossible for him to pay the requisite attention to it, and also because of a new post-office law by which the postmaster had absolutely refused to receive the Museum into the post-office on any terms.

Very little is said about the Methodist movement. All we have, besides a few single notices about Wesley's death and preaching,[1]) are a couple of anecdotes on Whitefield, told entirely in his favour. One is perhaps espe-

[1]) 1789 May p. 502, 1791 April p. 32, June p. 42.

cially interesting as probably being the fullest account we have of a saying of Whitefield's[1]) which is still often quoted, but oftener ascribed to somebody else than the above named gentleman. This anecdote occurs in March 1788[2]) and runs as follows: "When George Whitefield first came to Charleston in South-Carolina, the rev. Alexander Garden was episcopal minister of that place. Not liking Whitefield's principles, he took occasion to preach a sermon against him from the following text: 'Behold, those that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also.' In the afternoon of the same day, Whitefield, in his turn, retorted upon his antagonist to a very crowded audience, and with all the wit and satire for which he was so remarkable, from these words of St. Paul: 'Alexander, the Coppersmith, hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works'. — Soon after, Garden, not to be outdone, took occasion to declaim with some heat, against the light and trifling tunes used in Whitefield's church, as being too theatrical and gay for holy worship, and such as had been long appropriated to prophane songs and airs. 'Very true, doctor,' said Whitefield, in his next lecture; 'but, pray, Sir, *can you assign any good reason, why the devil should always be in possession of the best tunes?*'"

"The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer."

This magazine was commenced in the year 1733, but has only been accessible to us from 1755 to 1757 and from 1760 to 1763. We find, however, that during these seven years and especially during the years 1760—61, the Methodist question was discussed pretty freely. The first article on the subject is in October 1757, entitled "A Dozen of Reasons for tolerating Fortune Tellers" (p. 482 f.), which is also cited by

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[1]) Also quoted in the Lady's Magazine for November 1782.

[2]) Vol. III. p. 272.

Tyerman.[1]) who styles it the most malignant onset of the year and designates its attacks as "silly calumnies and falsehoods of the first magnitude". Among other things, 'Dr. Faustus', the author, accuses the Methodist preachers of "chowsing men, or even women, out of their lands and tenements, of terrifying their followers out of their little wits, as Bedlam and every private mad-house about town can testify, and of causing a poor woman literally to fulfil scripture by pulling out one of her eyes; because, we suppose, they told her, that she had looked upon a handsome young fellow of her acquaintance with a longing eye". Further, he asserts that the Methodists, being formed into numerous societies, are dangerous to the government and cause the jealousy, or provoke the resentment of the Established Church. As fortune tellers are free from all these accusations they ought to be tolerated! The editor of the Magazine evidently believed in fair play in discussions on religious subjects and hence, in three succeeding numbers, we have a vigorous defence of the sect thus attacked, signed by a Methodist.[2]) He first reproaches 'Dr. Faustus' for joking at a time when England was called to serious humiliation and shows him how unwise it was of him to try and stir up a spirit of persecution against an innocent people, who were real friends to their country and heartily attached to the royal family. He then proceeds to answer Dr. Faustus's attacks in a succinct and cogent manner. The latter must have felt himself beaten or his conscience smitten, for he did not even take the trouble to defend his assertions.

In the years 1760 and 1761 are several discussions about the Methodists, carried on by correspondents of both parties, the editor having in a note[3]) made a special request for answers, as he wished to remain impartial.

March 1760 p. 168. T. S. writes proposing certain questions as to the attitude of the Methodists to the Toleration

[1]) Vol. II. p. 292 f.
[2]) Cf. pp. 526, 588 and 636.
[3]) June 1760 p. 296.

Act, for, he says, "if they are not dissenters, they cannot put themselves under its protection". Further he asks whether many of the fugitive itinerant preachers, who swarm through many parts of England, may not be employed, as emissaries of the Church of Rome. In a letter dated May 19th 1760 (p. 298 f.), he again writes in reply to answers that had been sent to him. He says the author knows nothing about the Toleration Act, designates his answers as "a wild ramble", and proposes other questions on the doctrines and conduct of the Methodists.

June 1760 p. 296. T. A. sends a long epistle in which he has included ten questions for the Methodists. Among other subjects, he refers to the Toleration Act, and to the jurisdiction of the chief-magistrate over such assemblies as the Methodists hold, his questions, however, being partly directed against Wesley and Whitefield, and partly against individual preachers. The answer to one question, he says, will establish or overthrow Methodism, namely, whether it be possible to distinguish the acts of the mind from the acts of the spirit?

In July 1760 p. 354 f. T. A. publicly thanks the editor for his great candour and strict impartiality in accepting his previous letter and in offering a place in his Magazine for answers. He then tries to show that he had not exaggerated the amount of the profits made by the Methodist preachers, and finally in a postscript rejoices over the treatment met with by the Methodists at the hands of the magistrates at Maidstone where the former had been fined for holding a conventicle. Later (Oct. 1761 p. 529 f.), as these proceedings were set aside by the King's Bench, T. A. had to defend himself against the charge of giving a false account.

In the same month is a vigorous vindication of the Methodists in answer to T. A. by one who signs himself "Hermas" (p. 364 ff.). He takes all the ten questions proposed by the former and gives a succinct reply to each. In conclusion, he says that the existing laws are sufficient to punish all meetings that aim at promoting seditions and insurrections. If any new law were to be enacted (as T. A. proposed against the Methodists) it would only be to prevent the Methodists

from becoming a prey to inconsiderate and violent High-churchmen. This discussion is carried on at great length[1]) and finally closed by T. A. in a spirit of bitterness in which he accuses "Hermas" of ignorance, thus making it difficult for him to argue with him.

July 1760 p. 375 f. Foote's "Minor" is here reviewed with a long extract of the scene between Mrs. Cole and Sir George. The reviewer contents himself with simply adding: "The other characters are as strongly drawn as this old hypocrite's, and the piece has a great deal of comick humour." In October (p. 501 f.) of the same year, extracts are given from Foote's defence of his "Minor" in answer to the Reverend Author of the "Remarks, Critical and Christian, on the 'Minor'". He defends himself for having ridiculed Whitefield's "inconsiderable weakness in the optic nerve", saying that if men with such infirmities attempt things which those very infirmities have rendered them incapable of properly executing, it is their own fault if they are made the butt of ridicule. He refers in deprecating terms to Whitefield's home-training and quotes a letter purporting to proceed from Whitefield, but which is so indecent, that the very reading of it convinces at once that it is a daring forgery.

October 1760 p. 527 f. Whitefield is again attacked by C. T. in what purports to be a conversation between himself and a friend on the one part and Whitefield on the other. The principal accusation is that the latter reddened excessively when questioned as to the way in which the moneys collected at the Tabernacle had been employed.

In the "Monthly Catalogue"[2]) the "Letter from the Rev. George Whitefield B. A. to the Rev. Laurence Sterne M. A.", mentioned above p. 96, is also branded as a forgery. The reviewer is quite indignant and asks if "here is not something vile, and abominably wicked, in prostituting scripture appellations and expressions and the adorable names of

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[1]) Sept. p. 469 ff., Oct. p. 515 ff., Nov. p. 588 f., Dec. p. 641 f., Jan. 1761 p. 33 f., Feb. p. 88 f.

[2]) Oct. 1760 p. 560.

the Divine Being, and our Ever-blessed Saviour, to the purposes of buffoonry and abuse?"

November 1760 p. 586 f. Twenty questions are proposed to Wesley by "Stephan Church" *alias* R. W. and are answered by the former "speedily, clearly and categorically".[1] R. W. is not at all satisfied, but calls Wesley's answers "a frivolous and fallacious performance".[2] Wesley's answer is short, to the point and tinged with sarcasm.[3] R. W. again replies[4] that Wesley ought to be ashamed of such a performance and says that to deny is not to disprove.

In 1761 Wesley's doctrine of Assurance is attacked or called in question by two letters[5] from different writers, but no discussion follows.

The last reference we have found in the volumes of this magazine that were at our disposal is in the advertisement prefixed to the Bishop of Gloucester's new "Treatise on the Doctrine of Grace" and quoted in the November number of the year 1762 (p. 608 f.), where Wesley is held up as "a fanatic and a coward", the latter epithet being applied on account of the circumstances of his leaving Georgia.

Besides the special request, already mentioned,[6] to the effect that as the editors did not adopt the sentiments of their correspondents in every thing, any answer, modest and to the purpose, if not too long, would be inserted, a request which showed their desire to be impartial, they have otherwise kept silent on our subject, contenting themselves with printing the various articles and letters sent without any further comment. Indeed this seems to have been the course adopted by this magazine in the case of all subjects introduced for discussion.

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[1]) Dec. 1760 p. 651 ff.
[2]) Jan. 1761 p. 36.
[3]) Feb. 1761 p. 91 f.
[4]) April 1761 p. 190.
[5]) Jan. p. 19 f., Feb. p. 94.
[6]) Cf. above p. 113.

"The Lady's Magazine or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, Appropriated solely for their Use and Amusement."

This Magazine was begun in the year 1770 and continued until 1794. The plan seems to have been an imitation of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' without the political and religious polemics. The 'Historical Chronicle', however, is very copious, especially at the time of the American War of Independence. The references to the Methodists are few and far between. With the exception of the announcement, in the list of books for June 1771, [1]) of a pamphlet called "The Causes of Methodism set forth", the first mention of this sect is to be found in November 1782 in a note to an extract from Dr. Burn's Sermon on Psalmody, where he says that "every man will take a delight in that service in which he himself is a performer". The note is to the effect that "on this principle we may subscribe to the Moravian and Methodist teachers, who always allow their people so large a share in the performance of the duties, and whose singing is so much superior to that in other less enthusiastic assemblies" (p. 588).

In some Miscellaneous Observations for January 1784 (p. 34) is an article on "Enthusiasm" by Dr. Langhorne. After describing the dangers accruing from religious zeal, he says, referring undoubtedly to the Methodists in particular: — "There is, indeed, a difference between retiring to a cave in some unfrequented desert, and entering into a religious society; but the difference lies only in the mode, for they are equally repugnant to the determinations of Providence, which has made the whole moral duty of man to consist in the social capacity of serving his fellow creatures."

Besides the announcements of the deaths of the Wesley brothers, [2]) this magazine only contains one more notice of the Methodists, in a letter to the editor in the month of August 1790. [3]) This letter communicates a prayer,

[1]) Vol. I. p. 252.
[2]) Vol. XIX. April 1788, p. 216; vol. XXII. March 1791, p. 168.
[3]) Vol. XXI. p. 399.

said to have been made at a Methodist Meeting, and is accompanied by the comment that "for a preacher to borrow expressions from the meanest things and apply them to the most sacred subjects is, in my opinion, making ridicule of religion". The soundness of this view no one will pretend to deny, and the specimen given certainly contains similes which border on profanity, if they are not profanity itself, and should they really have been uttered, could only come from the mouth of an ignorant man or a knave. It will be quite sufficient to quote two of these similes in order to give an idea of the whole prayer. The Almighty is implored to deal grace round in the assembly "as one would deal a pack of cards", and to stir up his holy spirit within the people "as one would stir a pudding".

This Magazine, as we thus see, thought fit in the course of twenty years to insert only two or three notices of the Methodists, and those in order to make these people look ridiculous or at least to serve as a warning against them. This was what the editors understood by fulfilling the promise as expressed in the title page to be an "Entertaining Companion"!

Dr. Samuel Johnson. 1709—1784.

As Dr. Johnson has not left us any account of his opinions about the Methodists either in his satires or his prose works, we have only one source left from which to draw our information. This source is Boswell's "Life of Johnson," [1]) but it supplies us with material enough for our purpose. Mr. Boswell made the Doctor's acquaintance in the year 1763, and it is in this year that we find the first mention of Methodism in these reminiscences.

"Speaking of the *inward* light to which some methodists pretended, he [Johnson] said, it was a principle utterly incompatible with social or civil society. 'If a man', said he,

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[1]) Cf. Life of Samuel Johnson etc. By James Boswell. Ed. by J. W. Croker. London 1831, 5 vols.

'pretends to a principle of action of which I can know nothing, nay, not so much as that he has it, but only that he pretends to it; how can I tell what that person may be prompted to do? When a person professes to be governed by a written ascertained law, I can then know where to find him'".[1])

Talking of the great success attending the preaching of the Methodists, Johnson said to Boswell (1763): — "Sir, it is owing to their expressing themselves in a plain and familiar manner, which is the only way to do good to the common people, and which clergymen of genius and learning ought to do from a principle of duty, when it is suited to their congregations; a practice, for which they will be praised by men of sense."[2]) This view may well be compared with that of Goldsmith on the same subject in his essay on Preaching.[3])

Boswell takes this opportunity of pointing out the origin of the appellation 'methodist', and says that Dr. Johnson was himself a methodist "in a dignified manner". In support of this assertion he refers to the "Rambler" (No. 110) where the Doctor mentions with respect "the whole discipline of regulated piety". Further he refers to Johnson's "Prayers and Meditations", where many instances occur of his anxious examination into his spiritual state. Finally he quotes Joseph Milner,[4]) "one of the best apologists of the Methodists", and tenders his own opinion that "the principal reason in argument and good sense against Methodism is, that it tends to debase human nature, and prevent the generous exertions of goodness by an unworthy supposition that God will pay no regard to them". By his quotation from Milner he desires "to do justice to those whom it is the fashion to ridicule, without any knowledge of their tenets".

Curious and very unlike Dr. Johnson's dignity and sense of propriety is the incident narrated by Dr. Maxwell and quoted by Mr. Boswell.[5]) "Though the most accessible and

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[1]) Cf. vol. I.p. 385.
[2]) Cf. vol. I. p. 470.
[3]) Cf. below p. 135 f.
[4]) "Essays on Several Religious Subjects."
[5]) Cf. vol. I. p. 377, under the year 1763.

communicative man alive, yet when he [Dr. J.] suspected he was invited to be exhibited, he constantly spurned the invitation. Two young women from Staffordshire visited him when I was present, to consult him on the subject of Methodism, to which they were inclined. 'Come', said he, 'you pretty fools, dine with Maxwell and me at the Mitre, and we will talk over that subject', which they did, and after dinner he took one of them upon his knee, and fondled her for half an hour together."

In the same year (1763) we again hear the preaching of the established clergy blamed.[1]) "He observed that in general [they] did not preach plain enough; and that polished periods and glittering sentences flew over the heads of the common people, without any impression upon their hearts. Something might be necessary, he observed, to excite the affections of the common people, who where sunk in languor and lethargy, and therefore he supposed that the new concomitants of methodism might probably produce so desirable an effect... Whatever might be thought of some methodist teachers, he said, he could scarcely doubt the sincerity of that man, who travelled nine hundred miles in a month and preached twelve times a week; for no adequate reward, merely temporal, could be given for such indefatigable labour."

Of Whitefield's oratory, however, Johnson spoke in very depreciating tones (1769). "His popularity", said he, "is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner. He would be followed by crowds were he to wear a night-cap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree."[2])

Dr. Johnson's opinion on the expulsion of the six students from the University of Oxford,[3]) is expressed in a very drastic manner. "Sir", said he,[4]) "that expulsion was extremely just and proper. What have they to do at an University, who are not willing to be taught, but will presume to teach? Where is religion to be learnt, but at an University? Sir,

[1]) Cf. vol. I. p. 381 f. Boswell is here again quoting Maxwell.
[2]) Cf. vol. II. p. 81.
[3]) Cf. Monthly Review Jan. 1768, and above p. 100.
[4]) Cf. vol. II. p. 180, under the year 1772.

they were examined. and found to be mighty ignorant fellows." On Boswell remarking that they were good beings, the doctor answered: — "I believe they might be good beings, but they were not fit to be in the University of Oxford. A cow is a very good animal in the field, but we turn her out of a garden." On another occasion, [1]) as the conversation turned on Toleration and Martyrdom, Johnson made the remark that it was not necessary to make any provision "for mad people, as there were places for them in the neighbourhood (meaning Moorfields)".

Talking of Whitefield again. Dr. Johnson said, [2]) that "he was at the same college [3]) with him and knew him before he began to be better than other people (smiling); that he believed he sincerely meant well, but had a mixture of politicks and ostentation, whereas Wesley thought of religion only". In answer to the suggestion that Whitefield had strong natural eloquence, which if cultivated would have done great things, Johnson said: — "I take it he was at the the height of what his abilities could do, and was sensible of it. He had the ordinary advantages of education; but he chose to pursue that oratory which is for the mob." Boswell here remarked that he had great effect on the passions, whereupon Johnson said: — "I don't think so. He could not represent a succession of pathetick images. He vociferated, and made an impression. There again was a mind like a hammer."

In the year 1773 Johnson undertook his Tour in the Hebrides. Boswell tells us that one evening when Dr. Erskine, Mr. Robert Walker and the Rev. Dr. Webster were supping with them, the conversation turned on the Moravian missions and on the Methodists. As regards the latter the Doctor "owned they had done good; had spread religious

[1]) Cf. vol. II. p. 236, under the year 1773.

[2]) Cf. vol. II. p. 271, under the year 1773.

[3]) Whitefield did not enter Pembroke College before November 1732, nearly three years after Johnson had ceased to be resident at Oxford, so that strictly speaking they were not fellow-collegians Cf. vol. IV. p. 285 Note.

impressions among the vulgar part of mankind; but he said, they had great bitterness against other Christians. and that he never could get a methodist to explain in what he excelled others; that it always ended in the indispensable necessity of hearing one of their preachers". [1])

On Monday March 27th 1775, at the special request of the actress Mrs. Abdingdon, Dr. Johnson was present at one of that lady's benefits. At first he tried to excuse himself on account of his deafness, but she insisted so much that "it would have been brutal to have refused her". The play was "The Hypocrite", which as we have already seen, [2]) was altered from Cibber's "Non-Juror", so as to satirise the Methodists. Johnson's own opinion of the play was that "the character of the Hypocrite was not justly applicable to the Methodists, but that it was very applicable to the Nonjurors". [3])

Under the date of Feb. 6th 1776 is a letter from Johnson to John Wesley, in which he tenders his thanks to the latter for sending him a copy of his "Commentary of the Bible", as well as for the addition of his "important suffrage to his argument on the American question". [4])

Talking on one occasion in 1776 with the Doctor of a work then much in vogue, namely of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (vol. I publ. 1776), Boswell remarked that it was not fair of the author to introduce artful infidelity in a book where no one would expect to find it. He also suggested that as Gibbon had changed from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and from the Church of Rome to infidelity, he did not despair of seeing him a Methodist preacher. Johnson replied with a laugh: — "It is said, that his range has been more extensive, and that he has once been a Mahometan. However, now that he has published his infidelity,

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[1]) Cf. vol. III. p. 87.
[2]) Cf. above p. 31.
[3]) Vol. III. p. 196.
[4]) l. c. p. 309f.

he will probably persist in it." To this, Bosworth answered, that he could not agree. [1])

One day in the same year Boswell mentioned an acquaintance of his, a sectary, and probably a Methodist, though he does not say so expressly. He speaks of him as having been a very religious man, who not only attended regularly on public worship with those of his communion, but made a particular study of the Scriptures and had even written a commentary, but was known to be very licentious, maintaining that men are saved by faith alone. Johnson's curt reply was: "There's no trusting to that crazy piety". [2])

Two years later (1778), speaking of Wesley's personal character, the Doctor remarked: "His conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs, and have out his talk, as I do." [3]) As a comment on this utterance we may call attention to the fact that Wesley made a point of not talking with any body for longer than an hour at a time, and advised others that longer conversations were generally unprofitable.

Again, in the same year, Johnson said that Wesley could talk well on any subject. On Boswell asking what Wesley made of his ghost story, referring to a spirit that was said to have appeared at Newcastle, Johnson answered: "Why, Sir, he believes it; but not on sufficient authority." This particular ghost was asserted to have appeared to a young woman and to have told her to make application to an attorney about the right to an old house, at the same time saying the attorney would do nothing, which proved to be the fact. The doctor laughed at the idea that this should be a proof that a ghost knows our thoughts, as Wesley believed. He said that Charles Wesley did not believe the story and he was sorry that John did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it. That Johnson himself was not a

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[1]) l. c. p. 335 f.
[2]) l. c. p. 362 f.
[3]) Vol. IV. p. 85.

disbeliever in ghosts is shown by the answer he gave with solemn vehemence when a lady exclaimed with an incredulous smile: "What, Sir! about a ghost." — "Yes, madam: this is a question which, after five thousand years, is yet undecided: a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding." [1]

Boswell himself, who says that, though he differed from Wesley in some points, yet he admired his various talents and loved his pious zeal, made the reverend gentleman's acquaintance by a letter of introduction given him by Dr. Johnson. He met him in Edinburgh and was "very politely received". Wesley's evidence as to the ghost of Newcastle, however, did not convince him. [2]

The last reference to the Methodists in these Memoirs is in the year 1784 when Johnson was seventy-five, being the year of his death. Speaking of the religious discipline proper for unhappy convicts, the Doctor said to Boswell: "Sir, one of our regular clergy will probably not impress their minds sufficiently: they should be attended by a methodist preacher or a popish priest." [3]

Though Johnson, in Boswell's opinion, might also have been called a Methodist, because he was in the habit of examining very carefully into his religious life, yet he was far from being a Methodist in the general sense of the term. Like Goldsmith and Richardson, he praised their manner of preaching to the people, and wished the clergy would imitate them in making their sermons more interesting and attractive. On the other hand he spoke in depreciating tones of Whitefield's preaching, but entertained a high respect for Wesley. He recognised that they had done good, and yet he speaks of Moorfields as a place for madmen. He sanctions the expulsion of the students from Oxford, and yet admits that a Methodist preacher is more likely to influence convicts

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[1] l. c. p. 155.
[2] l. c. p. 266 f.
[3] Vol. V. p. 237 f.

for good than one of the regular clergy. In short, Dr. Johnson was too strict a churchman to like the irregularities of the Methodists and yet he was far too clear-sighted to overlook that they were doing good. He evidently believed that the Methodists should be restricted to the lower orders and that they had no place at the universities. Boswell seems to have shared the great man's opinion on this subject, but was inclined to be rather more lenient towards these people in general.

Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. 1717—1797.

Horace Walpole, the friend of the poets Thomas Gray and Richard West, is principally known in the literary world for his "Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England" (1758), "Anecdotes of Painting in England", (1762—71), "The Castle of Otranto", a romance, and finally for his "Letters", which began to appear in the year 1818 and were finally published in nine volumes from 1857 to 1859. Out of curiosity, it would seem, and because some fashionable people of his acquaintance had turned Methodists, he took some interest in these people and even went to hear John Wesley preach. The "Letters" contain a good number of references to the Methodists. As early as 1739 in a letter to Richard West from Bologna, he says that he has no notion of giving him an account of what he has seen, for he did not like the idea of his letters being published "like Whitefield's Journal" [1]. Three years later, speaking of Thomas Asheton, afterwards preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, Walpole says that he does not object to his pleasing the generality, "for they ran as much after Whitefield as they could after Tillotson: and I do not doubt but St. Jude converted as many honourable women as St. Paul". [2]

Sept. 3rd 1748, in writing to his correspondent and friend George Montague, he makes a pun on the "[illegible]" and

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[1] Cf. Walpole's Letters. Ed. by Peter Cunningham. Lond. 1857—59, 9 vols.; vol. I. Letter 20 p. 81.

[2] l. c. Letter 73 p. 161.

speaks of it being very nonsensical and extremely in fashion. He further makes the communication that Whitefield's services at Lady Huntingdon's had been attended by Lord Chesterfield, Lord Bath. Lady Townshend, Lady Thanet and others. Finally he asks Montague how much he will lay that Whitefield will not be run after in the following winter more than Garrick.[1])

In a letter dated March 4th 1749 to his cousin, Sir Horace Mann, Walpole mentions the fact that Lady Huntingdon "the Queen of the Methodists", had got her daughter named Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Princesses, but that it was all off again, because the mother would not allow her daughter to play cards on Sundays. In commenting on this circumstance, Walpole says that it was equally absurd on both sides, to refuse it, or to insist upon it.[2])

Two or three weeks afterwards, in another letter to the same friend, he remarks: — "Methodism in the metropolis is more fashionable than anything but brag: the women play very deep at both; as deep, it is much suspected, as the matrons of Rome did at the mysteries of the Bona Dea."[3]) Again, on the 3rd of May to the same gentleman, he writes that somebody had asked Lady Townshend if it were true that Whitefield had *recanted*. In answer she said: — "No, Sir, he has only *canted*". Walpole further warns Sir Horace Mann that when he returned to England he would have to prepare himself with Methodism, as that sect was increasing as fast as ever any religious nonsense did. "Lady Frances Shirley", he continues, "has chosen this way of bestowing the dregs of her beauty; and Mr. Lyttleton is very near making the same sacrifice of the dregs of all those various characters he has worn. The Methodists love your big sinners, as proper subjects to work upon; and, indeed, they have a plentiful harvest."[4])

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[1]) Vol. II. Letter 275 p. 126.

[2]) l. c. Letter 284 p. 147.

[3]) l. c. Letter 285 p. 149; cf. Tyerman vol. II. p. 32.

[4]) l. c. Letter 286 p. 154 f. See also vol. VII. Letter 1742 pp. 94 f., 104 f.

A couple of months later (July 24th 1749), Sir Horace Mann received a letter in which Walpole professes to answer his friend's question about the principles of the Methodists. He says that he has tried to learn them and has read one of their books, but he does not think necessary to say which. "The *visible* part", he thus expresses himself, "seems to be nothing but stricter practice than that of our Church, clothed in the old exploded cant of mystical devotion." The Methodists, he asserts, are fond of using metaphors, and this is what catches women of fashion and shopkeepers.[1]) In another letter of the same correspondence Walpole writes that he would not wonder at Mr. Lyttleton or Whitefield the Methodist setting out for Italy in order to make a tender of some of our religions on the occasion of the quarrel between the Pope and the Venetians, on the Patriarchate of Aquileia.[2])

In September 1753 Walpole, writing to Richard Bentley, and talking of religious sects, said that Methodism was quite decayed in Oxford, its cradle.[3])

To George Montague on the 3rd of October 1758 we hear him prophesying that Lady Townshend is again likely to turn Methodist, having been frightened by some ghostly figures.[4]) On May 6th 1760 he describes to the same friend the death of Lord Ferrers, who was hanged for having killed his steward in a fit of passion. Speaking of the efforts of his aunt, Lady Huntingdon, to bring about his conversion, Walpole says: — "The Methodists have nothing to brag of his conversion, though Whitfield prayed for him and preached about him."[5])

On the following day Walpole wrote to Sir Horace Mann on the same subject. In this letter he speaks of Lady Huntingdon as the "Saint Theresa of the Methodists", and says that one cannot wonder at finding "so much violent bigotry

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[1]) l. c. Letter 293 p. 175.
[2]) l. c. Letter 309 p. 215.
[3]) l. c. Letter 369 p. 357.
[4]) Vol. III. Letter 576 p. 177.
[5]) l. c. Letter 662 p. 304.

in such mad blood". [1]) In August of the same year he tells Sir Horace Mann that he knows of one "who will neither turn Jew nor Protestant, nay, nor Methodist, which is more in fashion". This was the Spanish ambassador, Monsieur Fuentes, who had given his honour to the Virgin Mary that he would not. [2])

In November 1760 Walpole was printing his "Anecdotes of Painting", and assured George Montague that there was not a word of Methodism in it. [3])

In a letter to the Earl of Strafford, dated July 5th 1761, Walpole tells a story of Whitefield very much to his disadvantage, and then says he hopes that it is true. Whitefield, he writes, had been to Lady Huntingdon to beg forty pounds, which, she said, she could not give him. As a last resource, he pointed to her watch and trinkets and told her she did not want such vanities. She would have put him off, but he still persisted, and at last she yielded. Some time afterwards, the Countess visited Whitefield at his house, and to her surprise found among his wife's ornaments her own offering. Walpole asserts that this caused "a terrible schism" and that she told the story herself. [4]) We are glad to say that we have not met with any confirmation of this story.

In his letter of Feb. 2nd 1762 to George Montague, Walpole refers to the Cock Lane Ghost and makes it out that it was supported by the Methodists. Quoting Lord Aylesford as his authority, he further asserts that the Methodists had attempted ghosts three times in Warwickshire, and then concludes his letter with the ironical remark: "There, how good I am!" [5]) Writing to Sir Horace Mann, on March 22nd 1762, Walpole defended himself for having been to see the Cock Lane Ghost, and remarked that he himself would soon probably be keeping Saints' days, "for enthusiasm is growing into fashion,

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[1]) l. c. Letter 663 p. 307.
[2]) l. c. Letter 675 p. 329.
[3]) l. c. Letter 698 p. 365.
[4]) l. c. Letter 728 p. 410.
[5]) l. c. Letter 773 p. 481 f.

and while they are cancelling holidays at Rome, the Methodists are reviving them here".[1])

In another letter to Montague, dated Nov. 20th 1763, he says that "London was never so entertaining since it had a steeple or a madhouse. Cowards fight duels, secretaries turn Methodists on the Tuesday, and are expelled the playhouse for blasphemy on Friday." Being anxious lest his friend should think he had turned Methodist, he asserts that he has not.[2])

Writing from Paris (Nov. 21st 1765) to George Montague, he puts Methodists in the same category as "jesuits, the hypocrite Rousseau, the scoffer Voltaire" etc., and describes them all as impostors in their various ways. The ploughman, who sows his seed, reads his almanack, and believes the stars are so many farthing candles, created to prevent him falling into the ditch when he goes home after dark, is for Walpole, "a wiser and more rational being", and "certainly honester" than any of the kinds of characters mentioned.[3]) Writing again from Paris on March 10th 1766, Walpole has another hit at the Methodists. He apologises to Lady Hervey, to whom the letter is addressed, because he has been so forgetful to thank Lord Hertford for a recommendation. He exclaims that he cannot account for it, that he is as black as ink, and must turn — methodist to fancy that repentance can wash him. This would-be cure, however, does not satisfy him, for he adds: "No, I will not; for then I may sin again, and trust to the same nostrum" (cf. vol. IV. L. 1047 p. 487 f.).

In the October of the same year, Walpole wrote to John Chute Esq. to whom he gives a lively and satirical account of a methodist service he had attended at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. Wesley himself was the preacher. "I have been at one opera," he writes, "Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls, with charming voices, that sing hymns in parts to Scotch ballad tunes; but, indeed, so long,

[1]) l. c. Letter 785 p. 497.
[2]) Vol. IV. Letter 883 p. 133 f.
[3]) l. c. Letter 1024 p. 441.

that one would think they were already in eternity, and knew not how much time they had before them." He then gives a very favourable description of the little chapel, and of the preacher himself he says that he is "a clean, elderly man, fresh coloured, his hair smoothly combed, but with a little *soupçon* of curl at the ends". He considered him to be as much an actor as Garrick, but did not like his delivery, "for he spoke so fast and with so little accent that, he was sure, he had often given it before". Parts of it, however, were very eloquent, but "towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm, decried learning and told stories".[1])

In a letter to the Rev. Wm. Cole, Dec. 19th 1767, Walpole expresses the opinion that the Catholic religion is very consumptive, but that with a little patience, if Whitefield, Wesley etc. live, he does not doubt but that something very like it will take place in England. He prefers, however, to live at the end of a tawdry religion than at the beginning, which is always more stern and hypocritic.[2])

A few months later (April 16th 1768), in a letter to the same friend, he expresses the hope that that gentleman's neighbour, the methodist,[3]) "does not, like his patriarch Whitefield, encourage the people to forge, murder etc., in order to have the benefit of being converted at the gallows". Walpole then tells of a funeral sermon preached by that "arch-rogue" on a man who had been hanged for forgery. The best way to treat these people, he says, is not to persecute them, but to get clergy to fight them and ridicule them.[4])

Walpole's feelings towards the Methodists are perhaps expressed most strongly in his letter to the Earl of Strafford on the 25th of June 1768. He asks: "Is it true that Lady Rockingham is turned Methodist? It will be a great acqui-

[1]) Vol. V. Letter 1079 p. 16.

[2]) l. c. Letter 1121 p. 76.

[3]) In the Appendix is a note to the effect that this "neighbour" was one Berridge who was at Clare Hall with Walpole. Cf. Appendix, vol. IX. p. 522.

[4]) l. c. Letter 1134 p. 97.

sition to the sect to have their hymns set by Giardini. Pope Joan Huntingdon will be deposed, if the husband becomes first minister. I doubt too, the saints will like to call at Canterbury and Winchester on their way to heaven. My charity is so small, that I do not think their virtue a jot more obdurate than that of patriots."[1])

When Walpole's nephew dismantled and spoiled the palace and estate at Houghton, which he had inherited from the former's father, Walpole himself was so indignant that in a letter to the Rev. William Mason, dated Sept. 3rd 1773, he writes that he felt like selling his own house at Strawberry Hill and laying the purchase-money at the feet of the first Methodist apostle he met.[2])

On the 24th of the same month, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford, he lets loose his satire on Lady Huntingdon, Whitefield, and Lady Fanny Shirley. Speaking of a print of Lady Huntingdon, he says, "she looks like an old basket-woman trampling on her coronet at the mouth of a cavern". Whereupon he exclaims: — "Poor Whitfield! If he was forced to do the honours of the *spelunca*". Of 'Saint Fanny Shirley', he says, he had been told she had written a letter two days previously which was not intelligible.[3]) In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Cole, July 24th 1776, he expresses his surprise that "those madmen [i. e. enthusiasts and especially Methodists] and knaves do not begin to wear out, as their folly is no longer new".[4])

To his friend, the Rev. Wm. Mason, he tells in his letter of July 6th 1777. how that his plaisterer was turned a raving Methodist and had sent him a frantic letter "without sense or grammar, but desiring leave to open him a new plan of the Gospel". Then Walpole satirically exclaims: — "I am glad he had no *new light* about making stucco!" He also

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[1]) l. c. Letter 1143 p. 112.
[2]) l. c. Letter 1383 p. 499.
[3]) l. c. Letter 1386 p. 504.
[4]) Vol. VI. Letter 1596 p. 361.

makes the comment that he "fears those gentry the Methodists will grow very troublesome or worse".[1])

A year later, in writing to the Rev. Mr. Cole, Walpole puts Calvin, Wesley and the Pope all on the same level. Power and wealth, he says, are their objects and he abhors them both. In a postscript, however, he adds that he likes Popery, as he likes chivalry and romance, but the church in the abstract is a jargon that means nothing, or a great deal too much.[2])

In a letter to the Earl of Strafford (June 13th 1781), he makes a flippant use of the Calvinistic Methodist doctrine of election as a simile. After having converted a certain Mr. Storer to be an antiquary, he reports his success to his friend, and then continues: "The Methodists say, one must have been very wicked before one can be of the elect — yet is that extreme more distant from *the ton,* which avows knowing and liking nothing but the fashion of the instant, to studying what were the modes of five hundred years ago?"[3])

On the 25th June 1782, Walpole wrote to his friend the Rev. Wm. Mason some thoughts about epic poetry. Among other things he makes the startling assertion that "Dante was extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short a *Methodist Parson in Bedlam*".[4]) The Methodist Parson might be content to be in such company!

Towards the end of his life Walpole kept up a correspondence with Miss Hannah More (1745—1833), the authoress of "Sacred Dramas" etc. (cf. below p. 138 f.). Writing to her on the 22nd of September 1788, he expresses his delight in the moderateness of her piety and especially because she had declined to see an enthusiast exorcist. He further says how shocking such presumption is, and will not give it the name of enthusiasm, but of delirium. Real enthusiasts, he says, he

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[1]) l. c. Letter 1651 p. 452.
[2]) Vol. VII. Letter 1741 p. 94.
[3]) Vol. VIII. Letter 2040 p. 51.
[4]) l. c. Letter 2162 p. 235.

pities and considers "that the best cure for them would be to shave their heads and take away some blood".[1])

In a letter to Miss Berry in 1791, Walpole announces to her the death of Lady Huntingdon, "the patriarchess" of the Methodists, and predicts that the sect will probably decline, now that Whitefield and she are gone. If Walpole referred to the Methodists generally, the statistics quoted at the end of this dissertation are sufficient to show how mistaken he was destined to be.

The last mention in Walpole's "Letters" of the Methodist Movement is in a letter to the Hon. H. S. Conway, written at Strawberry Hill, Aug. 31st 1792. We have here a description of a fête given by the Duchess of York to her tenants at Oatlands in honour of the Duke's birthday. A company of strollers coming to Waybridge to act in a barn, she was solicited to go and see them. This she did out of charity and took all her servants with her. On the following day, a Methodist teacher came to preach a charity sermon in the same barn, and she consented to hear him for the same reason. Her domestics, however, wished to be excused on the plea that they did not understand English. "Oh!" said the Duchess, "but you went to the comedy, which you understood less, and you shall go to the sermon." She went and gave handsomely at the collection and for them too. Walpole concludes his narration by saying: "I like this."[2])

We have two more slight references to our subject in some of Walpole's verses. The first is in "The Parish Register of Twickenham", written about 1758. This poem consists of an enumeration of the celebrities of that suburb of London. The writer introduces Lady Fanny Shirley who is mentioned several times in the "Letters" as a convert to Methodism:[3])

"Fanny, ever blooming fair,
Ejaculates the graceful pray'r,

[1]) Vol. IX. Letter 2447 p. 148.
[2]) l. c. Letter 2586 p. 386.
[3]) See above pp. 126, 131; also Letters, vol. VII. pp. 99 f., 104 f.

And 'scaped from sense, with nonsense smit.
For Whitfield's cant leaves Stanhope's wit."[1])

The other reference is in the Epilogue to his "Mysterious Mother", to be spoken by Mrs. Clive. Walpole here expresses the opinion that sectaries and saints are the produce of a vicious age, and points the daughters of Britain to the throne where sits a model of virtue. Speaking of the heroine of the play, he says: —

"*So very guilty, and so very good,*
An angel, with such errant flesh and blood!
Such sinning, praying, preaching — I'll be kist,
If I don't think she was a methodist."[2])

From Walpole's standpoint the Methodists were nothing but enthusiasts and fanatics, including both Wesley and Whitefield. Even the former's sermon does not seem to have edified him very much. In his apparent desire to see nothing but cant and hypocrisy, he altogether overlooked the great good the Methodists were doing among the lower classes, both in the metropolis and other large towns.

Though we might have expected Oliver Goldsmith (1728—1774) to have introduced the Methodists into his "Vicar of Wakefield" or "The Deserted Village", yet no such references are to be found. He did not, however, altogether ignore them in his writings. The first mention of them is to be found in the seventh number (Sat. Nov. 17th 1759) of "The Bee", a paper of which he published eight numbers.[3])

The subject of this particular number is "Eloquence". In the course of his remarks the author holds up the methodist preachers as men, who by the best use of their powers

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[1]) Cf. Works. London 1798—1822. 8 vols.; vol. IV. p. 383.

[2]) l. c. vol. IV. p. 397.

[3]) Cf. Goldsmith's Miscellaneous Works, edit. by Irving. Paris 1837, 4 vols; vol. IV. p. 205 f.

of speech, know how to create a much greater effect on the people than any of the clergy of the established church. Quoting his own words, we have the following expression of his opinion: "How seldom they are endued with common sense, and yet how often and how justly they affect their hearers. I cannot avoid saying within myself, had these been bred gentlemen, and had they been endued with even the meanest share of understanding, what might they not effect! Did our bishops, who can add dignity to their expostulations, testify the same fervour, and *entreat* their hearers, as well as argue, what might not be the consequence!"

Further mention of the Methodists is to be found in Goldsmith's "Essays". He commences his "Description of Various Clubs"[1]) by quoting some philosopher who said that "let a man's character, sentiments or complexion be what they will, he can find company in London to match them". Not only the splenetic, the passionate and the phlegmatic man can easily find congenial friends, but even the man who is actually mad, "may find very good company in Moorfields, either at Bedlam or the Foundry, ready to cultivate a nearer acquaintance". Essay IV[2]) is on the "English Clergy and Popular Preachers". The essayist here again contrasts the methodist preachers favourably with the clergy in spite of the latter having better opportunities of enjoying a liberal education. The clergy are generally "dry, methodical and unaffecting; they address the cushion instead of the audience, who instead of being awakened to remorse, actually fall asleep over their labouring compositions" (p. 277). Few talents, Goldsmith observes further, are necessary in order to become a popular preacher, a just and manly sincerity being that talent which of itself will draw crowds of listeners round enthusiasts. "Folly", he says, "may sometimes set an example for wisdom to practise and our regular divines may borrow instructions even from Methodists who go their circuits and preach prizes among the populace.

[1]) l. c. vol. IV. p 253 ff.
[2]) Ib. p. 275 ff.

Even Whitefield may be placed as a model for some of our young divines; let them join to their own good sense his earnest manner of delivery."

Finally, in his "Citizen of the World" (publ. 1762), which purports to be a series of letters from a Chinese philosopher residing in London to his friends in the East, Goldsmith makes this subject of the celestial empire describe his impressions of the religion of the people of England. Speaking of the numerous sects, the Chinaman says that anyone can "set up for himself and sell off a new religion".[1]) "They have arrived at such refinement in religion-making, that they have actually formed a new sect without a new opinion; they quarrel for opinions they both equally defend; they hate each other and that is all the difference between them." While their principles are the same, their practice is said to be somewhat different, for those of the established church laugh when they are pleased, but those of the new sect weep for their amusement. Dancing round the room is, with them, running in a direct line to the devil. The writer then makes a comparison between these sectaries and the enthusiasts of the East, for example the Faquirs, the Brahmins and the Talapoins. The only antagonist that can be successfully opposed to enthusiasm he asserts to be ridicule. Persecution only tends to propagate new religions. This is illustrated by the story of the two orders of friars who quarrelled about the antiquity and authenticity of their respective legends. On being persuaded to subject them to an ordeal by fire in order to test their miraculous powers, both legends, of course, were burned and the friars made contemptible.

This letter was clearly directed against the Methodists, although they are not mentioned by name. In the table of contents, however, it is described as being, "On the different sects in England, particularly Methodism". It is also worth noticing that these letters first appeared in Newbury's daily

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[1]) l. c. vol. III. p. 431 ff.

paper, the "Public Ledger"[1]) for 1760, and as ridicule is asserted to be the best remedy for enthusiasm, it seems very possible that this particular letter was suggested by, or must, at all events, be taken in close connection with Foote's "Minor", which was first performed on January 28th 1760.

Thus, while he was inclined to hold up to contempt the extremes to which the Methodists carried their enthusiasm, Oliver Goldsmith was far from not recognising and recommending for imitation what he considered to be their good qualities.

This will be the most convenient place to mention one or two references which are to be found where we might have expected more. We mean in the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1690—1762) and in the works of Hannah More (1745—1833).

Writing to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, about the education of her grand-daughter, Lady Mary expresses the opinion that while few heads are capable of making Sir Isaac Newton's calculations, a moderate capacity may understand the result of them. She has no fear that this will make any young girl like women, who are ridiculous, not because they have learning, but because they have it not. "One thinks herself a complete historian after reading Echard's Roman History; another a profound philosopher, having got by heart some of Pope's *unintelligible* essays, and a third an able divine on the strength of Whitfield's sermons."[2])

Again, in writing to the same lady five weeks later from the same place, namely, Lovere in Lombardy where she spent more than the last twenty years of her life on account of her health, she discourses on the way in which she had been brought up herself. She compares herself to Clarissa Harlowe, and her governess to the pious Mrs. Norton. "It

[1]) Morley's Sketch of English Literature, p. 860; Irving's Life of Goldsmith, Works, vol. I. p. XLIV.

[2]) The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Second Edition, Revised. London 1837, 3 vols.; vol. III. p. 46.

was none of her fault", she says, "that I am not at this day afraid of witches and hobgoblins or turned methodist."

These notices are very slight ones, and though in the one case she mentions Whitefield as an able divine, in the other she puts Methodism on a level with old wives' tales, so that it is impossible to form any exact opinion of her views on the subject. We can only say that the Methodists did not stand high in her favour.

From Miss Hannah More's character and the style of her works it might have been expected that she would have had more to say about the Methodists. Had there been many like her in the State Church there would have been no need for Methodism. It is very probable, however, that her character was a product of the movement. Her works breathe the spirit of true religion and are even methodistical, but she seems to avoid any reference to the movement itself.

It is only in "Cælebs in Search of a Wife", which was not published until 1808, that we find any mention of the Methodists. Here we have an enumeration of customs which were always considered by a pretty large class of men as the infallible symptoms of Methodism. Among others are: Going to church in the afternoon, maintaining family prayer, not travelling or giving great dinners or other entertainments on Sundays etc. "These, though the man attend no eccentric clergyman, hold no one enthusiastic doctrine and associate with no fanatic — will infallibly fix on him the charge of methodism."[1])

On another occasion, speaking of the company people keep, she says that when a man is worldly, gay and thoughtless, inquiry is seldom made as to whether he is immoral, or an unbeliever or a profligate. But when a man shows actual piety, you are warned to be on your guard. Such a man may be righteous overmuch. The question is at once asked: "Is he sincere?" to be followed up by: "Is he not a Methodist?"[2])

[1]) Cf. Cælebs etc. The 14th Edition. London 1813; vol. II. p. 263 f.

[2]) l. c. vol. II. pp. 343 f.

Even Horace Walpole was an admirer of Hannah More's piety, though he showed no sympathy for the Methodists.

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b) **Methodism in the Novels.**

"The History of Sir Charles Grandison", the third of Samuel Richardson's (1689—1761) celebrated epistolary novels is the only one in which he takes occasion to make any mention of the Methodists. We should rather have expected to find these people introduced into his first novel, "Pamela", especially as the subject of it was low-born, and the book itself was written avowedly for country readers. Besides this, at the time of composition (Nov. 10th 1739 to Jan. 10th 1740)[1], the Methodists had already begun to feel the attacks of their adversaries.[2] But neither here nor in "Clarissa Harlowe" have we any references at all to this sect.

It is then to "Sir Charles Grandison" that we are confined for Richardson's views about these people, and even here the passages at our disposal are but very few.

Sir Charles's younger sister Charlotte (Lady G.) has occasion to speak of the Methodists in three of her letters to Miss Byron.

In the first she informs her friend that a certain doctor is one of the most pious men in England, but that her aunt, who is in love with him, "will tire him with praying, and expounding, as she calls it. Do you know that the good creature was a Methodist in Yorkshire? These *overdoers*, my dear, are wicked wretches. What do they, but make religion look unlovely, and put *underdoers* out of heart?"[3] As a contrast to religionists of this class, she then holds up her brother, Sir Charles, who does not profess the half of what he practises.

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[1]) Cf. Morley's Sketch of Engl. Lit., p. 826.

[2]) Cf. Tyerman, vol. I. pp. 209 and 236 ff.

[3]) Cf. The History of Sir Charles Grandison. The Third Edition. London 1754, 7 vols.; vol. V. Letter IX. p. 45.

Some months later, she writes: "By the way, do you know that Mrs. O-Hara is turned *Methodist?* True as you are alive. And she labours hard to convert her husband. Thank God she is anything that is serious! These people have really great merit with me, in *her* conversion. — I am sorry that our own Clergy are not as zealously in earnest as they. They have really, my dear, if we may believe Aunt Eleanour, given a face of religion to subterranean colliers, tinners, and the most profligate of men, who hardly ever before heard either of the word, or thing. But *I* am not turning *Methodist*, Harriet. No. you will not suspect me." [1]) Referring to the same conversion, she reports later on that her aunt has succeeded in converting her husband. In commenting upon it, she calls it "a strange alteration", but says that "it is natural for such sort of people to pass from one extreme to another". [2])

In a letter [3]) written by Miss Byron to Lady G., she describes a conversation between her uncle Mr. Selby and Sir Charles Grandison to whom she was then engaged to be married. Sir Charles is accused of being too broad in his religious views. In his defence he says that religious zeal is generally a fiery thing and that he would as soon quarrel with a man's face as with his religion. Mr. Selby gets quite excited and exclaims: — "The *Methodists*, Sir Charles; what think you of the *Methodists!* Say you love 'em, and, and, and, addsdines, you shall not be my Nephew." Sir Charles takes this as a menace, but Mr. Selby tries to laugh it off. However, in order to cut off the conversation, Sir Charles takes Miss Byron out of the room.

The converted couple mentioned above are again referred to in a letter from Miss Jervois to Sir Charles. Miss Jervois is Mrs. O-Hara's daughter by her first husband. She says that her mother and her husband now live happily and elegantly, and that thanks to Sir Charles, they want for nothing.

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[1]) Vol. VI. Letter IX. p. 32.
[2]) Ib. Letter XXVII. p. 169.
[3]) Ib. Letter XXXI. p. 207.

They are also grown quite religious and have leisure to think of their souls' good. She further speaks of them going all the way from Soho to Moorfields to hear the preacher they admire so much, and of the contributions they give for his support, seeing that he has no establishment.

If we may judge of Richardson's opinions about the Methodists from these few passages, we must allow that he did not assume a very unfavourable attitude towards them. While he does not approve of their *overdoing* religion, yet he recognises that they had done a great deal of good among certain classes of people, such as colliers and low profligate men in general. Like Goldsmith [1]), too, he laments that the clergy are so indifferent to their high calling and wishes they were as zealous as the Methodists.

Henry Fielding's [2]) (1707—1754) references to the Methodists in one of his farces have already been quoted.[3]) But it is in his prose works. and more especially in his celebrated novels, that these people are made the subjects of his satire.

In the year 1742 he published "The Adventures of Joseph Andrews", which was intended as a tonic to Richardson's "Pamela", and by which that author felt himself greatly offended. In Chapter XVII. a discourse between the two parsons, Mr. Adams and Mr. Barnabas, and a bookseller takes place on the subject of publishing some sermons by Mr. Adams. The bookseller professes reluctance at being necessitated to refuse the publication of them, and says: "The trade is so stocked with them, that really, unless they come out with the name of Whitefield or Wesley, or some other great man, as a bishop or that sort of people, I don't care to touch" (p. 295 f.). He then makes a comparison between sermons and plays, which Adams does not relish, especially when he says that he would as soon print one of

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[1]) See above p. 135 f.

[2]) Cf. Works. Ed. by Roscoe, London 1840.

[3]) Cf. above p. 33 f.

Whitefield's sermons, as any farce whatever. Barnabas is aroused at this, and turning to Adams, complains that "this fellow's [i. e. Whitefield's] writings are levelled at the clergy". This he follows up with a tirade against his works and concludes by saying: — "Sir, the principles of Toland, Woolston, and all the freethinkers, are not calculated to do half the mischief, as those professed by this fellow and his followers."

Adams replies that if Mr. Whitefield had not carried his doctrines any farther than Barnabas had mentioned, he would have remained his well-wisher. He was himself just as great an enemy to the usury and splendour of the clergy as Mr. Whitefield. "But when he began to call nonsense and enthusiasm to his aid, and set up the detestable doctrine of faith against good works, I was his friend no longer; for surely that doctrine was coined in hell."

After a further condemnation of this doctrine as being unworthy of the Creator, he assures the bookseller that in his own sermons, he thanks God, the contrary is inculcated on almost every page. The bookseller, however, cannot be persuaded to undertake the publishing of them. Parson Adams is quite a model of an orthodox clergyman, who is conscientious in fulfilling his duties to his parishioners and fellowmen. That he was not afraid to rebuke sin and atheism, is shown in his conversation with the landlord about religion, on which subject the latter was catechised very severely.

In "Tom Jones, The History of a Foundling" (1749), there are no particular allusions to the Methodists. We only read that the landlady of the house in which Jones and Lady Bellaston were wont to meet, became a methodist, as did also Tom's foster-brother Blifil. In the former case the woman rebukes Lady Bellaston for her past life and positively declares she will on no account be instrumental in carrying on any of her affairs for the future. In this she keeps her word. Blifil, on the other hand, is said to have turned methodist "in hopes of marrying a very rich widow of that sect." (p. 275.)

Fielding's next and last novel, in which the Methodists are referred to, is his "Amelia", published in 1751. After

discoursing on certain anomalies in the conduct of English justice, the author takes the reader into a prison which he describes with all its horrors. A certain Mr. Booth, who had been committed innocently for having attacked the watchman, makes the round of the prison in company with a Mr. Robinson, a philosopher, or rather a freethinker. Mr. Booth also holds some of the same opinions, but is shocked at his companion's gambling propensities. At this juncture he is addressed by a grave-looking man who expresses his sorrow at seeing him associated with Mr. Robinson. The latter he accuses of being a rascal and of disowning all revealed religion. He continues talking a great deal of cant and finally ends in declaring himself a methodist. He then leaves Booth, but not before having, "as the phrase of the sect is, searched him to the bottom" (p. 378). In fact he had emptied Mr. Booth's pockets of the few things he possessed. On missing his iron snuff-box the latter accuses the gambler of having stolen it, but is soon convinced of his innocence. At his suggestion he offers a crown to anyone in the prison who would restore it to him. This was successful, for the methodist produced the box which, he said, he had found, and should have returned it before, had he known the person to whom it belonged; adding, with uplifted eyes, that the spirit would not suffer him knowingly to detain the goods of another, however inconsiderable the value was. "'Why so, friend?' said Robinson, 'Have I not heard you often say, the wickeder any man was the better, provided he was what you call a believer?' — 'You mistake me', cries Cooper (for that was the name of the methodist): 'no man can be wicked after he is possessed by the spirit. There is a wide difference between the days of sin and the days of grace. I have been a sinner myself.' — 'I believe thee', cries Robinson, with a sneer. 'I care not,' answered the other, 'what an atheist believes. I suppose you would insinuate that I stole the snuff-box; but I value not your malice; the Lord knows my innocence'" (p. 379 f.). He then walked off with the reward. Booth turned to Robinson and asked his pardon for having suspected him of the theft. This the latter

very readily grants and tries to prove that he is not a gambler. Experience, however, makes Booth mistrust his new friend, especially when his request for the loan of two shillings is refused.

Several hits at the Methodists are also to be found in Henry Fielding's Periodicals. On the 5th November 1745 he began "The True Patriot", the object of which was to oppose Jacobitism. In December 1747, this paper changed its form, but not its aim, when it appeared as "The Jacobite Journal, by John Trott-Plaid Esq." In No. 13 of the first mentioned paper (p. 675), dated January 28th 1746, a story is told, ostensibly as an example of judging things differently according to the point of view, but really with the intention of rendering the Methodist preachers ridiculous. The writer professes to have been present at "a certain religious assembly of the people called Methodists" where the preacher took for his text: "It is reported that fornication is among you". The whole congregation, as well as himself, he believed, expected a wholesome discourse on all criminal conversation between the sexes. To their great surprise the preacher limited his remarks to the former part of the text and only discanted on the nature and various kinds of reports.

A further reference is to be found in "The Jacobite Journal" No. 15, dated March 12th 1748 (p. 678 f.). The writer of the Journal is addressed by some correspondent on the question of where the proper persons are to be found of whom proselytes to Jacobitism can be made. Just as a good huntsman does not go shooting for hare or foxes about the Royal Exchange, so says the writer "you have no occasion to go with parson Whitefield to Georgia after a young jacobite; but you may go with parson Whitefield to Kennington-common, or Bagshot-heath, or Hounslow, in quest of one; for want has made many a man a jacobite, revenge more, and ignorance thousands".

Fielding's methodist characters whether in his farce, in his journals, or in his novels, are not such as to reflect the best side of their lives. The preachers in general are rendered ridiculous, while even Whitefield himself is made out to

be an instigator of Jacobitism, and his writings are said to be levelled at the clergy. The only praise accorded to Wesley and Whitefield, if such limited recognition can be called by that name, is put into the mouth of the bookseller who discusses the subject of publishing sermons with Parson Adams. The latter, too, professes to agree with Whitefield in many points, but says that he could no longer remain his well-wisher when he set up his detestable doctrine of faith against good works. The converted landlady in "Tom Jones" at least shows her sincerity by giving up her former occupation of being privy to the love affairs of Lady Bellaston. But Blifil's reason for turning Methodist is again most contemptible, while Cooper, the methodist in the prison described in "Amelia", is the character that deserves to be despised most of all, on account of his low cant and hypocrisy.

In all these people, however, there is no trait that can be described as peculiarly methodistical. Though one of the doctrines preached by John Wesley was that of Perfection which all Methodists were expected to strive to attain, yet it was but a small proportion of them, who even professed to have reached that goal. There is no denying that such characters as represented by Fielding were to be found among professing Methodists, but could he not just as easily have picked up similar ones in the State Church or in other sects?

The Methodists were not made the subjects of Laurence Sterne's (1713—1768) wit and indecency either in his "Tristram Shandy" or in his "Sentimental Journey". One of his sermons[1]), however, is on Enthusiasm, and here he seizes the opportunity to disparage the Methodists in strong terms. Though he does not mention them by name, it is quite evident that they are intended by "these modern enthusiasts". He is very severe on what he calls "the distinguishing character of a Christian" as defined by

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[1]) Works of Sterne. London 1843; p. 699 f.

the Methodists, namely "a violent persuasion of mind that they are instantaneously become the children of God; that the whole score of their sins is for ever blotted out, without the fragment of one tear of repentance. Pleasing doctrine this to the fears and passions of mankind! — promising fair to gain proselytes of the vicious and impenitent." The learned prebend seems to have known but little of the real doctrines of Wesley to suppose that he did not require people to repent of their sins before they could be saved. He does profess to have read some of their "journals", (very probably he means those published by Wesley and Whitefield), but he only finds "much blasphemous language in them", and expects that they will soon be filled with as many legendary accounts of visions and revelations, as were in earlier ages given by the Church of Rome. Had Sterne himself been methodistical in the best sense of the term, he would probably not have tried to gain friends among the grand people by having recourse to flattery, nor would he have shown such a shameful neglect of his duties as husband and father.

Though Tobias Smollett (1721—1771) passes over the Methodist movement in silence in the earlier editions of his "History of England", he has a notice of it under the head of Fanaticism in the edition of 1766. In this edition he brings his history down to the death of George II. In the passage referred to, the historian says that "fanaticism and imposture still hang upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity and pretensions to divine illumination. Many thousands were infected with enthusiasm by the endeavours of a few obscure Preachers, such as Wh— and the two W—'s, who found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution."[1])

It is interesting to read Wesley's own trenchant comment

[1]) Vol. II. p. 157.

on this passage which he quotes in his "Journals" [1]) under April 22nd 1779. "Poor Smollet!" he exclaims, "thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falsehoods!" Wesley goes on to assert that neither imposture nor fanaticism had any share in the Methodist revival of religion. The religion he preaches is "the love of God and man, gratitude to our Creator, and good-will to our fellow-creatures". The Doctor, he says, does not know anything about the matter, otherwise he could not have called it enthusiasm. That "obscure Preachers made pretensions to divine illumination", he further asserts to be a silly calumny that has so often been refuted to the satisfaction of all candid men. Referring to Smollett's assertion that the preachers of Methodism found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution, Wesley concludes by saying: — "So does this frontless man, blind and bold, stumble on without the least shadow of truth."

In his other works, however, Smollett is not so severe on the Methodists. In his novel, which is perhaps the best known, and by many considered as the most entertaining and agreeable of all his works, he makes the Methodists occupy a very prominent place. This is "The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker" (1770—1771), which we shall therefore consider first, though, as we shall see, the Methodists were also referred to in some of his earlier works besides his "History".

The subject of the novel is at first a postillion and afterwards a lacquey in the service of a certain Mr. Bramble who travels about the country with his family. Humphrey proves himself to be very useful and shows his attachment to the family in many ways. One day, however, Mr. Bramble goes with his nephew [2]), Jerry Melford, in order to see a carriage belonging to a coachman in the neighbourhood, from whom they hope to buy it. All at once they notice down a

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[1]) Vol. IV. p. 148.

[2]) Cf. The Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett. Edited by Thomas Roscoe. London 1841; p. 838.

narrow lane, behind Long Acre, a crowd of people standing at a door, which, it seems, opened into a kind of Methodist meeting. They were informed that a footman was, at the time, holding forth to the congregation within. Curious to see this "phenomenon", as Melford calls it in his letter to his friend, they squeezed their way into the building. Here, to their great surprise, they found Clinker addressing the congregation, and the females of the family among the audience. Mr. Bramble at once commanded his lacquey to come down and order a hackney-coach. On arriving at their lodgings he gave Clinker a piece of his mind on the subject, and told him that he was either a knave or a madman and that it would be better if he left his service. Humphrey prefers to give up his preaching and stay in his place, much to the disgust of Aunt Tabitha (Mr. B.'s sister) who interpreted it into poorness of spirit and worldly-mindedness.

After a short time Humphrey is arrested on the charge of having robbed a coach. His evidence is given in such a hesitating way that most of those who are present think he must be guilty. Mr. Bramble and his nephew, however, consider him innocent, and the former cries out to him: "'In the name of God, if you are innocent, say so.' — 'No', cried he, 'God forbid that I should call myself innocent, while my conscience is burdened with sin.' — 'What then, you did commit the robbery?' resumed his master. 'No, sure', said he, 'blessed be the Lord, I'm free from that guilt'" (p. 841). It was proposed to discharge him as a lunatic, but he is finally convicted and sent to Clerkenwell in spite of his innocence. Here he is visited by the family to whom the turnkey says of Clinker: "I don't care if the devil had him; here has been nothing but canting and praying since the fellow entered the place — Rabbit him! the tap will be ruined — — we han't sold a cask of beer, nor a dozen of wine, since he paid his garnish — the gentlemen get drunk with nothing but your d—med religion. For my part I believe as how your man deals with the devil. Two or three as bold hearts as ever took the air upon Hounslow, have been blubbering all night; and if the fellow an't speedily removed by habeas

corpus, or otherwise, I'll be d—med if there's a grain of true spirit left within these walls — we shan't have a soul to do credit to the place, or to make his exit like a true born Englishman, — d—n my eyes! there will be nothing but snivelling in the cart — we shall all die like so many psalm-singing weavers." (p. 842 f.)

We have quoted this passage at length because it gives us an insight into the condition of the prisons a century and a half ago, and shows how necessary it was for some one to begin a reform. It is well known that the early methodists did good work in this direction, instituting a regular visitation, by which means they were enabled to rescue many from the terrible state into which their conduct had plunged them. At last Humphrey is released on bail when Mr. Bramble says of him: — "He has commended himself to the whole of our family by his talents of preaching, praying and singing psalms, which he exercises with such effect. If there were anything like affectation or hypocrisy in this excess of religion, I would not keep him in my service; but so far as I can observe, the fellow's character is downright simplicity, warmed with a kind of enthusiasm, which renders him very susceptible of gratitude and attachment to his benefactors." (p. 843 f.)

Mrs. Winifred Jenkins, the woman in attendance on Mr. Bramble's sister, writes a very amusing letter to Mrs. Mary Jones who had been left in care of the Hall. Like Mrs. Malaprop in Sheridan's "Rivals", she distinguishes herself by her misuse of words, but especially by her comical orthography. Among other things she sends her friend (p. 844): "a sarment upon the nothingness of good works, which was preached in the tabernacle". . . . . "Mr. Clinker has been in trouble", she writes further on, "but the gates of hell have not been able to prevail again him. His virtue is like pour gould, seven times tried in the fire. He was tuck up for a robbery, and had before Gustass Busshard, who made his mittamouse, and the pore youth was sent to prison upon the false oof of a willian, that wanted to sware his life away for the looker of cain. The squire did all in his power, but

could not prevent his being put in chains, and confined among common manufactors, where he stud like an innocent sheep in the midst of wolves and tygers . . . Ould Scratch has not a greater enemy on hearth than Mr. Clinker".

Writing from Tweedmouth on July 15th, Mr. Bramble says: — "My sister Tabby still adheres to Methodism, and had the benefit of a sermon at Wesley's meeting in Newcastle, but I believe the passion of love has in some measure abated the fervour of devotion, both in her, and in her woman, Mrs. Jenkins" (p. 863).

In a letter to a friend of hers, Miss Lydia Melford, niece to Mr. Bramble, speaks of Mrs. Jenkins and Methodism in the following terms: — "As for Mrs. Jenkins, she herself is really an object of compassion; between vanity, Methodism, and love, her head is almost turned" . . . . . Of her aunt she writes. "I am afraid she has used even religion as a decoy, though it has not answered her expectations. She has been praying, preaching and catechising among the Methodists, with whom this country [1]) abounds" (p. 881 f.). Miss Melford's private opinion is that Mrs. Jenkins's supernatural visitations and pretensions to prophecy are downright hypocrisy and deceit, and believes that she herself would be abandoned of grace if she thought these things necessary to faith.

In his "Adventures of an Atom" (1763), the author gives a description of the civilisation of the Japanese, being in reality a satire on the state of society in England. The Atom, in speaking about music to Nathaniel Peacock, and in intimating that the latter can have no opinion on the subject, says: — "For distinction of ear, thou mightest be justly ranked among the braying tribe that graze along the ditches of Tottenham-court or Hockley-i-the-hole" (p. 951).

Smollett was undoubtedly thinking of the Methodists when he gave utterance to his opinion about fanatics in the Fifth Letter of his "Travels through France and Italy", published in 1766. His words are: "For my part I never

[1]) The letter is dated from Glasgow.

knew a fanatic that was not a hypocrite at bottom ..... The wildest fanatics I ever knew were real sensualists in their way of living, and cunning cheats in their dealings with mankind" (p. 699).

From the above quotations we see that this great novel-writer of his time only showed himself to be an opponent of exaggerated enthusiasm and fanaticism. It is true that he could hardly have expressed himself in stronger terms than he has done in his "History", but "Humphrey Clinker" was written at a later period of his life, in fact in the year of his decease. In the hero of this novel the author presents to his readers a methodist who was highly esteemed by his master and all the family, and who was not so far gone in enthusiasm as not to listen to reason. Such a character as was given him by Mr. Bramble, as well as the reluctant testimony concerning the change wrought among the prisoners by his teaching and example, combine to make us respect the man. By the delineation of these traits in a Methodist, Smollett probably wished to show that being a member of that sect does not necessarily mean a giving up of everything that goes to form a manly man, as many of the satirists and other opponents of the movement would make us believe. It is true that the characters of Aunt Tabitha and Mrs. Jenkins are calculated to lower Methodism in the eyes of respectable people, but this is only the foil that sets off to greater advantage the good qualities of the hero of the story.

Conclusion.

In the preceding dissertation we have endeavoured to collect and collate all the references about Methodism that are to be found in the literary writers who were contemporary with John Wesley. In doing this we have thought it proper to exclude authors who only treat theological, philosophical, and controversial subjects, except so far as these are quoted to illustrate the tendency of any of the periodicals. Such subjects we consider to be foreign to literature in the narrower sense of the word. Nor do we pretend to have included all and every poem or skit that appeared for or against the Methodists, for as we have already pointed out (p. 63 f.), many of these were written anonymously or by men who have no claim to be ranked among the makers of our literature. In order to give a slight idea of the number of works that have been called into existence by the introduction of Methodism, we may here quote Stevens, who states that in a "Catalogue of Works that have been published in Refutation of Methodism from its origin in 1729 to 1846, compiled by H. C. Decanver, printed in Philadelphia by John Pennington in 1846", there are the titles of 384 publications. Nor is this list complete. If the number of works in favour of Methodism should be added, Stevens estimates the total number at 1500 (i. e. in the year 1858).[1])

[1]) Stevens' Methodism, vol. I. Preface.

As to periodicals and magazines, we have examined only a very small proportion of the great number that cropped up one after another in an incredibly few years for those times of slow travelling and transport. What we have examined, however, has been done thoroughly, and the periodicals under consideration ranked high in the literary world and enjoyed a great circulation. Other periodicals as "The Rambler" (1750—1752), "The Adventurer" (1752—1754), and "The Idler" (1758—1760) have yielded no results.

If then, with these limitations, we ask ourselves what is the upshot of these researches, it will be very easy to formulate a general answer. The first thought that strikes one is, that by far the greater number of those who have introduced the movement into their works assumed a hostile attitude. To enter more into particulars, this hostility was very natural in the drama, as the players had rather to fear, if Methodism continued spreading, as they saw it was doing, that they would sustain great losses from the fact that the Methodists were the very contrary of being a pleasure-seeking people, and were especially exhorted by their leaders not to visit the playhouses. In spite of the astonishing rapidity with which Methodism has spread all over the world, this fear has not been realised. This, however, was no excuse for a man like Foote to take the liberty of putting on the boards such a representation of Methodism that everybody, who made any pretensions at all to be friendly disposed to religion, must have felt the profanity of it. No wonder this parody was attacked from all sides, and though it gained a run of success after it had been altered, it was only the success of the moment. From any other playwriter it would perhaps hardly have been tolerated at all, but the people were accustomed to Foote's style, and he pandered to a low taste. Anybody and everybody were made to feel the stings of his mimicry. The very fact of his taking off a bodily defect of Whitefield was in itself a most gross insult. If such characters as he introduced into his plays had been met by him in real life, they were too indecent for reproduction, nor do we see how he hoped to put an end to such a supposed

state of things by amusing the people with them, and by thus making them more familiar. We should not like to imagine that there is any foundation at all for Foote's treatment of the subject, but if so, it is evident, he was thinking more of the followers of Whitefield than of Wesley. As Whitefield did not organise his people into bands and classes, he had not the same control over them as Wesley had. The latter, we know, was very severe and impartial in sifting his societies of bad influences. Indifference to the means of grace was considered a sufficient reason for a member to be regarded as a backslider, and excluded from the bands. Bad or immoral conduct on the part of a member brought in its suite the inexorable fiat of exclusion from the society until the offender showed himself penitent.

While the isolated dramatists, who introduced Methodists into their plays, only tried to hold them up to scorn and ridicule, the other poets of the age were divided in their opinions. The majority, it is true, simply aimed at subjecting the Methodists one and all to the most scathing satire and the most offensive abuse they could invent; others were more moderate in their opposition, while but a select couple accepted the methodist doctrines with certain reservations and recognised the good they were doing wherever they formed their societies. In the first category we must class Churchill. Robert Lloyd, Evan Lloyd, Lovibond, the authors of the "Mimic", "Methodism Triumphant" etc. and Anstey; in the second, Pope, Cooper, Chatterton and Crabbe, while the third class can boast of only two representatives, Byrom and Cowper, of whom one, at least, is recognised as ranking very high among our poets of the last century. Men who are naturally disposed to turn everything they see and hear into ridicule, men whose taste is not guided by reason, nor their impulses by decency, will not let any thing stop them from mocking at religion. Such men are not those to whom we should turn for moral instruction, nor men whose works will become immortal. The lives of Churchill and Lloyd are sufficient proofs that they themselves were not better than their representations of the Methodists, and would probably

have lived longer and made better use of their poetical powers, had they adopted the methodist rules of living. Poetry ought never to be prostituted to profanity or obscenity, and so, though these men may have known individual persons, who served them as types for their characters, their treatment of them cannot be excused, nor can either the Methodists or their doctrines be charged with the hypocrisies and immoralities ascribed to them by these poets.

Opposition carried on in moderate language is more likely to convey conviction. We are rather limited in the number of opponents of this class among the poets, and still more limited by the number of quotations, except in the case of Crabbe. Pope only introduces the bawling Methodists as an after-thought, Cooper has but one slight reference, while Chatterton, as we have shown, cannot be taken as a safe guide. George Crabbe, as a clergyman of the Church of England, was naturally prejudiced against the Methodists, and hence his opposition in his poems. He is, however, careful to say, as has already been pointed out (p. 79), that in one poem in particular he had an individual in view and was not condemning the whole body of Methodists *en masse*, but the spirit of bigotry and enthusiasm. Indeed, in nearly every one of his "Tales" where he speaks of the subject, it is quite clear that he has the Calvinist Methodists in mind, for we find constant reference to the "call". The objections he made to some of their tenets may perhaps have had the effect of bringing about a modification which must have been made imperceptibly as time went on.

Byrom and Cowper, on the other hand, were fully in harmony with the movement, although neither of them were Methodists. Being men of deep religious feeling themselves, they recognised the sincerity and earnestness of the Methodists to have men delivered from the power of their sins, so that they overlooked their imperfections and failings in their great admiration for the work they were performing. Methodism must ever remain thankful to them for using their talents in its service. It is perhaps worth while to note that Byrom represents Methodism in its earliest stage, and Cowper half

a century after the Oxford Methodists first started their meetings for mutual improvement and exhortation in religious matters.

The six Periodicals examined, are, as has already been stated, on the whole, impartial. The papers admitted into the "London Magazine" (cf. p. 112 ff.) against Methodism are perhaps more severe than those in the other papers, while the "American Museum" (cf. p. 111 f.) shows itself more inclined towards the movement.

Dr. Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith agreed in seeing the advantages that accrued from the methods of preaching, adopted by the Methodists, but their notices of them are not free from strictures, which in the case of the former were perhaps more sincere and certainly better founded than in the case of the latter. Horace Walpole's unfavourable opinion is chiefly interesting, because it is a voice from the court on the subject. He could see nothing but incongruities and butts for his courtly wit. Not even Wesley himself was able to make any serious impression upon him.

Of the four great novelists, Fielding and Sterne were decided opponents of the Methodists, while Richardson and Smollett were only opposed to enthusiasm and fanaticism. The latter, however, evidently believed that the Methodists had effected a beneficial reform in the lower classes of society. We might have mentioned another author who wrote a novel which bears an unmistakeable methodistical stamp and which enjoyed a large circulation in its day. The book in question is "The Fool of Quality, or The Earl of Moreland" by Henry Brooke (1706—1783), and was first published in 1766. A strong proof of its tendency is that it was considerably abridged and published in one volume by John Wesley himself in 1780.[1]) It is only an edition of this abridgement (Halifax 1849) that we have been able to obtain. The novel is very methodistical, or what would nowadays be called evangelical, on account of the stress laid

[1]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 342. The wish for an abridgement was expressed in the "Monthly Review", April 1770, Art. XXV. p. 330.

on the doctrines of justification and sanctification, and on the necessity of conversion. There is, however, no mention of Methodism by name, nor is any single Methodist introduced. The book was highly recommended by the "Monthly Review",[1]) exception being taken only to the religious sentiments and pious expressions contained in it, they being considered out of place in a book of fiction.

It is a well known fact that opposition and persecution always tend to strengthen and inflame rather than to weaken and extinguish. In spite of insult, persecution and calumny, Methodism prospered and became the means of stirring up the spirit of true religion within the Church itself. That there was a need of reformation, no one will deny who has read anything of the history of the social conditions of the age. Religion and morals were at a very low ebb, infidelity was rife, the luxury of the rich was without bounds, while the poor were neglected. Justice was prostituted to bribery, and the prisons were places of immorality. The church was dormant and made no efforts to awaken the spirit of religion or to improve the morals of the people. In this the Methodists set the example, and though they were excluded from the churches, yet their work was not without the effect of arousing the clergy who remained within the pale of the church. More than a century after the propagation of Methodism began, Charles Kingsley,[2]) a stout churchman, but a muscular christian and a man of broad sympathies, could write: — "The clergy are exceedingly improved; and I believe, too, that the men to whom they owe all their improvement, are the Wesleys and Whitefields — in short, the very men whom they drove one by one out of the Church, from persecution or disgust" (See Alton Locke, chap. XXIV, Tauchnitz Edit. p. 210).

John Wesley himself hardly expected that Methodism would continue long after his decease and Charles Wesley

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[1]) Vol. XXXV. pp. 145, 286, 346; vol. XXXIX. p. 410 f.; vol. XLI. p. 318; vol. XLII. p. 330.

[2]) In 1849.

was certain that there would be an end of it, if the Methodists separated from the Church. Consequently, as early as 1769,[1]) John Wesley drew up a scheme for the perpetuation of Methodism after he was dead, but it was not before the year 1784 that the Conference became a legally incorporated institution by Wesley's Deed of Declaration.[2]) But who among the adversaries of the movement, nay, indeed, who of Wesley's best friends, even including himself, would have dared to imagine the extent to which Methodism has actually spread during the present century? According to the Methodist Kalendar for 1894, there are at present, including all the various branches of Methodism, 42,040 ministers and 6,124,786 members, with over twenty millions of adherents.

I should here like to acknowledge the great obligations I feel myself under to Professor Koeppel of the Munich University for proposing to me the above subject, for the valuable assistance rendered, and for the interest shown in the execution of it.

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[1]) Tyerman vol. III. p. 49.
[2]) Ib. p. 417 ff.

Appendix.

Note A (cf. p. 28). — Another insignificant allusion to the Methodists is to be found in "The Primitive Puppet Show", first acted at the Haymarket on the 15th of February 1773, but never printed. Foote introduced the performance by a speech on the origin of puppet-shows, tracing them from the earliest times. Speaking of the present play, he prides himself on having no foreign actors and then continues as follows: — "We have modern patriots, made from the box; it is a wood that carries an imposing gloss, and may be easily turned; for constant lovers, we have the circling ivy, crab-stocks for old maids, and weeping willows for Methodist preachers." Cf. Biographia Dramatica, vol. III, p. 150 ff.

Note B (cf. p. 29). — That the "Minor" was not popular everywhere, is clear from a note in Dr. Gillies's "Memoirs" (p. 233), where we learn that in the year 1770 — the year of Whitefield's death — Foote was the manager of the Edinburgh Theatre and performed this play in that city. After the first performance, which was crowded, when the people discovered what the nature of it was, "the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it was such that on the second night only ten women appeared". It is also reported that the ministers of the town (the Rev. Dr. Erskine and Dr. Walker among others) took the opportunity of expressing their indignation at it from their respective pulpits.

Note C (cf. p. 35). — In the Private Correspondence of Horace Walpole mention is made of a play which seems to have contained some allusions to the Methodists, but especially to Whitefield. The piece referred to was Dr. Stratford's tragedy of "Lord Russel", acted at Drury Lane in August 1784 by irregular actors and printed about 1792, for the benefit of the author's unprovided sister. Walpole gives an outline of the plot and mentions that the gaoler compares himself

to Solmoneus, and talks of Nabobs, Stock's Alley and Whitfield. We have not been able to procure a copy of the play, but Walpole says of the style that "it is extremely deficient in grammar, is flogged up to more extravagant rants than Statius's or Claudian's, with a due proportion of tumbles into the kennel" (cf. vol. VIII. Letter 2142 p. 199). Another work, which was also probably meant as a satire on the Methodists, is mentioned in the "Biographia Dramatica" (vol. I. part 2. p. 554). No hint is given as to whether it was written in prose or poetry, nor have we been able either to procure the work or to find any mention of it elsewhere. The author's name is John Oswald and the work itself bears the following strange title: — "Ranae Comicae Evangelicantes; or, The Comic Frogs turned Methodists". It was published in 1786.

Note D (cf. p. 36). — The Private Correspondence of Garrick contains a letter from Dr. J. Hoadly, dated June 15th 1773, in which he writes (vol. I. p. 546): "I have just been running over, for read it over fairly I could not, a most vile comedy in MS. called 'The Methodist'". This must be a different play from the one bearing the same title and ascribed to Pottinger, for Hoadly says it was by a "Mr. Jeffries, now dead, but a very ingenious man, and of uncommon learning". The "Biographia Dramatica" makes no mention of this play under the name of Jeffreys (Jeffries). This latter work includes, however, in its list of plays an interlude, entitled "The Methodist Preachers" and said to have been acted at Richmond in 1775. The author's name is not given and the piece is said not to have been printed (cf. vol. III. p. 41).

Note E (cf. p. 103). — It is a fact that this same sermon is included among Dr. Doddridge's, but we cannot think that Mr. Whitefield allowed it to appear among his own knowingly and wittingly. Until further proofs can be brought forward, we can only blame him for not having been more careful in the publication of his sermons.

Lippert & Co. (G. Pätz'sche Buchdruckerei), Naumburg a. S.

MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

X.

DIE POETISCHEN THEORIEN DER PLEJADE NACH RONSARD UND DUBELLAY.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

DIE

POETISCHEN THEORIEN DER PLEJADE

NACH RONSARD UND DUBELLAY.

EIN BEITRAG

ZUR

GESCHICHTE DER RENAISSANCEPOETIK IN FRANKREICH.

VON

DR. A. ROSENBAUER.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

Motto:

„Der Gegenstand der Poetik verlangt neben der abstrakt-begrifflichen, gebieterisch eine historisch-kritische Behandlung."

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Einleitung.

Durch die vorliegende Arbeit sollen nicht sowohl neue Resultate zu Tage gefördert, als vielmehr die literarischen Theorien der Plejade, soweit sie bei Ronsard und Dubellay zum Ausdruck kommen, einer genaueren Würdigung unterzogen werden. Dabei handelt es sich hauptsächlich darum, in dem von diesen Dichtern hinterlassenen Chaos von Gedanken über Poetik soweit als möglich Ordnung zu schaffen. Zu dem Zwecke sollen dieselben unter gewissen Gesichtspunkten zusammengefasst werden, um so ein anschauliches Bild von dem Umfange und dem Inhalt der ästhetischen Theorien dieser Dichterschule zu bieten. Dass hier Ordnung zu schaffen auch ein Verdienst sei, lässt schon Goujet erkennen.[1]) Sollte es mir nun gelungen sein, ein treffendes Gesamtbild von den literarischen Doktrinen jener Zeit zu zeichnen, so wäre dadurch auch eine zu wiederholten Malen konstatierte Lücke[2]) in der Geschichte der Renaissancepoetik ausgefüllt und somit über die Anfänge der modernen Kritik in Frankreich genügendes Licht verbreitet. Da sich jedoch die ästhetischen Theorien der Plejade nicht immer mit der Praxis decken, so habe

[1]) «*Il faut beaucoup de patience pour le lire entier, j'en ai eu besoin pour le parcourir, il m'a ennuyé et j'ai appris peu de chose*» Goujet, Bibliothèque III, 145.

[2]) Borinski, Poetik, p. 14; Döring, Neue preuss. Jahrbücher 1887. IX, 141; Brunetière, l'Évolution, p. VIII.

ich, wenn dadurch für das Verständnis der betreffenden Ansicht etwas gewonnen wird, Parallelstellen aus zeitgenössischen Poetikschreibern der gleichen Schule in den Anmerkungen beigefügt. Eine Vollständigkeit hierin zu erreichen, lag ausserhalb meines Wollens und Könnens; denn viele der hier in Betracht kommenden Quellenschriften sind leider nur bei eigenem Aufenthalt in Frankreich zugänglich. Wenn ich gleichwohl meine Arbeit hiemit der Öffentlichkeit übergebe, so thue ich es in der Hoffnung, dass sie auch so noch ihrem Hauptzweck wird entsprechen können.

An dieser Stelle sei es mir auch gestattet, den Bibliotheksverwaltungen von Berlin, Strassburg und München für ihr wohlwollendes Entgegenkommen den gebührenden Dank auszusprechen.

Besonderen Dank aber schulde ich Herrn Professor Breymann, der während meiner Studienzeit und darüber hinaus mir stets Rat und Belehrung angedeihen liess und mich auch bei vorliegender Arbeit wesentlich unterstützte.

Der eigentlichen Abhandlung glauben wir im Folgenden noch einige allgemeine, orientierende Bemerkungen über die Vorarbeiten vorausschicken zu sollen, welche auf dem Gebiete der französischen Poetik und für R. speziell uns zur Verfügung gestanden haben. Was zunächst die Poetik betrifft, so gab hievon zuerst Egger (1869) einen kurzen Überblick für das 16. Jahrhundert.[1]) Pellissier (1882) führte diese Skizze in einer lateinisch geschriebenen These weiter aus. Aber erst mit Zschalig (1884) beginnt die Reihe derjenigen Studien, in welchen die historische Entwicklung der poetischen Theorien in Frankreich darzustellen unternommen wird. Er behandelt die französische Poetik im Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Von den drei in seiner Schrift analysierten Autoren (Fabri, Dupont, Sibilet) kommt nur der letztere für uns in Betracht, da die beiden ersten eher Verslehren als

[1]) Egger, l'Hellénisme II, 14. leçon.

Poetiken geschrieben haben. Sibilet's *Art poétique* ist vom Geiste der Renaissance schon stark beeinflusst und konnte in mehreren Punkten den Theoretikern der Plejade als Vorbild dienen. Eine Fortsetzung der Zschalig'schen Studie gab Rucktäschel (1889) in seiner Arbeit: „Über einige *Arts poétiques* aus der Zeit R.'s und Malherbe's". In dieser Schrift finden wir eine Inhaltsangabe der für diesen Zeitraum wichtigen Poetiken unter besonderer Betonung der neuen Momente, die bei den einzelnen Autoren auftreten. Mit besonderer Ausführlichkeit aber ist Deimier's *Académie* (1610) behandelt, welche sich als die erste vom Geiste Malherbe's beeinflusste Theorie erweist. Im Jahre 1890 erschien sodann Langlois' lateinisch geschriebene Studie über die Poetiken vor der *Illustration* Dubellay's. Er hatte das Glück, mehrere bis dahin noch unbekannte Verslehren aufzufinden. Die wichtigsten der von ihm behandelten *Arts de rhétorique* sind die von Eustache des Champs (1392), Jacobus Magnus (1420), Molinet (1493), Infortunatus (1500) und Gracien du Pont (1539).

Die Doktrin Malherbe's erfuhr alsdann eine ganz ausführliche Darstellung in der Untersuchung Brunot's (1891), der die Theorie und den Einfluss der Malherbe'schen Schule auf die Folgezeit erschöpfend behandelt hat.[1]) Nicht minder gut unterrichtet sind wir über die zweite Kritikergeneration des 17. Jahrhunderts, der es unter Richelieu's und Chapelain's Duumvirat[2]) gelang, die Herrschaft der drei Regeln für das Drama fest zu begründen. Diese Epoche erfuhr nämlich durch Faguet (1883), Arnaud (1888) und zuletzt durch Robert (1890) eine allseitige Behandlung.

So bleibt also nur die Theorie der Plejade übrig; mit ihr hat man sich, obwohl sie doch für die Entwicklung der poetischen Doktrinen in Frankreich den Ausgangspunkt bildet,

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[1]) Allais' Buch über die Poesie Malherbe's blieb mir unzugänglich. Es soll Brunot's Studie ergänzen in Bezug auf die metrischen Vorschriften Malherbe's. Siehe Zeitschrift für neufrz. Sprache und Litt. 1894. XVI, 34. p. 362; Rev. crit. 1892. N. 28, p. 320.

[2]) Arnaud, Les théories dr. p. 174: «*Par la coalition des maîtres politiques et des maîtres poétiques.*»

bisher weniger beschäftigt. Zwar wurde Dubellay's *Défense,* abgesehen von Sainte-Beuve's kurzer Analyse, durch Person's Ausgabe (1878) weiteren Kreisen zugänglich gemacht und das Verständnis derselben durch eine vorausgehende, ausführliche Inhaltsangabe erleichtert; allein mit R.'s theoretischen Abhandlungen hat sich ausser Sainte-Beuve, welcher die Hauptgedanken seines *Art poétique* kurz skizzierte,[1]) niemand mehr eingehend beschäftigt. Auf Rucktäschel's Studie brauche ich nicht mehr zurückzukommen; fast alle die übrigen Arbeiten aber, welche noch über R. vorliegen, berühren zwar nebenbei R.'s poetische Theorien und betonen insbesondere seine Bestrebungen auf sprachlichem Gebiete, aber in der Hauptsache zielen sie mehr auf eine Ehrenrettung des Dichters als des Theoretikers ab.

Einen solchen Zweck verfolgen die Schriften von Erkelenz (1868), Weil (1870), Scheffler (1873) und Chalandon (1875). Alle diese Autoren gehen von sogenannten allgemein gültigen, ästhetischen Prinzipien aus und suchen mit mehr oder minder Geschick die Sache R.'s zu verteidigen. Solchen Arbeiten gegenüber war schon ein Fortschritt angebahnt durch Günther's Studie über die Eigenheiten der R.'schen Sprache (1846), Dor's Untersuchung über den Einfluss R.'s auf die spätere Sprachentwickelung (1863), des Schweden Lidforss Erörterungen über R.'s Syntax (1867) und Büscher's kurze Abhandlung über R.'s Metrik (1867). In den 80er Jahren wurde diese Art von Studien wieder aufgenommen von Felgner, der die R.'sche Phraseologie behandelte (1880), und Becker, der eine Untersuchung über den syntaktischen Sprachgebrauch der Plejade gab (1885). Nachdem schon Gandar (1854) R.'s Verhältnis zum griechischen Altertum untersucht hatte, beleuchtete Lange (1887) R.'s Beziehungen zu Vergil, und Beránek (1883) beschäftigte sich mit der Darstellung des Einflusses, den R. auf Opitz ausgeübt hatte, eine Frage, die auch noch später mehrere Bearbeiter fand.[2]) Also, auch

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[1]) *Tableau de la poésie fr.*, p. 184—204.

[2]) Weitere Schriften über Opitz und dessen Quellen in Koch's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Littgesch. N. F. 1889. II, 226.

wenn man von dieser Seite an unsere Arbeit herantritt, wird man zugeben müssen, dass sie als wünschenswerte Ergänzung zum Abschluss der Studien über R. dient, und dessen theoretische Bedeutung in einem Gesamtbild zusammenfasst, so dass nunmehr neben dem Dichter endlich auch einmal der Theoretiker zur gebührenden Würdigung gelangen kann.

Zu einer solchen Arbeit fühlte ich mich um so eher ermutigt, als auch Marty-Laveaux, dieser berufenste Kenner und Herausgeber der Werke der Plejade, eine ähnliche Studie zwar versprochen[1]) und dadurch deren Notwendigkeit anerkannt, aber meines Wissens noch nicht ausgeführt hat. Und sollte selbst durch eine solche Untersuchung das Bild der ästhetischen Theorien R.'s in seinen Hauptzügen sich nicht als wesentlich verändert ergeben, so ist es immerhin schon interessant, bei dem Haupte einer Dichterschule auch die technischen Detailvorschriften zu betrachten, nach denen er und seine Genossen als praktische Dichter sich zu richten gewohnt waren. Vielleicht aber wird auch das Urteil über R. als Dichter insofern beeinflusst, als es erst jetzt möglich ist, dessen theoretisches Programm mit seiner dichterischen Leistung zu vergleichen, und so, statt des rein ästhetischen Massstabes, einen mehr objektiven, im Autor selbst liegenden Massstab für dessen Beurteilung anzuwenden. Denn trotz Sainte-Beuve's warmer Verteidigung scheint man sich namentlich in Frankreich immer noch nicht von einem gewissen Vorurteil gegen R. losgemacht zu haben; wenigstens lässt sich dies aus den Worten zweier der neueren französischen Literarhistoriker schliessen.[2]) Wenn es mir nun gelungen sein sollte, in der vorliegenden Arbeit das Ungerechte solcher Vorurteile durch die Darstellung seiner poetischen Theorien und Hervorhebung seiner Verdienste als Theoretiker vollends zu beweisen, so hätte auch nach dieser Seite hin meine Schrift ihren Zweck völlig erreicht.

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[1]) Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de Dub., Préface*, p. IV.

[2]) Juleville, *Leçons* etc. II, 165; Brunetière, *L'Évolution des genres* I, 104.

§ 1.

Quellen der Ronsard'schen Doktrinen und Vorläufer der Ronsard'schen Reform.

Auf die Gestaltung der R.'schen Poetik haben vier verschiedene Faktoren Einfluss ausgeübt. Zunächst sind die aus dem Altertum überkommenen Schriften über Rhetorik und Poetik zu erwähnen. Zugänglich war bereits die *Ars poetica* des Aristoteles in zwei lateinischen Ausgaben, von denen die eine nach der arabischen Übersetzung des Averroes (1481) gefertigt, und die andere von Valla (1498) nach dem griechischen Texte veranstaltet worden war. Ferner lag, ausser dem schon zu R.'s Zeit veröffentlichten griechischen Originale, bereits eine italienische Übersetzung von Segni (1549) vor, welcher auch schon die aristotelische Poetik zu kommentieren anfing. Ihm folgten Robertellus (1548), Victorius (1560), Madius (1560), Castelvetro (1570) und später noch der Holländer Heinsius (1611), welch letzterer auf die Kritikerschule Chapelain's grossen Einfluss ausüben sollte. Ob jedoch einer dieser Kommentatoren Dub. oder R. vorgelegen hat, oder ob sie den Aristoteles im Urtext gelesen haben, kann ich, bei dem Mangel an Vorarbeiten über diesen italienischen Zweig der Renaissancepoetik, nicht entscheiden. Sicherlich war jedoch Aristoteles auf die Gestaltung der französischen Poetik damals noch nicht so einflussreich wie ein Jahrhundert später, einerseits, weil eben im 16. Jahrhundert der Kampf gegen die aristotelische Scholastik am heftigsten tobte und man nach Ramus' Beispiele wieder auf Plato zurückging, andererseits, weil damals im Mittelpunkte des Interesses nicht die von Aristoteles am ausführlichsten behandelte Tragödie, sondern vielmehr das Epos stand. Auch liebte die damals nach Unabhängigkeit und freier Selbstbethätigung auf allen Gebieten des Lebens ringende Generation noch nicht einen solchen tyrannischen Führer, der ihr das griechische Altertum nur durch seine Brille anzuschauen gestattete und die Freiheit bei der Auswahl der Muster beschränkte. Später dagegen, als das Bedürfnis nach Gesetz-

mässigkeit und Ordnung in Politik und Literatur sich allgemein fühlbar machte, schon von 1580 an, fand man an Aristoteles, den übrigens ja auch Ronsard und Scaliger empfohlen hatten, mehr Gefallen und erblickte in seinen Definitionen Kunstregeln, ein bequemes Mittel, es den Alten schnell gleichzuthun.[1]) Für das 16. Jahrhundert jedoch passte den schöngeistigen Autoren Horazens ungezwungenes Kunstgeplauder, das für Dilettanten geschaffen schien, noch besser zur Einführung in die Technik der poetischen Produktion. Einen weit wirksameren Einfluss auf die ersten französischen Theoretiker übten deshalb die Lateiner aus. Um jene Zeit war bereits die *Ars poetica* des Horaz von Dolce (1535) in das Italienische übertragen worden, in *versi sciolti*, und 6 Jahre später gab Peletier eine französische, metrische Übersetzung davon. Aus Horaz schöpfen bereits Peletier (1545), Sibilet (1548), Dubellay (1549), und auch R. macht bei ihm stoffliche Anlehen. Neben Horaz kommen noch Cicero's oratorische Schriften, Quintilian's *Institutiones* und vielleicht auch noch Longin's Traktat vom Erhabenen (Originalausgabe von Robertellus, 1554, Basel) in Betracht.

Die zweite Hauptquelle, auf welche die moderne Poetik sich stützt, sind die von den Humanisten Italiens, Deutschlands und Frankreichs herrührenden Kommentare zu den Klassikern des Altertums. So veröffentlichte Bedrotus, ein Freiburger Professor, zu den gerichtlichen Reden Cicero's einen Kommentar, in welchem sich Beiträge finden von Bartholomaeus Latomus, Franciscus Sylvius, Jacobus Omphalius, Melanchthon und noch anderen damals berühmten Gelehrten. In diesem Sammelbande verdienen namentlich die Kommentare des Sylvius, Melanchthon und Martin Bolerus aus Bretten zu Cicero's Rede *pro Archia poeta* Erwähnung, weil hier bereits aus Cicero und selbst Plato alle Parallelstellen beigebracht sind, welche den göttlichen Ursprung der Poesie und andererseits die himmlische Inspiration des Dichters bekunden sollen.[2]) Auch ein

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[1]) Siehe Pellissier, *Préface*, p. 17.

[2]) *Bedroti Commentarius*, p. 594.

Kommentar zu Horazens *Ars poetica* ist bereits damals vorhanden gewesen; er war von einem gewissen Acron nach Angabe des Humanisten Sylvius verfasst, aber leider von mir nicht auffindbar.[1]) Ferner schrieb der französische Humanist Tardif ein *compendium Rhetorice artis ac oratorie facultatis*, auf das sich der früheste französische Poetikenschreiber des 16. Jahrhunderts, Pierre Fabri, in der Vorrede zu seiner *Rhétorique*[2]) bereits beruft. Obwohl diese Erklärer nun häufig einfach Cicero's, Horazens und Quintilian's Meinungen wiederholen, so entwickeln sie doch hie und da neue Gedanken, wie man moderne Stoffe in antikes Gewand kleiden soll. Besonders wichtig ist die *Ars poetica* Vida's, welcher die Quintessenz der humanistischen Poetik in elegante, grösstenteils Vergil entlehnte Verse zu fassen wusste (1527). Seine Schrift wurde als Schulbuch benutzt, veranlasste auch Scaliger zur Abfassung seiner Poetik (1561), wurde in Deutschland von dem berühmten Humanisten Eobanus Hessus in seinen Vorlesungen interpretiert, von Opitz (1624), Buchner (1665) und selbst Pope noch ausgeschrieben. In Frankreich wurde Vida's Buch sogar noch in unserm Jahrhundert hoch geschätzt und in moderner Übertragung zu verschiedenen Malen dem Publikum vorgelegt.[3]) Aus ihm schöpften nun auch Dubellay und R., und zwar hat der letztere in seiner Abhandlung über das Epos nicht nur stoffliche Anlehen bei Vida gemacht, sondern oft auch dessen Gedanken und Ideen herübergenommen.

Ausserdem konnte R. die Poetik Scaliger's (1561) benützen, dessen Buch fast ebenso berühmt wurde wie dasjenige Vida's. Scaliger verdankte seinen Erfolg der weitschweifigen Ausführlichkeit, mit der er die äusseren Merkmale der einzelnen Dichtungsgattungen aufzählte und so den Dichterlingen ein unfehlbares Mittel an die Hand gab, es den Alten gleich zu thun. Gegenüber Scaliger zeigt die Poetik

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[1]) *Bedroti Commentarius*, p. 595.

[2]) Fabri, *Rhétorique* (*ed. Héron*) I, 6, u. II, notes p. 2.

[3]) So z. B. von Barrau (1808, 1845[2]), von Valant (*L'Éducation du poète*. Paris 1814), Gaussin (1819), Bernay (1845).

ituperan's (1579) einen gewissen Fortschritt, indem eser bereits wieder den Begriff des Schönen[1]) nach Plato entwickeln sucht und überhaupt einen mehr kunstphiloso-ischen Standpunkt einnimmt. Vituperan's und Scaliger's hriften kommen jedoch für R. nicht sowohl als Quellen in tracht, als vielmehr als zeitgenössische Zeugnisse dafür, ss R.'s Ideen damals Allgemeingut waren. Ferner konnte h R. Rat und Aufschluss erholen in den italienisch ge-hriebenen Traktaten über Rhetorik und Poetik von Brunetto atini's *livres don Tresor* an, die Fabri schon benützte,[2]) s herab auf Trissino (1529), Daniello (1536), Costanzo ando (1549), Mutio (1551) und Minturno (1564), welch zteren Vauquelin als Quelle anführt.[3]) Zum mindesten er dienten sie ihm als Beispiele für in humanistischem eiste geschriebene vulgärsprachliche Poetiken. Endlich sind ch noch die in französischer Sprache vor R. erschienenen aktate über Poetik zu nennen, in so weit sie vom Geiste r Renaissance beseelt sind.

Der erste der französischen Poetikenschreiber, auf den r Humanismus stärker eingewirkt hat, ist Sibilet. Ihm nnte der Verfasser der *Défense* (1549) schon einzelne Ge-nken entnehmen, aber im allgemeinen wog bei Sibilet r Geschmack an den überlieferten, nationalen Kunstformen r, und so kommt er als eigentlicher Vorgänger der Plejade cht in Betracht. Dagegen schwebt über des ersten franz. orazübersetzers, Jacques Peletier's *Art poétique* (1555) hon völlig der neue Geist, und häufig findet sich bei ihm d R. Ähnlichkeit im Ausdruck und in den Gedanken. lbst die Schrift des Verteidigers der älteren Richtung, harles Fontaine's *Quintil Censeur* (1551), wurde von hie und da zu Rate gezogen. Einzelne der von Dub. und ausgesprochenen Gedanken, wie z. B. die Pflege der Mutter-rache, waren indessen auch schon von anderen Männern,

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[1]) Vituperanus, *De Poetica*, l. I. ch. XIX. p. 65.

[2]) Siehe hierüber Fabri's *Art de rhétorique* (*ed. Héron*) II. *Intro-ct.* p. 24.

[3]) Pellissier, *Préface*, p. 37.

wie z. B. Antoine du Saix in seinem *Esperon de discipline* (1534), und Etienne Dolet in seinem *Art de bien traduire* (1540) ausgesprochen worden. So waren also nach allen Seiten hin die Bedingungen für das Eintreten der R.'schen Reform erfüllt.

Will man nun die R.'sche Poetik in Bezug auf ihre Hauptelemente kurz charakterisieren, so wird man sagen müssen: den Stoff und Ausdruck zog sie aus den antiken Quellen, die damals schon in die Vulgärsprache übertragen waren; der Geist aber, mit welchem sie diesen Stoff beseelte, ist derjenige der Humanisten, und das Originelle der R.'schen Reform besteht, wenn man sie von diesem Standpunkt aus betrachtet, nur darin, dass durch sie die humanistische Poetik der Neulateiner zu einer Nationalpoetik für die Franzosen umgewandelt wurde. Somit ruhen R. und seine Genossen auf den Schultern der Humanisten.[1]) Bei ihnen lernten sie die klassischen Autoren verstehen und bei dem Vergleiche mit den Erzeugnissen ihrer heimischen Dichter hochschätzen und bewundern. Anderseits aber gingen die Glieder der Plejade alle aus weltmännisch gebildeten Kreisen hervor und so lag es ihnen ferne, in der Gelehrsamkeit allein ihre Befriedigung zu finden; sie wollten als Preis ihrer Arbeit die Anerkennung der gebildeten Gesellschaft, die damals im Hofe ihren Mittelpunkt hatte. So erklärte es sich, dass, wenn sich auch R. und seine Genossen als dankbare Schüler der Humanisten bezeichnen, ihre Werke denselben widmen und einzelne der neulateinischen Dichtungen übersetzen oder paraphrasieren,[2]) es doch auch wieder zwischen beiden Kreisen trennende Gesichtspunkte gab, in deren Geltendmachung eben das originelle Verdienst der R.'schen

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[1]) «*Rabelais dans son Pantagruel, Ronsard dans ses odes, Calvin même dans son Institution chrétienne, ou Montaigne dans ses Essais ne sont que les disciples de nos Humanistes.*» Brunetière. *L'Évolution* I, 9 (Préface); vgl. auch Ploetz, *Étude sur Dubell.* p. 12—14.

[2]) Diejenigen der Humanisten, welche von der Plejade am meisten der Nachahmung wert gehalten wurden, sind Pontanus († 1529), Secundus († 1536) [Défense L. II. ch. IV. p. 118], Flaminius († 1550) u. Marull († 1500). [Vauquelin, Art poét. II, 856.]

Reform liegt. Diese bedeutet nämlich den Bruch mit jener Humanistengeneration, die in kopfloser Bewunderung der Antike das literarisch Schöne nur in den Werken des Altertums verwirklicht glaubte und dessen Nachahmung sich nur in antikem Sprachgewand möglich dachte. Vom Anstaunen der Alten ging man jetzt über zu deren Nutzbarmachung für die moderne Kultur. Dabei war das Studium derselben nur mehr als Mittel zum Zweck und nicht mehr um seiner selbst betrieben.[1]) Sobald die noch bei den Alten ruhenden Schätze auf gallischen Boden verpflanzt sein würden, glaubte man sogar sie entbehren zu können.[2]) So strebte man auch im Gegensatz zu den gleichzeitigen lateinischen Poetikenschreibern wie Scaliger und Vituperan, die mehr akademische Poetik trieben, unmittelbar praktischen Zwecken zu, und, was R.'s Poetik insbesondere von derjenigen Scaliger's unterscheidet, ist die weitere und mildere Fassung der Regeln. Die bestimmenden Gesichtspunkte der R.'schen Poetik waren also, einerseits den Gebildeten der Nation unmittelbar von Nutzen zu sein, und anderseits den Weg anzugeben, auf welchem die an den Alten bewunderte Schönheit der literarischen Form sich im heimatlichen Idiom und mit modernem Gedankeninhalt verwirklichen liesse. So verfolgt also die R.'sche Reform in ihrem Endzweck Entwicklung der vaterländischen Eigenart durch Aufnahme geeigneter antiker und fremder Kulturelemente.

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[1]) Vergleiche hierzu Dubellay's Worte (Déf. L. I., ch. X., p. 85): ‹*I'entens bien que les Proffesseurs des Langues ne seront pas de mon opinion: encores moins ces venerables Druydes, qui... ne craignent rien tant, que le Secret de leur mysteres... soit decouuert au Vulgaire.*›

[2]) Vergleiche *Défense* (*ed. Person*) L. I. ch. X., 83—85 u. L. I. ch. XI., 94, und ferner Bouchet, *Les Serees*, p. 282: ‹*La complainte que font les gens doctes du jourd'hui... de ce que nous employons la moitié de nostre aage à apprendre 2 ou 3 langues et employons plus de temps à parler ces jargons* [sic!] *qu'anciennement ne faisaient les anciens à passer par toutes les sciences libérales.*›

§ 2.

Ronsard's Verhältnis zu Dubellay's Défense.

Beim Aufbau des theoretischen Lehrgebäudes der neuen Schule lassen sich nun zwei Perioden unterscheiden. Die erste derselben ist gekennzeichnet durch das Manifest Dubellay's. Auch auf die Entstehung dieses Werkes hatte R. schon Einfluss ausgeübt; ja von ihm ging vielleicht, wie Scheffler[1]) vermutet, der Gedanke, es zu schaffen, aus. Bekanntlich war der Hauptzweck dieser Schrift, die Geburtsstunde der neuen Kunst zu verkünden, der zunächstliegenden Vergangenheit, also der Marot'schen Richtung, den Fehdehandschuh hinzuwerfen, sowie Ziel und Programm der neuen Schule in den allgemeinsten Zügen anzudeuten. Der Charakter des Dubellay'schen Werkes ist also vorzugsweise polemisch-emphatisch. Dem entsprechend ist auch der zweite Teil desselben, wo es sich um Aufstellung der eigentlichen Kunstregeln handelt, kurz und unvollständig ausgefallen. In dieser Hinsicht blieb also die Theorie der neuen Schule vorläufig noch ein Stückwerk. Erst 15—20 Jahre später machte sich R. daran, das Lehrprogramm der Schule auszubauen; seine theoretischen Werke bilden somit eine Ergänzung und Fortsetzung des Dubellay'schen Manifestes. Zwar hatte, wie schon erwähnt, Peletier (1555) einen *Art poétique* im Geiste der neuen Schule erscheinen lassen, aber diese Schrift konnte eben doch nicht als die Doktrin R.'s selbst gelten und in Frankreich, wo man den Grund jedes Erfolges mehr in der Methode, als im Menschen selbst sucht, erwartete man mit Spannung einen *Art poétique* vom grössten Poeten der Zeit. Denn gerade den Mangel an Detailvorschriften hatte schon Charles Fontaine neben anderen Kleinigkeiten als Hauptmangel an Dub.'s Schrift in seiner Kritik gerügt. Ordnung und Regelmässigkeit sind aber Grundzüge des französischen Charakters und so konnte man sich nicht wundern, dass auch damals die Kritiker *«de la précision dans l'enthousiasme»* ver-

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[1]) Scheffler, *Essai sur R.* p. 15, u. Plötz, *Étude sur Dub.* p. 4.

langten.[1]) Vielleicht weist auch Dub. schon selbst in seiner Schrift auf R. als den künftigen Theoretiker der Schule hin, wenn er auf Detailregeln einzugehen verzichtet «*espérant que par moi ou par une plus docte Main il [son livre] pourra recevoir sa perfection*».[2]) So stellt sich, wie gesagt, R.'s theoretisches Werk mehr oder minder als die Erweiterung und Vervollständigung der Dub.'schen Schrift dar.

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[1]) Brunetière, *L'Évolut.* I, 47.
[2]) *Défense* (*ed. Person*) L. II., ch. I, 99.

Kapitel I.

Ronsard als Theoretiker und Kritiker.

§ 1.

Die theoretischen Schriften Ronsard's.

Die wichtigste Quelle für die Kenntnis der R.'schen Poetik ist sein *Abbrégé de l'art poétique* (1564). Aber dieses Werkchen ist in so unglaublich kurzer Zeit entstanden, dass es weder auf Vollständigkeit noch auch auf eine systematische Darstellung der Regeln der Poetik Anspruch erheben kann. R.'s Worte *«Ce petit Abbrégé . . . . a esté en trois heures commencé et achevé»* müssen freilich wohl dahin gedeutet werden, dass seine Abhandlung in dieser kurzen Zeit niedergeschrieben wurde; denn über den Stoff und dessen Einteilung nachzudenken, hatte R. bei solch schneller Vollendung des Werkes wohl keine Zeit mehr. Das Schriftchen scheint auch ursprünglich nicht für das Publikum bestimmt gewesen zu sein; wenigstens behauptet R., es sei von ihm nur für seinen Vetter, den Abbé Lacombe, der ein kurzes Handbuch zur Einführung in die Gesetze der poetischen Technik zu haben wünschte, verfasst worden und habe keine weitergehenden Ansprüche erheben wollen. Doch stellte er in Aussicht, später einmal eine ausführlichere Schrift über diesen Gegenstand erscheinen zu lassen. Dazu ist es nun freilich nicht gekommen, wenn man nicht etwa in der sogenannten zweiten Vorrede zu seiner *Franciade* dieses Werk selbst oder den Anfang hierzu erblicken will.

Dem *Art poétique* steht zeitlich am nächsten die erste

Vorrede zur *Franciade*, die jedenfalls nach 1565 entstand und sich nur in der Editio princeps der vier ersten Gesänge jenes Gedichts (1572) findet. Diese Vorrede entwickelt gewissermassen das Programm, welches R. in seiner Dichtung durchführen will und beschäftigt sich deshalb ausschliesslich mit dem Epos. Auch die letzte der drei Prosaabhandlungen R.'s handelt vom epischen Gedicht und wurde deshalb von den späteren Herausgebern der R.'schen Werke seiner *Franciade* als zweite Vorrede vorausgeschickt. Über die Entstehungszeit dieser Schrift wissen wir nichts Bestimmtes; jedenfalls aber stammt sie aus R.'s letzter Schaffensperiode, wofür äussere und innere Gründe sprechen. Sie wurde nämlich von R. selbst niemals veröffentlicht, sondern seinem Freunde und späteren Biographen Binet überlassen, der das von einem Schreiber nach R.'s Diktat gefertigte Manuskript sorgfältig durchschaute und in Ordnung brachte. «*à peu près selon son /Ronsard/ intention*», bevor er dasselbe in Druck gab.[1]) Auch in dieser letzten Abhandlung ist für R. die kunstphilosophische Betrachtung des epischen Gedichtes nicht Selbstzweck; vielmehr will er das Wesen und die Gesetze der epischen Dichtung nur deshalb allgemein darlegen, um einerseits die gegen seine *Franciade* schon damals erhobenen Vorwürfe und etwa künftige Kritiken zurückzuweisen[2]) und andererseits, um das Publikum, welches auf diese Weise in die von R. überwundenen Schwierigkeiten Einsicht gewonnen hatte, zu einer gesteigerten Bewunderung seiner epischen Dichtung zu veranlassen. Somit sind die drei erwähnten Abhandlungen eigentlich Gelegenheitsschriften. Darin finden denn auch manche der ihnen anhaftenden Mängel ihre Erklärung und Entschuldigung. So z. B. kehren in den drei Schriften manchmal die nämlichen Gedanken wieder, bisweilen mit denselben Worten, bisweilen in einer etwas weiteren und erläuternden Fassung. Infolge der mangelhaften Anord-

[1]) Blanchemain, Œuvres, III, 15.

[2]) Goujet, III, 145: «*Prévenir les objections qu'ils sentaient que la postérité ne manquerait pas de faire sur les défauts de leurs* [i. e. Scudéry u. R.] *poèmes*».

nung des Stoffes gerät R. auch hin und wieder in Widersprüche, ohne sich dessen bewusst zu werden; sogar in grammatischer Beziehung lassen sich manche seiner Perioden anfechten. Sie zeigen nicht jene Klarheit, welche er selbst in der Poesie so sehr verlangt. Kurz gesagt, Fehler aller Art kann der nachprüfende Kritiker entdecken, so dass dem Verfasser dieser Schriften der Vorwurf einer gewissen Nachlässigkeit nicht erspart bleiben kann. Allein R. besass nicht den Ehrgeiz, als Prosaschriftsteller glänzen zu wollen; noch viel weniger wollte er literarischer Theoretiker sein. Nur durch seine Dichtungen begehrte er Ruhm zu gewinnen. Da er nun ebenfalls in einigen seiner Gedichte ästhetische Fragen behandelt hat, so z. B. in seiner *Préface en vers de la Franciade* und in seinem *Discours à Grevin*, müssen wir, um ein Gesamtbild seiner theoretischen Doktrinen zu erhalten, auch jene Dichtungen mit in Betracht ziehen.

§ 2.

Ronsard's Würdigung als Kritiker.

Wenn wir von R. als Theoretiker und Kritiker handeln, so müssen wir, um an ihn nicht unbillige Anforderungen zu stellen, uns des Charakters der damaligen literarischen Kritik und Theorie überhaupt erinnern. Die humanistische Poetik, welche in den Schriften der antiken Theoretiker wurzelte, hatte sich ebensowenig wie die poetische Theorie der Alten zu einem abgeschlossenen, philosophischen Lehrgebäude entwickelt, sondern bestand vielmehr aus einer Unmasse von Regeln, durch welche die Aussenseiten der einzelnen Literaturgattungen bestimmt wurden. Dabei war man sich über den Zusammenhang zwischen Form und Inhalt eines Kunstwerkes so wenig klar, dass man in ganz abgeschmackter Weise die Dichtungen der Griechen und Römer, eines Homer und Vergil und die eines Heliodor nach der gleichen Schablone beurteilen wollte. Der sichere Kunstgeschmack, welcher stets das Richtige findet, «*et pour qui une chose ne*

rend jamais que le son qu'elle doit rendre»,[1]) war jener Zeit, die auf dem Gebiete der Philosophie und der Literatur dem Eklektizismus huldigte, noch nicht eigen. Deshalb dürfen wir auch von den Kritikern der Plejade keine besondere Feinheit des Geschmackes erwarten. In Zeiten fremder Nachahmung kann sich überhaupt ein vollendeter Kunstgeschmack bei einer Nation nicht einstellen. Zudem war R. kein philosophisch angelegter Kopf. Die selbständige Lösung philosophischer Probleme hat er nie versucht, wie überhaupt wenige Männer der Renaissance. Schon Balzac sah dies ein und warf R. sogar vor, dass er nicht einmal die Ideen der anderen richtig zu verwerten gewusst habe.[2])

Dieses Urteil scheint mir jedoch zu streng; denn wenn auch R. weder der Erfinder eines neuen philosophischen Systems ist, noch auch sich als Schüler einer der antiken Philosophenschulen bekennt, so hat er doch aus antiken und christlichen Elementen, wie die meisten seiner Zeitgenossen, sich eine Lebensphilosophie zusammengestellt, in welche wir durch viele seiner Gedichte einen befriedigenden Einblick erhalten. Zum praktischen Dichter geschaffen, war er eine viel zu reale Natur, um sich in ästhetische Theorien zu versenken. Seinem ganzen Denken nach ein Kind seines Jahrhunderts, fand er Befriedigung in einer nach aussen sich zeigenden Bethätigung seines Geistes und nicht in abstrakten Studien, die ohne unmittelbaren Einfluss auf die Mitwelt blieben. Auch zum Kritiker fühlte er sich nicht berufen. Die Kritik war ihm nicht Selbstzweck. Er war der Anschauung, dass das dichterische Schaffen mit der kritischen Thätigkeit sich nicht gut vertrage, und Dichter und Kritiker nur selten in einer Person vereinigt seien. *«Joinct aussi que ceux qui sont si grands maistres de préceptes, comme Quintilian, ne sont jamais*

[1]) Carton, *Histoire de la critique*, p. 48.

[2]) Teissier, *Éloges*, III, 364: *«Pour la doctrine dont on parle et la connaissance des bons livres, ceux qui en parlent, se moquent des gens d'en parler ainsi. Appellent-ils doctrine une lecture crue et indigeste, de la philosophie hors de la place, des mathématiques à contretems, du Grec et du Latin grossièrement et ridiculement travestis?»*

volontiers parfaits en leur mestier» (VII, 334). Schliesslich geht ihm auch der persönliche Mut zum Kritiker ab, um rücksichtslos Lob und Tadel unter seine Zeitgenossen auszuteilen. *«Je ne veux particulièrement nommer les bons poëtes pour estre en petit nombre et de peur d'offenser ceux qui ne seroient couchez en ce papier; aussi que je désire éviter l'impudence de telle manière de gens»* (VII, 330). Demgemäss ist auch seine negative Kritik ziemlich zahm und vorsichtig. Vielleicht liegt aber hierin eine gewisse Absicht; die Kritiker der Plejade wollten nämlich, wie schon Brunetière [1]) bemerkt, dem Querulantentum der Humanisten gegenüber das Niveau der literarischen Kritik erhöhen und in dieselbe weltmännische Formen einführen. Dass diese Urbanität in der Kritik beabsichtigt war, geht auch aus Dub.'s Worten hervor, der in der Vorrede zur *Olive* sich folgendermassen äussert: *«Si quelques-uns directement ou indirectement me vouloyent taxer non point avec la raison et modestie accoustumées en toutes honnestes controuersies de lettres . . . . . je les aduerty qu'ils n'attendent aucune response de moy.* [2]) Dieser Versuch, in der literarischen Kritik eine höflichere Sprache einzubürgern, gereicht der Plejade um so mehr zur Ehre, als gerade damals in der Gelehrtenrepublik der Humanisten es Mode war, mit groben Worten literarische Fehden auszufechten. Es sei hier nur an den Streit für und wider Cicero, denjenigen des Scioppius und Scaliger, der Aristoteliker (Galland und Ramus), der Anhänger und Gegner einer Orthographiereform (Meigret und Des Autels) erinnert.[3])

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[1]) Brunetière, l. c., p. 41: *«En passant d'Italie en France, la critique allait promptement dépouiller à la fois son caractère d'érudition pédantesque et d'âpreté satirique pour devenir . . . purement littéraire.»*

[2]) Vergleiche hiermit Peletier's Worte in seinem *Art poét.*, p. 13—15: *«Je ne voudrais offenser un seul, ains complaire a tous.»* Siehe auch Brunot, *La doctrine de Malherbe*, p. 114. Vergl. ferner: *«Si quelques-uns voulaient renoueler la Farce de Marot et Sagon . . . il faut qu'ils cherchent autre badin* [als Dub.] *pour jouer ce rôle.»* Œuvr. de Dub. (p. par Marty-Laveaux) p. 78.

[3]) Vergleiche auch Brunot, l. c., p. 110 ff., und Nisard, *Les Gladiateurs de la Rép. des Lettr.*, II, 45, sowie Nisard, *Le triumvirat littéraire*, p. 265—285.

Leider sollte jedoch Malherbe später auch diese Seite der R.'schen Reform aufgeben und nicht der Nachahmung wert halten. R. war ferner von dem Nutzen theoretischer Erörterungen über die Poesie nicht so völlig überzeugt, dass er glaubte, man könne durch Lehre und Vorschrift einen zum Dichter machen. Es geht dies aus folgenden Worten hervor: *Or si je cognois que cest Abbrégé te soit agréable et utile à la postérité, je te feray un plus long discours de nostre Poësie* (VII, 336). Zur Ausführung dieses Vorsatzes ist er aber nicht gekommen, wie wir schon oben gesehen haben (Seite 14). Von der Wirkung der Kritik auf die Literatur versprach sich, wie es scheint, R. überhaupt weniger als Dub., der geradezu in seiner *Défense*, um die Produktion schlechter Bücher zu verhindern, die Errichtung einer öffentlichen Zensur in folgenden Worten forderte: *Ie voudrois bien que . . . tous Roys, et Princes . . . deffendissent, par edict expres . . . . . de non mettre en lumiere oeuure aucun . . . . si premierement il n'auoit enduré la Lyme de quelque sçauant Homme, aussi peu adulateur qu'estoit Quintilie.* [1]) R. zog es vor, seinem jungen Freunde, dem zuliebe er seinen *Abbregé* verfasst hatte, im mündlichen Verkehre weitere poetische Lehren zu geben. *Jaime mieus en nous promenant te les apprendre de bouche que les mettre par escrit* (VII, 329). Weniger durch seine kritischen Schriften als durch persönlichen Umgang wollte er Einfluss auf die jüngere Dichtergeneration ausüben. Deshalb sagt Binet von ihm: *Il inciteit fort ceux qui l'alloient voir et principalement les jeunes hommes qu'il jugeoit promettre quelque fruict en la poësie, à bien escrire et plus tost à moins et mieux faire* (VIII, 51). Gelegenheit zu solch mündlicher Verbreitung seiner Lehre fand sich vielleicht auch in Baïf's Akademie, deren Mitglied R. war und über deren Tendenzen wir später noch zu reden haben werden.[2]) Und wenn R. auch Unberufene vom Eintritt in den Musentempel abschrecken will, so betrachtete er es doch als die wichtigere Aufgabe der Kritik, dem angehenden Dichtergeschlechte den Weg zu bahnen und die Jungen zu ermutigen: *Tu cognoistras*

[1]) *Déf.* (*ed. Person*), L. II, ch. XI, 148.

[2]) Siehe weiter unten p. 73.

incontinent de quelle peine se verront délivrez les plus jeunes par le courage de ceux qui auront si hardiment osé» (VII, 329)[1]). Dabei kam ihm zu statten, dass er bei dem Urteil über die Werke anderer Dichter nicht an Kleinigkeiten sein Auge haften liess, sondern nach dem Gebote des Horaz: *»Ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis offendar maculis»* [2]) willig das Schöne und Gelungene des Gesamtwerkes anerkannte. Wir ersehen dies aus folgender Stelle: *«Les petits lecteurs poëtastres qui ont les yeux si aigus à noter les frivoles fautes d'autruy, le blasmant pour un a mal écrit, pour une rime non riche ou qui se courroucent . . . . . pour autres semblables atomes. ne sont que des grimauds qui montrent leur peu de jugement.»* [3]) Freilich, am Ende seiner Tage, inmitten der politischen Wirren und der religiösen Streitigkeiten, in denen sich Frankreichs Bewohner befehdeten und durch welche der Bestand des französischen Königtums gefährdet schien, wollte auch ihm der Glaube an eine bessere Zukunft der französischen Poesie, an ihre höhere Entwickelung manchmal fast entschwinden. Ein beredtes Zeugnis seines Missmutes finden wir in seinem an Simon Nicolas gerichteten und *Caprice* betitelten Gedicht, wo er sich folgendermassen ausspricht:

«Je me repens d'avoir tant eu de peine
Que d'amener Phœbus et sa neufvaine
En ce pays; il me fasche d'avoir
Premièrement sur les rives du Loir
Conduit leurs pas en ma jeunesse tendre,
Quand le bel ceil de ma belle Cassandre

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[1]) Vergl. Vauquelin. *Art poét.*, III, v. 7—9:

«Jeunes, prenez courage et que ce mont terrible
Qui du premier abord vous semble inaccessible,
Ne vous estonne point. Jeunesse, il faut oser.»

[2]) *Ars poet.*, v. 350/51.

[3]) Vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 625—630, u. Vida, *Ars poet.*, III, v. 6—14.

Me sceut apprendre à chercher comme il faut
En beau subject un style brave et haut.[1])

(VI, 327.)

Gleichwohl ist seine Hoffnung auf einen weiteren Aufschwung der französischen Poesie zu gross, als dass er ihr ganz entsagen könnte. Gegen die ihr Haupt wieder drohend erhebende *Sotte Ignorance* wird, so hofft er, dereinst ein zweiter Retter der Musen erstehen. Diesen Mann begrüsst er als seinen Nachfolger, hinterlässt ihm gleichsam sein dichterisches Testament, in welchem er in gedrängten Worten seine dichterischen Lehren zusammenfasst und ihn auffordert, in seine Fussstapfen zu treten.

«Qui que tu sois, à qui la Pierïde
Fera ce bien, pren ma voix pour ton guide,
Escoute-moy, s'il te plaist de ramer
Asseurément en si profonde mer.»

(VI, 328 ff.)

Nach dieser Würdigung R.'s als Kunstphilosoph und Kritiker gehen wir dazu über, den Inhalt der von ihm aufgestellten Regeln und Vorschriften zu besprechen.

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[1]) Von dieser Zeit sagt auch Baïf in einem Gedicht an Remi Belleau:

«De pis en pis des lors
Toutes choses s'empirent,
Tous les Vices dehors
Des noirs enfers saillirent.»

Baïf, *Œuvres en rimes*, p. 236.

Vauquelin schildert diese Periode wie folgt:

«Mais les Provinces sont en France si troublées
Que les Muses n'y sont plus, Phœbus en est parti.»

Art poét. III., v. 55—58.

Vergl. damit Jodelle's Klage an seine *Muse*, (ed. Marty-Laveaux) I. 279.

Kapitel II.

Ronsard's Theorie der Dichtkunst in ihren Grundzügen.

§ 1.

Ursprung und Geschichte der Poesie.

Wie schon für Sibilet,[1]) so steht auch für R. der göttliche Ursprung der Poesie unzweifelhaft fest. Während Peletier[2]) glaubt, der Ursprung der Dichtkunst lasse sich überhaupt nicht erforschen, liege aber auf menschlichem Gebiete, schliesst sich R., wie später Vauquelin,[3]) in diesem Punkte an die oben erwähnte, schon von Plato geäusserte Ansicht an; ja der antike Mythus von Apollo ist ihm geradezu ein symbolischer Beweis für die Richtigkeit seiner Anschauung.[4]) In doppelter Beziehung kann man nach R. die Poesie göttlicher Herkunft nennen, insofern ein Gott als der erste Sänger und Dichter erscheint, und dann weil die Poesie ursprünglich die alleinige Sprache des Gebets war. Auf Grund seines *Art*

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[1]) Sibilet, *Art poét.* L. 1, ch. I, nach Pellissier, p. XVII: «*L'une* (Vertu) *et l'autre* (Poésie) *sont sorties de ce celeste et profond abysme qui est le sejour mesme de Dieu.*»

[2]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 6—8.

[3]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 733—742.

[4]) Über die damals üblichen Ansichten betreffs des Ursprungs der Poesie, siehe Vituperan, Kap. II, 11. Dieser selbst fasst seine Meinung dahin zusammen: «*Certum aliquem poeticae parentem et auctorem dari non posse nisi naturam ... nullumque tempus fuisse, quo non poeticae studia colerentur*» ibid.

poétique und der in einer an den Kanzler Hospital gerichteten Ode ausgesprochenen Ansichten (Blanchemain II, 87), können wir seine Anschauung von dem historischen Entwickelungsgange der Poesie folgendermassen skizzieren: Die Poesie ist eine Gabe des Himmels. Nach der antiken Auffassung, die ihm das symbolische Gegenbild der geschichtlichen Thatsache ist, bringen denn auch die Töchter des höchsten Gottes selber, die Musen, das himmlische Geschenk den Menschen auf die Erde. Unter allen Menschenkindern sind aber die Diener der Gottheit dieser Göttergabe am würdigsten befunden worden; so kommt es, dass *«les oracles, prophètes, devins, Sibylles, interprètes de songes»*[1]) sich zuerst auf Erden der gebundenen Rede bedienten. Die Priester der Gottheit gebrauchten nämlich die Poesie dazu, die göttlichen Geheimnisse der Menge zu verhüllen, oder umgekehrt dieselben in eine leicht fassbare Form zu kleiden.

«Car la Poësie n'estoit au premier âge qu'une théologie allégorique, pour faire entrer au cerveau des hommes grossiers, par fables plaisantes et colorées les secrets qu'ils ne pouvoient comprendre, quand trop ouvertement on leur descouvroit la vérité» (VII, 318). Diese Anschauung von dem Ursprung der Poesie wurzelte, wie schon gesagt, im Platonismus und war durch Horazens Worte (Ars poet. v. 390—407) bei den Frühhumanisten gäng und gäbe geworden.[2]) Schon Vida war der Ansicht gewesen, dass die früheste Poesie *ad sacra celebranda*[3]) gedient habe; Peletier glaubt: *«Les poëtes ont été jadis les maîtres et réformateurs de la vie»*, und nennt sie die Begründer jeder Zivilisation.[4]) Scaliger, wie später auch Vituperan, war in diesem Punkte schon etwas skeptischer; er meint, die Poesie sei zuerst unter den Hirtenvölkern erblüht.[5])

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[1]) Vergl. Peletier, l. c., p. 6.

[2]) Körting, Die Anfänge der Renaiss. p. 315.

[3]) Vida, *Ars poet.* L. I., v. 547.

[4]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 8.

[5]) Scaliger, *Poetices libri* VII. L. I. p. 10. Vergl. auch Aristot., Poetik, ch. IV.

Vauquelin geht dagegen wieder auf R. zurück, wenn er sagt:

«*Et truchements des dieux beaucoup les appelaient*
Croyans que par leur bouche aux humains ils parlaient.»[1])

Später nahm bekanntlich die romantische Schule jenen Glauben von dem göttlichen Ursprung der Poesie wieder auf, und V. Hugo bezieht sich dabei ausdrücklich auf R.[2])

Mit den *poètes divins* gelangt die Poesie auf der zweiten Stufe an; sie sind gewissermassen die Schüler der oben erwähnten Gottesmänner, stehen also der Gottheit bereits einen Grad ferner und der Menschheit eine Stufe näher. Deshalb sind sie auch nicht mehr so unmittelbar von oben inspiriert wie die erstgenannte Klasse; auch gibt sich bei ihnen schon das Bestreben kund, die göttliche Lehre durch menschliche Zuthat zu erweitern: «*Ce que les oracles disaient en peu de mots, ces gentils personnages l'amplifiaient, coloraient, et augmentaient*» (*Art poét.* VII, 318). Dennoch bleiben sie ihm göttliche Dichter, da in ihren Werken die Inspiration, die Ursprünglichkeit und Naivetät noch die Kunst und den beabsichtigten, äusseren Glanz der Rede überwiegt:

«*Divins, d'autant que la nature*
Sans art librement exprimaient,
Sans art leur naïve écriture
Par la fureur ils animaient.»
(*Ode X*, str. 17. II, 88.)

Das Vaterland dieser *poètes divins*[3]) ist vorzugsweise Griechenland; die bedeutendsten derselben sind Eumolpe, Musée, Orphée und Homère. Mit der dritten Entwickelungsphase treten wir in das Zeitalter der *poètes humains*,

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[1]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 117—118.

[2]) Siehe Chalandon, *Essai sur la vie de R.* p. 156, wo ein Vergleich R.'s mit V. Hugo von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus durchgeführt ist.

[3]) Vergl. Horaz, Ars poet. v. 400 f.: «*Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque carminibus venit*».

die ebenfalls in Griechenland blühten. Die Dichter dieser Stufe gehören bereits den geschichtlichen Zeiten an, während die *poètes divins* noch der Heroenepoche oder gar dem mythologischen Zeitalter zugezählt werden müssen. R. ist sich freilich dieses chronologischen Unterschiedes zwischen den einzelnen Entwickelungsphasen nicht ganz bewusst gewesen. Mit den „menschlichen Dichtern" verweltlicht sich gewissermassen die Poesie vollends; zunächst wird die Verbindung der Dichter mit den Himmlischen eine lockere; die *poètes divins* konnten sich noch himmlischen Ursprungs rühmen; denn

Celui qui le premier du voile d'une fable
Prudent enveloppa la chose véritable . . . .
Il ne fut l'un de ceux qu'un mortel enserre,
Mais un Dieu qui ne vit des présents de la terre.»
(*Le Bocage royal* III, 419.)

Ihre Nachfolger sind jedoch gewöhnliche Menschenkinder und keine Göttersöhne mehr. Auch die Dichtung selbst erleidet eine Veränderung. Die frühere Ursprünglichkeit und Natürlichkeit gehen verloren, und in dem Masse, als die göttliche Inspiration schwächer wird, muss dieser ursprüngliche Schmuck der Poesie durch menschlichen Fleiss und künstlerisches Geschick ersetzt werden. Von dieser zuletzt gekommenen Dichtergeneration spricht R. in folgenden Ausdrücken:

«*Longtemps après eux [poètes divins] sont venus d'un même pays les seconds poètes que j'appelle humains pour être plus enflés d'artifice et labeur que de divinité.*» (*Art poét.* VII, 318.)

Über ihren Werken lagert auch schon eine Art moderner Melancholie, wenigstens ist R. dieser Meinung. Denn in einer noch genaueren Charakteristik, wo er sie «*une foule grande*» nennt und als minderwertig gegenüber ihren Vorfahren bezeichnet, *dégénérans des premiers*, fährt er also fort:

«*Comme venus les derniers*
Par un art mélancolique

Trahirent avec grand soin
Les vers éloignes bien loin
De la sainte ardeur antique.»
(Ode X. II, 89.)

In dieser dritten Phase der Entwickelung steht die Poesie heute noch. Gleichwohl lassen sich innerhalb derselben wieder mehrere Perioden unterscheiden. Der ersten Periode gehören die griechischen Dichter an. Allein bei dem Mangel an chronologischem Sinn in jener Zeit verstand es auch R. nicht, die einzelnen Entwickelungsstufen der griechischen Poesie auseinander zu halten, so dass Homer, Euripides und die alexandrinischen Dichter ihm als gleichwertige Vertreter der nämlichen klassischen Gräzität erschienen. Doch sieht er wenigstens ein, dass bei den Römern ein weiterer Niedergang der Poesie gegenüber dem ursprünglichen Zustande stattgefunden hat:

«Par le fil d'une longue espace
Après ces poètes humains
Les Muses soufflèrent leur grâce
Dessus les prophètes romains;
Non pas comme fut la première
Ou comme la seconde était,
Mais comme toute la dernière
Plus lentement les agitait.»
(Ode X. II, 89.)

Dafür beginnt aber bei ihnen jene Blume sich zu entfalten, welche nach R.'s Meinung in den modernen Zeiten der schönste Schmuck der Dichtung ist: die Gelehrsamkeit. Und da diese nur ausdauerndem Fleisse als Lohn zufällt, so kann auch die Dichterkrone nur wenigen mehr zu teil werden. Das beweisen uns schon die Römer. Bei ihnen kehren bereits Ausdrücke, wie *les neuf savantes sœurs, la docte muse, docta carmina* und ähnliche häufig wieder, und anderseits ist bei ihnen die Zahl der Dichterlinge weit grösser als die der echten Dichter. *«Ils ont foisonné en telle fourmilière qu'ils ont apporté aux libraires plus de charge que d'honneur, excepté 5 ou 6*

desquels la doctrine, accompagnée d'un parfait artifice, m'a toujours tiré en admiration.» (*Art poét.* VII, 318.)

Seit der Römerzeit [1]) ist die Muse gelehrt [2]) geblieben. Und wenn im Mittelalter auch ungelehrte Hände sie zu berühren gewagt haben, so gilt es doch jetzt, nachdem ihr wahrer Charakter erkannt ist, wiederum an die Römer anzuknüpfen und die Sotte Ignorance aus der Poesie zu bannen. Um sie zu bekämpfen, schreibt Dub. seine *Illustration* und dichtet seine *Musagnacomachie* [3]) nach homerischem Vorbild; ebenso nehmen alle anderen Glieder der Plejade an diesem Kampfe teil.

§ 2.

Gelehrsamkeit und Nachahmung.

Wir sehen also, dass R.'s Ansicht von dem Wesen der Poesie auf historischer Grundlage ruht. Woher er die Einteilung in drei oder vier Perioden hat, weiss ich nicht: möglicherweise rührt sie von Scaliger [4]) her, der drei grosse Hauptperioden unterscheidet oder sie ist nur eine Ausführung der von Horaz in seiner Poetik (v. 391—407) gegebenen Skizze; vielleicht beruht sie, was die einfachste Erklärung wäre, auf dem Mythus von den vier Zeitaltern. Gelingt es nun R. und seiner Schule, das Wissen und die Gelehrsamkeit in der Poesie wieder zur Geltung zu bringen, so setzen sie damit eigentlich nur die antike Tradition fort und nehmen die Pflege der Poesie nach dem von der Gottheit gewollten Plane wieder auf. In der Anlehnung und Nachahmung der

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[1]) Der Merkwürdigkeit wegen sei hier erwähnt die auf Cl. Fauchet beruhende Ansicht La Mothe's, des Herausgebers der Werke Jodelle's, über den Ursprung der Poesie bei den Griechen und Römern: «*On peut présumer que les Grecs et les Latins ont appris des Gaulois (domteurs alors des uns et des autres) ce qu'ils ont sceu de Poésie.*» Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de Jod.* I. 2.

[2]) „*Nihil enim solidioris eruditionis a Musarum sacrariis alienum est.*“ Scaliger. L. V., ch. IV., p. 776.

[3]) *Œuvres de Dub.* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) p. 139.

[4]) Scaliger, l. c., L. I, ch. II. p. 11.

Alten ist also für R. ein gewisses poetisch-religiöses Motiv verborgen. Die Entfaltung von Gelehrsamkeit in der Poesie ist nicht, wie einige wollen, ein Ausfluss grossthuerischen Prahlens, auch nicht ein kümmerliches Surrogat für mangelnde, dichterische Begabung, sondern ein Akt gottverdienstlichen Schaffens: durch sie kann die den frühesten Dichtern als besseren Menschen aus freier göttlicher Gnade gewordene Inspiration auf künstlichem Wege um den Preis harter Anstrengung von der Gottheit erkauft werden. Und solch strebendem Geiste leihen die Götter ihr Ohr. Denn sie haben eine solche Entwickelung der Poesie nur zugelassen, um den Besten der Menschenkinder ein Mittel an die Hand zu geben, sich über den grossen Haufen zu erheben. R. selbst drückt sich also aus:

Dieu l'a concédée [la poesie] aux hommes pour les [les poètes] faire Apparaître en renom par dessus le vulgaire.

(*Discours à Grerin* VI, 314.)

Auf diese Weise bleiben auch die modernen Dichter in steter Verbindung mit Gott, der auch sie noch mit seiner Inspiration begnadet. R. nennt sich und Dub. Schüler *d'une ecole, où l'on forcène doucement*. (*Ode* X. II, 193.)

So hat also R. dazu beigetragen, dass Plato's Anschauung von der göttlichen Inspiration des Dichters auch noch in den modernen Zeiten Geltung behalten hat, nachdem schon Vida früher die gleiche Ansicht vertreten und zugleich auch die verschiedenen Arten göttlicher Inspiration aufgezählt hatte.[1]

§ 3.

Der Zweck der Poesie.

Auf die Frage, was der eigentliche Zweck der Poesie sei, bekommen wir von R. nirgends eine bestimmte Antwort.

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[1] Siehe Vida, L. II, v. 429—435, II, v. 441; u. ferner Scaliger, L. I, ch. II, p. 11. Vergl. zu diesem § auch noch unten p. 43 f.

Während die humanistischen Poetikenschreiber seiner Zeit, wie Scaliger[1]) und Vituperan, das allbekannte Wort Horazens

> «*Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae,*
> *Aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae*»
>
> (*Ars poet.* v. 333 334.)

in mehr oder minder geschickter Umschreibung wiederholen, sagt R. über den Zweck der Poesie fast gar nichts.[2]) Vielleicht aber dürfen wir das, was er als die Aufgabe des epischen Dichters ansieht, als seine Ansicht vom Zweck der Poesie überhaupt betrachten. Vom epischen Dichter sagt er nämlich: «*Tu seras industrieux à esmouvoir les passions et affections de l'âme, car c'est la meilleure partie de ton mestier*».[3]) Mit diesen Worten stimmt auch Dub.'s Anschauung vom Endziel der Poesie überein, wenn er sagt: «*Celuy sera veritablement le Poëte que je cherche en nostre Langue, qui me fera indigner, apaiser, eiouyr, doubtir, aymer, hayr, admirer, bref, qui tiendra la bride de mes Affections, me tournant çà et là à son plaisir*».[4]) Freilich, um diese Gefühlserregungen hervorzurufen, bedient sich der Dichter anderer Mittel als der Redner. Während nun zur Zeit Fabri's und seiner Vorgänger Poet und Rhetor die gleiche Bedeutung hatte, macht R., wie schon Sibilet, Dub. und Peletier vor ihm gethan, auf den Unterschied zwischen beiden aufmerksam und sagt sich damit von der rhetorischen Poesie der früheren Zeit los, die das Wesen der Dichtkunst in hohlem

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[1]) Scaliger, L. I, ch. I. p. 2: «*Namque poeta etiam docet, non solum delectat*».

[2]) Vauquelin präzisierte später auch hier die Theorie der Schule:

> «*Enseigner, profiter, ou bien donner plaisir*
> *Ou faire tous les deux, le Poëte a désir.*»
>
> *Art poét.* III. v. 588—586.

[3]) *Œuvres de R.* (ed. Blanchemain) III. 28.

[4]) Défense (ed. Person) L. II, ch. XI, p. 151. Vergl. Horaz:

> «*Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto*
> *Et, quocumque volent, animum auditoris agunto.*»
>
> *Ars poet.* v. 99 100.

Prunk der Worte erkennen wollte.[1]) Um aber R.'s Ansicht vom Zweck der Poesie noch genauer kennen zu lernen, müssen wir auch auf seine Werke Rücksicht nehmen. Hier drängt sich nun die Wahrnehmung auf, dass der von Dub. und R. als Theoretikern kaum angedeutete Gesichtspunkt des moralischen Zweckes der Poesie in den Werken des alternden Dichters sich mehr und mehr geltend machte. Wir erinnern nur daran, dass er im Alter seine Werke, behufs moralischer Purgierung, einer für sie nicht eben vorteilhaften Durchsicht unterzog.

Um diese Handlungsweise R.'s zu begreifen, müssen wir den ganzen Charakter der Renaissance in Frankreich ins Auge fassen. Sie war nämlich gerade zu der Zeit, als sie ihre höchsten Wogen warf und die Nation als solche ergriff, mit einer anderen, die Geister nicht minder beschäftigenden Bewegung gepaart, der Reformation. Dadurch kam es, dass jene Auswüchse des *paganisme littéraire*, welcher in Italien der Gelehrtenwelt einen geradezu heidnischen Anstrich verlieh und daselbst erst infolge der durch das Tridentiner Konzil hervorgerufenen Reaktion verschwand, in Frankreich nie so üppig — auch nicht zu den Zeiten des Bockfestes der Plejade zu *Arcueil* — in Dichtung und Leben emporschiessen konnten.[2]) Hierin liegt ferner der Grund, warum in Frankreich die literarische Bewegung schon von Anfang an mit den reformatorischen Ideen auf religiösem Gebiete vermengt war. Deshalb nimmt man auch bei R. und anderen Anhängern der Plejade schon frühe wahr, dass, so geschmackwidrig uns dies jetzt erscheinen mag, sie wiederholt den Versuch machen, christliche Stoffe in antikem Kunstgewande darzustellen. Und wer weiss, ob nicht schon R. eine solche Verschmelzung modern-christlichen Geistes mit antiken Kunstelementen als Endzweck der Poesie dunkel vorausgeahnt hat. Aus dieser Geistesstimmung R.'s heraus erklärt sich auch, dass er an dem Werke Du Bartas' nicht sowohl den Stoff unpassend fand, als vielmehr nur die Darstellung tadelte und namentlich den Mangel an Ordnung rügte:

[1]) Siehe Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.* ch. III, p. 66, und Peletier, *Art poët.* p. 17—18.

[2]) Siehe hierüber Dejob, *De l'influence du Concile de Trente*, ch. III, § 3.

«Bartas voulant desbrouiller l'univers
Et luy donner une meilleure forme,
Luy-mesme a faict un grand chaos de vers
Qui plus que l'autre est confus et difforme.»

(VIII, 131.)

Ja, wenn Binet. sein Biograph, uns recht berichtet, so soll sich R. sogar einmal mit dem Gedanken an ein christliches Epos getragen haben, angeblich unter dem Titel: *«La naissance du monde»* [1]) oder *«La loi divine»*, wovon sogar die ersten 30 Verse uns überliefert sind. [2]) Auch dieser Zug bekundet wieder R.'s Anlehnung an jene Humanistenkreise, die namentlich in den Jesuitenkollegien sich zusammenfanden und aus deren Mitte christliche Epen und Dramen, in lateinischer Sprache verfasst, so zahlreich hervorgegangen sind. Ob es ihm freilich gelungen wäre, ein solche Verschmelzung antiker und modern-christlicher Elemente in schicklicher Weise zu bethätigen, wissen wir nicht, doch lässt uns sein *Hercule chrétien* eher auf das Gegenteil schliessen. In dieser Hymne, die noch dazu an einen Prälaten gerichtet ist, unternimmt er es nämlich, die Mythen von Herkules' Thaten als symbolische Weissagungen von Jesus und seinem Werke zu deuten:

«Mais où est l'œil, tant soit-il aveuglé,
Où est l'esprit, tant soit-il desreiglé,
S'il veut un peu mes paroles comprendre,
Que par raison je ne luy face entendre
Que la plupart des choses qu'on apprit
D'Hercule, est deue à un seul Jesus-Christ.»

(V, 172.)

Nichtsdestoweniger beweist uns dieser Versuch R.'s, dass schon um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts ein christianisierender Zug in der französischen Poesie sich geltend machte. Dies ersehen wir auch aus folgendem Umstande. Noch zwischen

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[1]) *«R. avait envie ... de traiter ingénieusement et dignement la naissance du monde»* (VIII, 130).

[2]) Siehe Pellissier, l. c., Préf. p. 94.

1560 und 1570 lagen die Dramatiker im Streit über die Zulässigkeit eines christlichen Stoffes in der Tragödie. Grevin (1561) hält *le jeu* mit aus der Bibel entlehnten Stoffen noch für unzulässig; Jean de la Taille dagegen will christliche Stoffe nicht mehr ausschliefsen und warnt nur vor allzu langen theologischen Raisonnements. Vauquelin, der letzte Theoretiker der Plejade, fordert geradezu auf, die Poesie mit christlichem Geiste zu erfüllen [1]) und gedachte in seiner «*Israélide*», einer christlichen Epopöe, ein Beispiel zu geben. So hat also jener christliche Zug, der im 17. Jahrhundert als katholisch unitarischer Geist zugleich mit dem Kartesianismus die Literatur beherrschen sollte, schon frühe sich zu entwickeln angefangen. Allein trotz seiner Hinneigung zu einer christlichen Poesie wollte R. die Dichtkunst im allgemeinen nicht zu einer Dienerin der Moral erniedrigt wissen; er wies vielmehr diese Aufgabe speziell der dramatischen Poesie zu, wie wir später sehen werden. So glauben wir denn auf Grund der Werke R.'s und anderer zeitgenössischer Zeugnisse auch die Frage, was R. sich als Endzweck der Poesie gedacht habe, annähernd richtig beantwortet zu haben.

§ 4.

Das Objekt der Poesie.

Bestimmter spricht sich R. über das Objekt der Poesie aus, an dem sich das dichterische Schaffen bethätigen soll. Er ist nämlich der Ansicht, dass das Darstellungsobjekt des Dichters entweder der realen Aussenwelt oder einer ideellen Wirklichkeit angehören müsse. Im ersten Falle ahmt derselbe nach oder reproduziert ein existierendes Objekt; im zweiten Falle schildert er ein nur in seinem Geiste und durch denselben existierendes Objekt, erfindet also und schafft eine Fabel, die, wenn auch nicht real, so doch ideell wirklich, d. h.

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[1]) «*Si les Grecs, comme vous, Chrétiens, eussent écrit,*
Ils eussent les hauts faits chanté de Jesus-Christ.
Donques à le chanter, ores je vous invite.»
III, v. 845—847; vgl. ferner II. v. 134—135, III. v. 33, 845.

möglich, menschlich, wahrscheinlich sein muss. R. selbst drückt sich folgendermassen aus: «*Le but du poëte est d'imiter,*[1] *inventer et représenter les choses qui sont, qui peuvent estre ou que les Anciens ont estimées comme véritables*» (VII, 322).[2] Schon Peletier spricht in dem Kapitel *du sujet de Poesie* von der Ähnlichkeit der Malerei und der Poesie und weist der letzteren als *sujets spacieux et célèbres* zu: «*Guerres, l'Amour, la Pastoralité et l'Agriculture.*»[3] Die dichterische Erfindungskraft darf sich also nur innerhalb der Wahrscheinlichkeit bethätigen; R. sagt dies auch ausdrücklich: «*Le poëte s'arreste au vraysemblable, à ce qui peut estre*» (III, 7). Noch treffender sprach sich hierüber Vituperan aus; ausser dem Begriff der Wahrscheinlichkeit kennt er bereits denjenigen vom „menschlich Notwendigen", den erst Boileau[4] später erläutern sollte. «*Demum omnia et res et nomina sic fingenda sunt, ut de omnibus vel necessaria vel probabilis causa reddatur.*»[5] Der mit Phantasie begabte Dichter, der wahre Dichter also, wird nach R.'s Meinung hauptsächlich durch eigene Erfindung innerhalb der oben bezeichneten Grenzen auf dem Gebiete der Fiktion Proben seines Talentes ablegen wollen und vorzugsweise dem Historiker die Darstellung der realen Aussenwelt überlassen: «*L'histoire reçoit seulement la chose comme elle est ou fut: . . . le poëte qui escrit les choses comme elles sont, ne mérite tant que celuy qui les feint et se recule le plus qu'il luy est possible de l'historien*» (III, 7). R.'s Sinn ist somit auf das Mögliche gerichtet, und es widerstrebt ihm, sich in seinen Gedichten eitlen Spekulationen hinzugeben oder in Phantasmagorien zu schwelgen, die menschlich unwahr sind. Er verurteilt deshalb jene Poesie, in welcher die Laune einer zügellos schaffenden Phantasie monströse Gebilde hervorzaubert, die ohne Beziehung zur

[1]) Diese Anschauung von der nachahmenden Aufgabe der Poesie geht auf Aristoteles' Poetik (ch. IV) zurück.

[2]) Vergl. Vida (L. II, v. 304):

„Curandum ut, quando non semper vera profamur,
Fingentes, saltem sint illa simillima veris".

[3]) Peletier, *Art poët.* p. 15.

[4]) Boileau, *Œuvres*, Einl. zur Ausgabe vom Jahre 1701.

[5]) Vituperan, L. I, ch. XIII, 46.

realen Welt und zum Menschen sind: «*Je n'entends toutes fois ces inventions fantastiques et mélancholiques qui ne se rapportent non plus l'une à l'autre que les songes entrecouppez d'un frénétique ou de quelque patient extremément tourmenté de la fièvre, à l'imagination duquel, pour estre blessée, se représentent mille formes monstrueuses sans ordre ny liaison*» (VII, 322). Dieser Tadel richtet sich hauptsächlich gegen die italienische Poesie, wie sie in Ariost zum Ausdruck kommt: «. . . *non toutes fois pour feindre une poësie fantastique comme celle de l'Arioste*» (III, 8). Als Vorkämpfer für die Sache des gesunden Menschenverstandes, der in der Poesie wie überall herrschen soll, warnt R. vor der Nachahmung der Italiener, deren allzu romantische Dichtung ihm unverträglich erscheint mit dem im französischen Geiste wurzelnden Streben nach Klarheit und Verständlichkeit. Deswegen verlangte er noch keine mechanische Wiedergabe der Wirklichkeit und war noch lange kein Realist in in dem modernen Sinne des Wortes. In diesem Punkte sollte später Malherbe vielleicht unbewusst sein Nachfolger werden, da er ebenfalls fordert, dass die Poesie der Widerschein der Wirklichkeit sei. Freilich glaubte er sich R. gegenüber im Gegensatz, da dieser, seiner Ansicht nach, im Gebrauch der Mythologie und der Sprache der Phantasie allzu sehr nachgegeben und auf die reale Aussenwelt noch zu wenig Rücksicht genommen hatte.[1])

Allein trotz der Rücksichtnahme auf die Wirklichkeit soll des Dichters Phantasie, sei es, dass sie das Gegebene dichterisch gestaltet oder schöpferisch Neues erfindet, immer auf das Erhabene, Grosse und Schöne gerichtet sein. So sagt R., indem er sich an einen angehenden Dichter wendet: «*Tu auras les conceptions hautes, grandes, belles et non trainantes à terre*» (Art poét. VII, 318). Und wenn die Poesie auf die Wiedergabe der Aussenwelt angewiesen ist, so hat sie nicht, wie man etwa befürchten möchte, ein beschränktes Stoffgebiet; vielmehr, wie die Natur sich vielgestaltig zeigt und im bunten Wechsel der Erscheinungen stets neue Schönheiten erblicken lässt, kann auch die Poesie, ihr Spiegelbild, in

[1]) Vergl. hiermit Brunot, l. c., p. 174 ff.

reichster Mannigfaltigkeit und tausendfachem Farbenglanze strahlen. R. drückt diesen Gedanken in folgender Weise aus: «*Je suis de cette opinion que nulle poïsie ne se doit louer pour accomplie, si elle ne ressemble la nature, laquelle ne fut estimée belle des anciens que pour être inconstante et variable en ses perfections*» (*Préface des Odes* II, 12).[1])

Schliesslich sehen wir auch noch den engeren Zusammenhang der Poesie mit der Natur in ihrem Geschicke. Wie die Natur sich darin gefällt, hier karg zu erscheinen, dort dagegen in reichster Pracht aufzutreten, so hat auch die Poesie zu verschiedenen Zeiten bald sich in Verfall befunden, bald in Blüte gestanden, und ist, ohne stete Heimat, von einer Nation zur anderen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte gewandert. Dieses wechselnde Geschick der Poesie schildert R. sehr schön, indem er sie mit einem Gestirne vergleicht, dessen Glanz bald in diesem, bald in jenem Erdteile die Bewunderung der Menschen erregt, und er fährt dann also fort:

Ainsi ni les Hébreux, les Grecs, ni les Romains
N'ont eu la poïsie entière entre leurs mains,
Elle a vu l'Allemagne, et a pris accroissance
Aux rives d'Angleterre, en Ecosse et en France,
Sautant deçà delà et prenant grand plaisir
En étrange pays divers hommes choisir.»
(*Discours à Jacques Grevin* VI, 312.)

Diese Stelle ist auch deshalb von Interesse, weil sie zeigt, wie durch die humanistischen Studien der Gesichtskreis des einzelnen erweitert, universell und international wurde; erst seit der Renaissance sind die verschiedenen Völkerfamilien zur Erfassung des Begriffs Menschheit gekommen und können dessen Verwirklichung erstreben.

Was endlich die Vollkommenheit der Poesie anlangt, so hängt dieselbe enge mit derjenigen des Menschen zusammen.

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[1]) Vergl. damit: «*L'invention n'est autre chose que le bon naturel d'une imagination concevant les idées et formes de toutes choses qui se peuvent imaginer, tant célestes que terrestres, animées ou inanimées, pour après les représenter, descrir et imiter.*» (VII, 322.)

R. scheint der Ansicht zu sein, dass die Fähigkeit des Menschen, sich zu vervollkommnen, eine Grenze habe. Demgemäss glaubt er auch nicht, dass man jemals von einer absoluten Vollkommenheit der Poesie auf Erden reden könne; unvollkommenen Menschen kann sich die Gottheit nie völlig offenbaren. Somit bleibt sterblichen Dichtern nur übrig, nach möglichster Vollkommenheit zu streben — dieser letztere Begriff im R.'schen Sinne moralisch und intellektuell aufgefasst —, um dadurch eines höheren Grades der göttlichen Inspiration teilhaftig zu werden und hierdurch wieder befähigt zu sein, in der Dichtkunst Vollkommeneres zu leisten. Die Belegstellen, aus denen wir R.'s Ansicht entnehmen, finden sich ebenfalls in dem schon oben erwähnten Gedichte an Grevin und lauten:

« La Muse ici bas ne fut jamais parfaite
Ni ne sera, Grevin: la haute Déité
Ne veut pas tant d'honneur à notre humanité
Imparfaite et grossière; et pour ce elle n'est digne
De la perfection d'une fureur divine etc.»

(VI, 311.)

§ 5.

Des Dichters Person.

Mit obigen Worten sind wir bei der Persönlichkeit des Dichters angelangt. R. widmet ihr allerdings kein besonderes Kapitel. In berechtigtem Selbstgefühl dachte er wohl, dass sein eigenes Beispiel wirkungsvoller sei, als alle Lehre. Um jedoch R.'s Auffassung von der Poesie genau kennen zu lernen, müssen wir notwendigerweise versuchen, auch seine Ansichten über den Dichter, über dessen Charakter und Erfordernisse zum Dichterberufe auf Grund seiner Werke kurz zu skizzieren.

Für ihn gilt nun zunächst der Satz, den Sibilet[1])

[1]) *« Car le poète de vraye marque ne chante ses vers et carmes autrement que excité de la vigueur de son esprit et inspiré de quelque divine afflation.»* Sibilet, *Art poét.*, nach Zschalig p. 67.

schon ausgesprochen hatte, dass nämlich der Dichter geboren werde. Diesem Gedanken gibt R. zu wiederholten Malen kräftigen Ausdruck in Vers und Prosa. Den also prädestinierten Menschen zwingt dann eine in ihm geheimnisvoll wirkende Kraft, zur Leier zu greifen, selbst gegen seinen Willen: «*Tout homme dès le naître reçoit en l'âme je ne sais quelles fatales impressions qui le contraignent suivre plutôt son destin que sa volonté*» (*Préface sur la Franciade* III, 17).[1]) So wusste also R. recht wohl, was den Dichter eigentlich zum Dichter macht und der Vorwurf, er habe pedantischer Gelehrsamkeit in der Poesie Thür und Thor geöffnet, ist nur soweit berechtigt, als er, wie die Mehrzahl seiner Zeitgenossen,[2]) sich zu Horazens[3]) Worten bekannte, denen gemäss im vollendeten Dichter angeborenes Talent mit Gelehrsamkeit gepaart sein soll.

Die gleiche Ansicht äussert auch schon Peletier[4]) in einem der Persönlichkeit des Dichters gewidmeten Kapitel seines *Art poétique*, wo er die *fureur Poétique* und die *Exercice* als gleichberechtigte und notwendigerweise stets zusammenwirkende Faktoren jeder dichterischen Produktion darstellt. Auch Dub.[5]) hatte schon die Notwendigkeit der Verbindung von Gelehrsamkeit und Genie anerkannt; jedoch legte er auf das angeborne Talent etwas mehr Nachdruck, vielleicht um dadurch in jenem Zeitalter der Gelehrten die Zahl der sich berufen fühlenden Dichter nicht noch zu vergrössern.[6])

[1]) Vergl. die eine ähnliche Auffassung bezeugenden Verse Vauquelin's, *Art poét.* I, v. 95—110, u. II, v. 43—45.

[2]) Vergl. Scaliger, L. I, ch. II, p. 10: „*Alios nasci tales, alios natos rudes.. vel aversos furore rapi atque abstrahi a vulgari materia deorum opera.*"

[3]) „*Natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,*
Quaesitum est. Ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid possit video ingenium."
Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 408—410.

[4]) Peletier. *Art poét.* p. 88 u. p. 11: *De la nature et de l'exercice.*

[5]) «*C'est chose accordée entre les plus Scauans, le Naturel faire plus sans la Doctrine que la Doctrine sans le Naturel.*» Déf. (ed. Person), L. II, ch. III, 109.

[6]) Vergl. auch: «*Mesle avec la nature un plaisant Artifice.*» Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 77, sowie noch III, v. 905—915.

Die ursprüngliche Begabung vorausgesetzt, muss aber der angehende Dichter noch das Verlangen besitzen, sich aus dem Haufen der Alltagsmenschen zu erheben.[1]) Dieser Durst nach Ruhm war ja, wie bekannt, eine Frucht der Renaissance, welche den Begriff irdischer Unsterblichkeit wiedergewonnen hatte. In der dichterischen Individualität musste nun die stärkste Triebfeder jener Epoche, der Ehrgeiz, am mächtigsten wirken. Welch' hohes Selbstbewusstsein sich beim Dichter gegenüber der Menge der Durchschnittsmenschen einstellte, können wir aus folgender Schilderung ersehen:

«Le lourd peuple ignorant, grosse masse de chair,
Qui a le sentiment d'un arbre ou d'un rocher,
Traine à bas sa pensée et de peu se contente,
D'autant que son esprit hautes choses n'attente;
Il a le cœur glacé et jamais ne comprend
Le plaisir qu'on reçoit d'apparâître bien grand.»

(*Discours contre la Fortune* VI, 169.)

Hier werfen wir nun die weitere Frage auf, wie es denn mit des modernen Dichters Können bestellt sein solle? Für den Renaissancepoeten ist die Antwort darauf rasch zur Hand. Er muss, so hören wir, immer und immer wieder die Alten studieren — R. selbst weiss ja seinen Vergil auswendig — und an ihren Werken sich bilden.[2]) Bei ihnen findet er nicht nur Muster und Regeln, also die handwerksmässigen Erfordernisse seiner Kunst, sondern sie sind dem Dichter auch noch eine reichlich fliessende Quelle göttlicher Inspiration. Bei der Lektüre der alten Dichter entfacht sich nämlich die im eigenen Inneren verborgene Flamme und wird, wenn nach antikem Vorbilde gepflegt, zur dichterischen That:

«Ils te feront poète, ... t'imprimeront des verres et t'irrite-

[1]) Schon Aristoteles setzt dieses Motiv beim Dichter voraus. (Siehe Poetik, ch. XVIII); und ebenso Montaigne, Essais (Ausgabe v. 1836) II, 272.

[2]) Vergl. Horaz, (Ars poet. v. 268 f.):

„*Vos exemplaria Graeca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.“

ront les naives et naturelles scintilles de l'âme que dès la naissance tu as reçues, t'inclinant plutôt à ce mestier qu'à cestuy-là.» [1])

(*Préface sur la Franciade* III, 17.)

In welcher Weise R. das Studium der Alten betrieben sehen will, und welchen Nutzen der angehende Dichter daraus ziehen soll, zeigt er uns einerseits als praktischer Dichter und anderseits in seinen Erörterungen über die einzelnen Arten der Poesie; wir werden darüber später noch zu sprechen haben. Betrachtet man nun die Art und Weise, wie damals die Alten nachgeahmt wurden, so muss man allerdings gestehen, dass dies nach unsern jetzigen Begriffen in oberflächlicher Weise geschah. Allein bei der Unkenntnis der inneren Bedingungen, unter denen eine klassische Literatur sich bildet, beschränkte sich das Studium der Muster damals eben auf das, was man verstehen konnte, nämlich auf die äussere Form. Sobald man über das in jeder Kunstgattung vollkommenste Werk einig geworden war, galt dessen Nachschaffung nur mehr als eine Arbeit dichterisch angehauchter Gelehrsamkeit.[2])

Trotz dieser anscheinend höchst äusserlichen Nachahmung, wobei die Schale der Frucht für diese selbst gehalten wurde, glaubte man aber doch, dem Kerne der antiken Poesie nahe zu kommen. So fordert Peletier,[3]) dass man bei Nachahmung der Vorbilder nach dem Höchsten und Grössten selbständig streben solle, wie Vergil mit Homer gethan, und Dub. will, dass man die höchsten Gedanken und Ideen des Vorbildes erfasse, sich nicht bei dessen kleinen Seiten aufhalte, vielmehr in sein inneres Geisteswesen einzudringen suche.[4])

Allein die Kenntnis der antiken Literatur ist noch nicht

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[1]) Vergl.: «*Le poëte en recevra occultement les semences, dont il fécondera . . . son Poëme*». Peletier. *Art poét.* p. 47 f., und ferner Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 887—890, III, v. 403—405.

[2]) . . . *un modèle idéal, qui est de tous les temps et de tous les lieux, et qui peut se reproduire dans toutes les langues*». Egger, *L'Hellénisme*, II, 114.

[3]) Peletier: *Art poét.* p. 24: «*Par seule imitation rien ne se fait grand.*»

[4]) «*Pénétrer aux plus cachées et intérieures parties de l'aucteur.*» *Déf.* L. I, ch. VIII, p. 72, ferner p. 68, 71.

genügend für einen Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts. Durch die humanistische Bewegung sind die Völker Europas einander schon näher gerückt worden, und es weisen die führenden Geister, wie R. unzweifelhaft einer war, bereits über die Grenzpfähle des eigenen Landes hinaus, wie auch auf die Geschichte des eigenen Volkes in den vergangenen Zeiten zurück. So ruft R., freilich zunächst aus sprachlichen Beweggründen, dem angehenden Dichter zu:

«Je te conseille de les [les langues étrangères] savoir parfaitement et d'elles, comme d'un vieil trésor trouvé sous terre, enrichir ta propre nation.» (*Art poét.* VII, 323.)

Dabei hatte R. namentlich die italienische und spanische Sprache im Auge:

«Je te conseille d'apprendre diligemment la langue grecque et latine, voire italienne et espagnole.» (III, 34.)

Dieser Hinweis auf die Beachtung auswärtiger Literaturen findet sich auch noch in anderer Fassung und ohne obige Beschränkung für einen bestimmten Zweck. R. spricht nämlich kurz und bündig den Satz aus, dass in den modernen Zeiten ein Volk auf das andere angewiesen sei:

«Un pays ne peut jamais être si parfait en tout qu'il ne puisse encore quelquefois emprunter je ne sais quoi de son voisin.» (*Art poét.* VII, 321.)

Als echtes Kind des Humanistenzeitalters weist er den angehenden Dichter auf seine Stellung als Weltbürger hin, damit seine Dichtung, wie die der Alten, gleichzeitig nationalen und universellen Charakter an sich trage und so allen Völkern und allen Zeiten zugänglich bleibe. Die obige Mahnung R.'s an den künftigen Dichter verdient deshalb besondere Hervorhebung, weil man, nach dem Vorgange berühmter Literarhistoriker und mit Rücksicht auf den in Dub.'s Programm vertretenen Standpunkt, der Plejade gewöhnlich eine ausschliesslich nationale Tendenz zuschreibt und sie, von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus, zu den mehr internationalen Humanisten jener Epoche in Gegensatz bringt.

Allein Kenntnisse philologischer Art genügen nicht; der Renaissancepoet muss auch noch Dilettant in allen möglichen Künsten sein. R. selbst hatte, wie wir wissen,[1]) Interesse an der Malerei, Architektur und Musik, und das *enfant terrible* der Plejade, Jodelle, sagt von sich:

«Je dessine, et taille, et charpente, et maçonne,
Je brode, je pourtray, je couppe, je façonne,
Je cizele, je graue, emaillant et dorant.
Je griffonne, je peins, dorant et colorant,
Je tapisse, j'assieds, je festonne, et decore,
Je musique, je sonne, et poëtise encore.» [2])

Überhaupt soll der Dichter universell gebildet und auf allen Gebieten menschlichen Wissens zuhause sein. Daniello,[3]) ein italienischer Poetikenschreiber, sagt geradezu: der Dichter muss kennen *«se non tutte le scienze et dottrine, almeno la maggior parte.»* [4])

Dabei lief man nun freilich Gefahr, dass schliesslich das Wissen in der Dichtung überwuchere. Deshalb ruft Baïf dem Dichtergenossen Desportes zu, er möge unter der Gelehrsamkeit nicht den *bon sens* ersticken lassen.[5])

Zur richtigen Ausübung des Dichterberufs sind aber auch gewisse sittliche Eigenschaften nötig. Da scheint nun R. in den Fehler des Lehrmeisters zu verfallen, der vom Schüler manchmal mehr als von sich selber fordert. Er verlangt nämlich, der Dichter solle reinen Gemütes, keuschen Sinnes, ohne Falsch und Arg sein, denn *«Les Muses ne veulent loger en une*

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[1]) Siehe Gandar, *R. consid.* etc. p. 118.

[2]) *Œuvres de Jod.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), I, p. 7.

[3]) Daniello, *Ars poet.* p. 27.

[4]) Vergl.: *«A notre Poète est necessaire la connaissance d'Astrologie, Cosmographie, Geométrie, Physique, brief, de toute la Filosofie.»* Peletier. *Art poét.* p. 89.

[5]) *»Desportes, avec la prudence*
Mettons à profit la science,
Plus de sens et moins de scavoir.»
Baïf. *Les Mimes* p. 25.

âme, si elle n'est bonne, sainte et vertueuse», und ferner «*Tu ne laisseras rien entrer en ton entendement qui ne soit surhumain et divin.*» (*Art poét.* VII, 318.)

Betrachtet man mit den Augen eines modernen Sittenrichters einzelne der Gedichte R.'s, so könnte man ihm in Hinblick auf obige Sätze vielleicht den Vorwurf machen, ein unberufener Bussprediger zu sein; allein seine Rechtfertigung ergibt sich von selbst bei gebührender Rücksichtnahme auf das sittliche Niveau der damaligen Epoche. Ja, er geht noch einen Schritt weiter: seiner Ansicht nach muss nämlich der Dichter sogar ein Christ und ein offener Bekenner des Christentums sein. «*Tu te montreras religieux et craignant Dieu*» (*Art poét.*, p. 319), ruft er seinem ihn um Lehren angehenden jungen Freunde zu, in Übereinstimmung mit jenem Satze, demgemäss der Dichter nur ein Werkzeug Gottes ist. R. selbst sagt: «*Vaisseaux dont Dieu se sert, soit pour prophétiser, ou soit pour enseigner, soit pour authoriser les arrêts de Nature et les choses fatales.*» (*Préface sur la Franciade* III, 38.)

Mit einer solchen Forderung an den Dichter steht indessen R. nicht allein da; auch Peletier[1]) hatte von diesem schon gewisse sittliche Eigenschaften verlangt, und wir dürfen deshalb hierin einen charakteristischen Zug der französischen Renaissance erblicken. Denn in Italien hatte man sich nie den Dichter als Tugendhelden gedacht und noch viel weniger von ihm den Glauben an kirchliche oder christliche Dogmen gefordert. Nur in Deutschland und insbesondere in dem Wimpfeling'schen[2]) Humanistenkreise im Elsass stellte man auch ähnliche Anforderungen an die Poeten.

Sodann braucht der Dichter, um Gediegenes zu leisten, unermüdlichen Fleiss, eiserne Ausdauer und stete Unverdrossenheit beim geistigen Schaffen. Schon Dub. sieht in

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[1]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 8 u. p. 90 f. Vergl. auch Vauquelin's Meinung über des modernen Dichters Lebensführung. II, v. 600—660.

[2]) Geiger, *Renaiss. u. Human.* p. 362.

dieser angestrengten Thätigkeit des modernen Dichters ein Unterscheidungszeichen von den bis dahin in Frankreich gefeierten Hofpoeten. Er sagt vom modernen Dichter «*Qui veut voler par les Mains et Bouches des Hommes, doit longuement demeurer en sa chambre . . . . autant que notz Poëtes Courtizans boyuent, mangent et dorment à leur oyse, endurer de faim, de soif et de longues vigiles.*»[1]) Gerade durch die Einführung der Gelehrsamkeit in die Dichtung sollte der Poesie die alte Würde und Erhabenheit wieder zurückgegeben werden, damit sich nicht mehr die Possenreisser allein mit derselben befassen, sondern auch die Gelehrten und Gebildeten an ihrer Pflege wieder Gefallen finden könnten.[2])

Das Horazische *nonumque prematur in annum* wiederholt R. in mannigfacher Umschreibung.[3]) Namentlich betont er das wiederholte Ausbessern des einmal geschaffenen Werkes. Dub. gebraucht für diese Thätigkeit des Dichters den Ausdruck *emendation*, als deren Wesen er bezeichnet «*Aiouter, oter, ou muer à loysir ce, que cete premiere impetuosité, et ardeur d'escrire n'auoit permis de faire.*»[4]) So hatte auch schon Vida empfohlen, die durch göttliche Inspiration in des Dichters Brust verpflanzten Gedanken nachher zu kontrollieren.[5]) R. umgibt nun, wie wir sahen, dieses anhaltende Arbeiten des Dichters, durch welches er zur Gelehrsamkeit gelangt, mit einer gewissen religiösen Weihe, indem er es den Opferpreis nennt, um den man die göttliche Inspiration erlangt.

«*Car tous ceux qu'on oit braire et heurter à la porte*
Des Muses, n'entrent pas en leur temple de sorte

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VIII, p. 110, 111.
[2]) Ploetz. *Étude sur Dub.* p. 11.
[3]) Vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 790—795.
[4]) *Déf.* (ed. Person), L. II, ch. XI, 146.
[5]) „. . . *sedato corde revise*
Omnia quae caecus menti subjecerit ardor." Vida, L. II, v. 453 f. Vergl. noch Vauquelin: «*Rends au bon jugement sujette ta fureur.*» (*Art poét.* I, 942.)

Qu'il faut par long travail se purger et lustrer
De nuit, dans leur fontaine, avant d'y entrer.»[1])
(*Le Boeage royal,* Préface III, 264.)

Auf solche Weise nur kann es dem Dichter gelingen, vollkommen heimisch in seiner Kunst zu werden, was eigentlich doch ein selbstverständliches Erfordernis ist. Allein bei der damals übergrossen Anzahl von Verseschmieden war die Mahnung gar nicht unangebracht, dass «*Un poète ne doit jamais connaître médiocrement son métier*» (III, 32). Namentlich war es angezeigt, an das Horazische Wort *quid humeri valeant*[2]) zu erinnern. Deshalb sagt Dub.: «*Avant toutes choses fault qu'il ait ce jugement de cognoître ses forces, qu'il sonde son naturel et se compose à l'imitation de celui dont il se sentira approché de plus près.*»[3])

Ferner legt R. dem angehenden Dichter den Wert der Freundschaft dringend nahe. Denn trotz der an das eben entstandene Werk fleissig angelegten Feile übersieht der Verfasser selbst stets noch Härten, die dem unbefangenen Blicke eines befreundeten Kollegen, so unscheinbar derselbe sein mag, nicht verborgen bleiben. Deswegen empfiehlt R., wie schon Horaz und Vida vor ihm gethan, bei freundschaftlicher Gesinnung freimütige, gegenseitige Kritik mit folgenden Worten:

«*Tu converseras doucement avec les poètes de ton temps, tu honoreras les moindres*[4]) *comme tes enfants; car tu ne dois jamais rien mettre en lumière qui n'ait premièrement été vu et revu de tes amis*» (*Art poét.* VII, 319).[5])

Dass in der Plejade diese gegenseitige Kritik von Anfang an geübt wurde, beweisen uns die Worte Dub.'s:

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[1]) Vergl. hiermit:
„*Ipse Deum genitor divinam noluit artem*
Omnibus expositam vulgo immertisque patere."
Vida, L. III, v. 360 61.

[2]) Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 39 40.

[3]) *Déf.* (ed. Person), L. II, ch. III, 112, u. ch. V. Vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 783—790.

[4]) «*On ne doit de leur rang les seconds rejetter.*» Vauquelin, I, v. 797—800.

[5]) Vergl. Dryden's Ausspruch bei Weselmann, p. 17.

«*Sur tout nous conuient auoir quelque seauant et fidele Compaignon, ou vn Amy bien familier, voire trois ou quatre, qui veillent, et puissent cognoitre nos fautes, et ne craignent point blesser nostre papier auecques les vngles.*»[1])

Mit der Freundschaft sind wir bei den sozialen Tugenden des Dichters angelangt. Ausser ihr fordert R. aber auch noch andere Eigenschaften, um darauf die gesellschaftliche Stellung des Dichters jener Zeit zu bauen.

Wenn irgend jemand, so schafft sich der Dichter selber seine Stellung. Der Grundpfeiler derselben ist die Achtung vor sich selbst, die eigene Wertschätzung. Diese geht hervor aus dem Bewusstsein des eigenen dichterischen Vermögens und hauptsächlich aus dem Gefühle der Sicherheit in der Anwendung der Regeln seiner Kunst. Wie stark dieses Selbstgefühl in R. entwickelt war, beweisen uns seine eigenen Worte: «*Et je mis la poësie en tel ordre qu'après le François fut égal aux Romains et aux Grecs*», und ferner «*Vous êtes mes sujects et je suis seul votre roy*» (*Art poét.* III, 127, 128). Dieses sogeartete Selbstbewusstsein geht dem Dichterling ab; denn in keiner Kunst wird man so sehr und so leicht der eigenen Schwäche gewahr, wie in der Poesie. Darum sagt auch R., in engem Anschluss an Horaz[2]), mit vollem Recht: «*La médiocrité est un extrême vice en la poësie*» (*Préface sur la Franciade* III, 32).

Wer sich also des eigenen Wertes nicht bewusst werden kann, der bleibe den Musen ferne: «*Il vaudrait mieux ne s'en mêler jamais et apprendre un autre métier*» (l. c. 32).

Aus diesem berechtigten Selbstgefühle entspringen dann Eigenschaften, die den wahren Dichter kennzeichnen. Zunächst eine gewisse Gleichgültigkeit und unerschütterliche Festigkeit gegenüber dem Urteile des in seinen Launen wechselnden Publikums, des verständnislosen grossen Haufens, sobald man sich selbst des rechten Weges wohl bewusst ist:

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. XI, 147. Vergl. damit Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 92.

[2]) „*Mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non Di, non concessere columnae.*“ (Ars poet. v. 372 f.) Vergl. damit *Déf.* L. II, ch. VI. 107, und ferner Vauquelin, *Art. poét.* III, v. 693—694.

«*Il ne se faut soucier de l'opinion que pourrait avoir le peuple de tes escrits, tenant pour règle tout assurée qu'il vaut mieux servir à la vérité qu'à l'opinion du peuple*» (*Art poét.* VII, 336).

Deshalb liess auch die junge Schule alle von ungelehrtem Munde gegen sie vorgebrachten Kritiken [1]) ausser acht, und Dub. verzichtete nicht minder wie R. auf den Beifall der Menge. Er ruft dem angehenden Dichter zu:

«*Seulement veux-ie admonester celuy, qui aspire à vne gloyre non vulgaire, s'eloigner de ces ineptes Admirateurs, fuyr ce peuple ignorant, peuple ennemy de tout rare . . . scauoir: se contenter de peu de Lecteurs.*» [2])

Wie die Humanistenpoeten, so fühlte auch R. sich gleichsam zum göttlichen Richter auf Erden bestellt, dessen Entscheidungen über die Zeitgenossen aus dem Fürsten- und Dichterkreise in und mit seinen Werken ewige Geltung in der Geschichte haben werden. Obwohl diese Anmassung schon von Charles Fontaine [3]) in seiner Kritik der *Défense* zurückgewiesen worden war, erhebt R. doch noch den gleichen Anspruch. Aber dafür fordert er eben auch moralische Garantien von des Dichters Persönlichkeit. Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus verdient deshalb der sittliche Ernst, mit welchem R. dem jungen Dichter anbefiehlt, sich allein an die Wahrheit zu halten, um so mehr Beachtung. Man weiss ja, dass die Renaissancehofpoeten es mit der Wahrheit nicht so genau nahmen, wenn es galt, ihre Gönner zu preisen. Wie dagegen R. einerseits der Menge nicht schmeichelt, so ist er anderseits ebenso wenig ein Buhler um Fürstengunst. Auch den Fürsten gegenüber muss der Dichter Pflicht und Gewissen intakt erhalten, auch am Hofe darf er seiner Stellung nichts vergeben. R.'s eigenes Beispiel ist hier die beste Lehre. In der schwierigen Stellung eines Hofdichters, dessen Unannehmlichkeiten er so anschau-

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[1]) Siehe *Déf.* (ed. Person), L. II. ch. II, 103.

[2]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. XI, 151, und Vorrede zur *Olive, Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), p. 69. Vergl. damit «*Ne t'assure sur le jugement de nous autres Français qui sommes tous conveteux de nouveautés, prompts à admirer et puis aussi prompts à nous dédire.*» Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 92.

[3]) Le Quintil Horace, in Déf. (ed. Person), p. 211.

lich schildert.[1]) sagt er, müsse man sich zwar von oben kommenden Winken willfährig zeigen; aber eine gewisse Grenze dürfe nicht überschritten werden. Von ihm selbst gilt:

«*Pourvu qu'en leur faisant humble service, je ne force mon naturel*» (*Art poét.* VII, 138).

Dub. freilich. ein entschiedener Gegner des Hoflebens, geht in seinem Widerwillen gegen den humanistischen Hofsänger noch weiter und rühmt seine eigene Unabhängigkeit in folgenden Worten: «*Je te prie me faire ce bien de penser que ma petite muse n'est toutefois esclave ou mercenaire comme d'un tas de rimeurs à gaiges; elle est serve seulement de mon plaisir.*»[2])

Dass R. für seine Person vom blossen Hofdichter zum königlichen Berater sich aufzuschwingen verstanden und damit für alle Zeiten ein Beispiel gegeben hat, wie der Dichter ebenbürtig an des Königs Seite stehen kann —, das ersehen wir aus jenen Worten, die Karl IX. ihm in einem Gedichte zugerufen haben soll:

«*L'art de faire des vers, dût-on s'en indigner,*
Doit être à plus haut prix que celui de régner,
Tous deux, également, nous portons des couronnes.»
(III, 261.)

Kommt nun zu den sonstigen Unannehmlichkeiten des Dichterberufs noch die hinzu, dass man keine Gönner und nirgends materielle Unterstützung findet, so bleibt wohl gar Armut das traurige Los des Poeten und es gilt dann, im Entbehren und Ertragen geübt zu sein. Nur in Versen kann er alsdann seinem Unmute Luft machen und mag wohl manchmal gleich R. ausrufen:

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[1]) «*Il te faut prier les grands dieux de la court,*
Les suivre, les servir, se trouver à leur table,
Discourir devant eux un conte delectable,
Les courtizer, les voir et les presser souvent.»
(III, 378.)

[2]) *Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), p. 78. Vergl. noch Vauquelin, der ebenfalls den schwierigen Dienst des Hofdichters in mehreren Versen behandelt. *Art. poét.* I, v. 1137—1145.

«Et nous, sacré troupeau des Muses,
Ne sommes avancés, si non de pauvreté.»
(Le Bocage royal III, 375.)

Dass aber die Plejadendichter nur schwer der Hofgunst entbehren konnten und ohne sie nur wenig Schaffenseifer in sich fühlten, beweisen uns die folgenden Worte Baïf's:

«Mais nul Auguste en ce malheureux age,
Nul Mècenas ne nous donne courage,
Ronsard oysif, son Francus abandonné,
Ronsard ne sent encore la liberalité
D'aucun Auguste, et que fait de Jodelle
L'esprit divin: o Jodelle, tu n'as
Pour t'animer aucun bon Mècenas.» [1])

Und endlich ist auch der R.'sche Dichter ein Mensch und muss als solcher mit allen menschlichen Schwächen kämpfen; allein dem Dichtergeschlechte sind, wie R. glaubt, besondere Fehler eigentümlich, und vor ihnen warnt er deshalb noch ausdrücklich. In einem Gedichte an Jacques Grevin zählt er seine eigenen Mängel auf mit dem Hinweise, dass sie auch vielen seiner Zunftgenossen eigen seien:

«Je suis opiniâtre, indiscret, fantastique,
Farouche, soupçonneux, triste et mélancholique,
Content et non content, mal propre et mal courtois,
Et je crois que tous ceux de mon art ont tel vice que moi.»
(*Poèmes* VI, 312.)

Deshalb ruft er dem angehenden Dichter zu: *«Tu seras de bonne nature, non méchant, renfrogné, ne chagrin, mais animé d'un gentil esprit»* (*Art poét.* VII, 317). [2])

Überschauen wir nun zum Schluss die ausgeführte Zeichnung mit einem zusammenfassenden Blicke, so ergibt sich,

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[1]) Baïf, *Œuvres en rimes*, p. 53 54.

[2]) Auch Vauquelin weiss an dem Dichter gewisse Fehler zu rügen. Siehe III, v. 1020 ff.

dass R.'s Dichterideal aus dem Wesen einer früheren Generation, von den sogenannten Humanisten abstrahiert ist. Die Eigenschaften dieses Poetengeschlechtes spiegeln sich fast alle im R.'schen Dichter wieder. Aber gleichwohl ist sein Idealbild in einigen Punkten bereits ein besseres und edleres geworden. Dieser Vorzug des R.'schen Dichters besteht, wie wir sahen, in seinem ausgeprägten Selbstbewusstsein, seiner mehr nationalen Denkungsart und namentlich in seinen höheren sittlichen Anschauungen. [1])

[1]) Vergl. zu diesem Kapit. *Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), p. 252, und Scaliger. L. III, ch. XXV, p. 286.

Kapitel III.

Ronsard's Theorie der Dichtkunst in ihren Einzelheiten.

§ 1.

Das Epos.[1])

Es ist zweifellos ein tragisches Geschick, dass es keinem der Geisteshelden der Renaissance, so tief sie auch in das Verständnis der alten Welt und ihrer Literatur eindrangen, und so sehr sie auch alle ohne Ausnahme, von Petrarka an, von der Schönheit der antiken Epen wie von einem Zauber bestrickt waren, — dass es keinem dieser Männer trotz des eifrigsten Studiums der Regeln und Gesetze des Epos je gelang, dessen mit dem Geiste der modernen Zeiten unvereinbares Wesen zu erkennen, oder überhaupt über den Gegensatz zwischen Kunst- und Volks-Epos klar zu werden. Einerseits der Mangel an historisch richtiger Auffassung früherer Zeiten, anderseits das geringe Verständnis für das Volksleben jener Tage waren die Gründe dieses lang andauernden, tragischen Irrtums. Zu R.'s Zeit war nun die abergläubische Wertschätzung des Epos auf ihrem Höhepunkt angelangt. Wer nicht an ihm seine Kräfte versucht hatte, der konnte unmöglich zu den grossen Dichtern gerechnet werden. Ja, so sehr beschäftigten sich mit dieser literarischen Frage alle gebildeten Kreise, dass sie schliesslich in das politische Gebiet hinüber spielte.[2]) Der Ruhm, das beste Epos unter den

[1]) Vergl. damit die das Epos behandelnden Abschnitte bei Egger, l. c., II, 17e leç., u. Duchesne, *Histoire des Poèmes ép.* ch. I.

[2]) Schon früher hatte Jean Lemaire in seiner *Concorde des deux langages* der Streitfrage über den Vorzug der franz. Sprache vor der italienischen eine politische Wendung zu geben versucht. Siehe H. Morf.: Die frz. Litt. zur Zeit Ludwig's XII., in der Zeitschr. für neufrz. Spr. u. Litt. 1895. XVI, 269.

modernen Nationen zu besitzen, wurde bei den Franzosen zu einer Forderung des nationalen Chauvinismus erhoben. Es entspann sich darüber ein friedlicher, aber dennoch heftiger Wettstreit zwischen Italien und Frankreich. Veranlasst wurde damals diese allzu hohe Wertschätzung des Epos durch die schon aus dem Mittelalter überkommene, abergläubische Verehrung Vergils, den ja schon Dante nachgeahmt hatte. Alle Poetikenschreiber der Renaissance betonen deshalb die Wichtigkeit der epischen Gattung: Vida widmet ihr den ganzen zweiten Gesang seiner Ars poetica; Scaliger[1]) nennt sie das Grosswerk der Poesie und empfiehlt als Muster neben der Äneide sonderbarerweise die äthiopische Geschichte Heliodor's; Sibilet[2]) klagt darüber, dass es noch kein französisches Nationalepos gäbe. Dub. gesteht ebenfalls seinen Ärger ein, dass in diesem Punkte die Italiener noch voraus seien und zählt bereits die Eigenschaften auf, welche der epische Dichter besitzen müsse.[3]) Peletier[4]) endlich erkennt dem Epiker allein den höchsten Dichterruhm zu und schliesst seine ausführliche Betrachtung über das Epos, worin er Vergil's und Homer's Dichtungen analysiert, mit folgendem Wunsche: *«Oh, qu'il eût encore un Auguste, pour voir s'il se pourrait encore trouver un Virgile.»* Vituperan endlich sucht den Vorrang des Epos vor den anderen Gattungen durch eine kunstphilosophische Abhandlung festzustellen.[5]) Die Nachwelt hat den Siegespreis in diesem allgemeinen Wettlaufe der Modernen um das beste Renaissance-Epos Italien zugesprochen; allein zu R.'s Zeit war der Streit noch unentschieden. So machte er sich denn, nachdem seine dichte-

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[1]) Scaliger, L. III, ch. XCVI, 365.

[2]) Pellissier, *Art. poét. de Vauquelin. Préface*, p. XVI.

[3]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. V, 119–125, und ferner *«Certes j'ay grand honte, quand je voy le peu d'estime que font les Italiens de nostre poesie.» Œuvres de Dub. (ed. Marty-Laveaux)*, p. 74.

[4]) *«L'œuvre héroïque est celui qui donne le pris et le vrai titre de Poëte»*, und ferner *«une langue n'est pas pour passer en célébrité vers les siècles, si non qu'elle ait traité le sujet héroïque.»* Peletier. *Art poét.* p. 73.

[5]) Vituperan, l. c., L. II, ch. XI, p. 3.

rische Befähigung bereits allgemein anerkannt war, an das grosse Werk, um für sich und sein Volk, dessen berufenste Vertreter diese Leistung von ihm verlangten,[1]) unsterblichen Ruhm zu gewinnen. Und in der That hat er sich im Geiste seiner Zeit würdig für diese hehre Aufgabe vorbereitet.[2]) Viele Jahre unablässigen Studiums hat er auf das Sammeln des Materials und auf die Ergründung des Wesens der epischen Poesie verwendet. Daher kommt es auch, dass seine theoretischen Erörterungen darüber weit mehr den Eindruck eigenen Nachdenkens machen, als die in seiner *Ars poetica* geäusserten Ansichten. Was R. an Logik und philosophischer Methode besass, hat er gewiss bei der Untersuchung über das Epos darzuthun sich bemüht. Schon dem Raume nach sind seine Abhandlungen über das epische Gedicht umfangreicher als seine ganze *Ars poetica*. Weitaus der Hauptteil seiner Ausführungen über das Epos ist zunächst in der *Au lecteur* überschriebenen, kürzeren Abhandlung enthalten, welche schon der ersten Ausgabe der *Franciade* vorgedruckt war, sodann hauptsächlich in der den späteren Ausgaben vorangehenden, sogenannten zweiten *Préface sur la Franciade*. In dieser behandelt R. die epischen Regeln noch viel ausführlicher als in der erst erwähnten Abhandlung; sie soll eine allenfalsige Kritik seiner *Franciade* zurückweisen[3]) und dem Publikum deren kunstvolles Gefüge darlegen, damit die Leser nach Erkenntnis der Schwierigkeiten, welche er überwunden, um so mehr in ihm den epischen Meister bewundern könnten. Hören wir nun, welcher Art denn eigentlich seine Theorien über das Epos sind.

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[1]) So sagt Dub. von R.: «*Des labeurs duquel nostre poésie doit espérer je ne scay quoy plus grand que l'Iliade.*» (*Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), p. 339.

[2]) Siehe hierüber Gandar, l. c., p. 24 ff., und Lange, l. c., p. 7.

[3]) Goujet. (*Bibliothèque* III, 145), sagt sogar auch von der 2. Vorrede, R. habe darin mehr «*une apologie particulière qu'un traité régulier*» schreiben wollen.

a) Wesen, Stoff und Zeitdauer.

R. sucht zunächst das Wesen der epischen Poesie dadurch zu bestimmen, dass er den Unterschied zwischen dem Epos und der Prosa-Geschichtschreibung feststellt.[1]) Grundsatz ist für ihn, dass das Epos nicht versifizierte Geschichte sein darf. Die Aufgabe der Geschichte ist, das Geschehene in seiner nackten Wahrheit darzustellen; die völlige Übereinstimmung zwischen Schilderung und Thatsache bildet das Endziel des Historikers. Für das epische Gedicht dagegen ist die objektive Thatsache nebensächlicher Natur, das wirklich Geschehene nur die Grundlage. Auf ihr baut die dichterische Phantasie weiter, um das geschichtlich Gegebene in freier Gestaltung nach poetischen Gesichtspunkten zu verändern und gewissermassen die Geschichte zu korrigieren. Dies fordert auch schon Daniello vom Dichter, wenn er sagt: *«Non è tenuto il Poeta com' è l'Historico di descrivere le cose tali quali elle veramente state et avenute sono, ma ben quali esse devrebbono.»*[2])

Bei dieser freien Bethätigung seiner Phantasie darf der epische Dichter jedoch nie jene Grenze überschreiten, wo die Wahrscheinlichkeit aufhört und die Unmöglichkeit anfängt. Dies gilt auch, wenn er — wie es ihm natürlich freisteht — aus dem im Volksglauben liegenden Mythen- und Legendenschatze schöpft;[3]) sofern solche Überlieferungen auf seinen Stoff Bezug haben, kann er sie verwenden, selbst dann, wenn sie jedermann als unhistorische Sagen erkennen würde. Ebenso sind auch von dem Dichter erfundene Fabeln zulässig, die sich an Volkstraditionen anlehnen oder in deren Geiste gehalten sind; denn dadurch erhalten sie innere Wahrscheinlichkeit und einen epischen Charakter. So ungefähr will R. verstanden sein, wenn er sagt: *«Le poète s'arrête au*

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[1]) Vergl. hierzu: Kurk, *L'Épopée et l'histoire*, und Vituperan, L. I, ch. VIII, p. 30.

[2]) Daniello, *Ars poet.* p. 41.

[3]) Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 119: *„Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge scriptor.“*

vraisemblable, à ce qui peut être et à ce qui est déjà reçu en la commune opinion.» (III, 7.)

Auch bezüglich des der epischen Bearbeitung fähigen Stoffes spricht sich R. deutlich aus.[1]) Über diese Frage war man, wie es scheint, in der Plejade anfangs nicht ganz klar. Dub.[2]) rät noch zur Wahl eines aus den mittelalterlichen *Chansons de geste* bekannten Helden, wie Lancelot oder Tristan; Peletier[3]) dagegen hält die Erzählung von den Thaten des Herkules für den geeignetsten Stoff; endlich dachte man auch noch an einen christlichen Heros. Indem sich R. für die *Franciade* entschied, zeigte er, dass in ihm damals die Gelehrsamkeit das epische Gefühl überwucherte. Gleichwohl kommt er zu wiederholten Malen auf die Forderung zurück, dass jedes Epos einen historischen Untergrund haben oder wenigstens auf nationalen Traditionen sich aufbauen müsse. Durch den Hinweis auf Homer und Vergil sucht er diese Forderung zu begründen. Da aber nationale Sagen sich nur ganz allmählich bilden und bis zum Übergang in den Beharrungszustand einen relativ langen Zeitraum beanspruchen, so darf der epische Dichter kein geschichtliches Faktum der Gegenwart oder jüngsten Vergangenheit in Behandlung nehmen; vielmehr muss der Stoff von ehrwürdigem Alter sein: «*Le poète ne doit jamais prendre l'argument de son œuvre que trois ou quatre cents ans ne soient passés pour le moins, afin que personne ne vive plus de son temps qui le puisse de ses fictions et vraisemblances convaincre.*» (*Préf.* III, 29.)[4])

Dieser zuletzt angegebene Grund für die Wahl eines zeitlich entfernt liegenden Stoffes klingt für uns, die wir von der epischen Dichtung andere Vorstellungen haben, fast naiv,

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[1]) Siehe hierzu Scaliger, L. I, ch. XLI, p. 111.

[2]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. V, 120.

[3]) «*Le plus digne sujet... c'est une Herculéide, titre le plus haut et propre à notre France, vu que Hercule fut surnommé Galique.*» *Art poét.* p. 18.

[4]) Ähnlich sagt noch Vauquelin:

«*Pour n'estre dédit, il faut bien advertir*
De prendre un argument où l'on puisse mentir.»
Art poét. I, v. 910.

war es aber keineswegs damals, wo man in dem epischen Dichter nur einen versifizierenden Geschichtschreiber erblicken wollte. Und welcher Art soll denn nun der epische Stoff sein? «*Le poème épique est tout guerrier*»,[1]) sagt R., und damit sind Stoffe anderen Inhaltes eigentlich ausgeschlossen. Ja, ist der überlieferte Stoff nicht kriegerisch genug, so muss des Dichters Phantasie nachhelfen, um ihm ein möglichst kriegerisches Kolorit zu geben: «*Le poète héroïque invente et forge arguments tout nouveaux, fait haranguer les capitaines, comme il faut, décrit les batailles et assauts, factions et entreprises de guerre.*» (*Préface* III, 20.)

Sogar auf die Zeitdauer der im Epos darstellbaren Handlung kommt R. schon zu sprechen. Seiner Ansicht nach soll ihre Dauer den Zeitraum eines Jahres nicht überschreiten: «*Le poème héroïque comprend seulement les actions d'une année entière*» (*Préface* III, 19). Auffallend ist es, wie er zu dieser Vorschrift kam, die man weder aus Homer noch aus Vergil, den er selbst als Ausnahme anführt, zu ziehen berechtigt war. Aristoteles[2]) hatte in Bezug auf die Dauer des Epos keine Zeit festgesetzt, sondern verlangte nur einen der Zahl der an einem Tage aufzuführenden Tragödien entsprechenden Umfang. Weder Scaliger[3]) noch Vituperan verlangen etwas Ähnliches; nur für das Epos fordert der letztere auch die Einheit der Handlung[4]) und weist sogar ausdrücklich die Feststellung eines bestimmten Zeitraums, als für dasselbe unpassend, mit folgenden Worten zurück: „*Et epopeia quidem nec brevi temporis spatio sicuti tragedia et comedia circumscribitur.*“[5]) Auch von den früheren italienischen Poetikenschreibern hat keiner, weder Trissino noch Castelvetro, soweit ich Umschau halten konnte,

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[1]) Vergl. «*La guerre est le principal sujet du Poëte héroïque*», Peletier, *Art poét.* l. c., p. 89.

[2]) Aristoteles, Poetik. ch. XXIV, u. ch. V.

[3]) Scaliger, L. I, ch. IV.

[4]) Vituperan. „Aut unam aut plures actiones effingit sed... ad unum eundemque finem tendentes.“ *Ars poet.*, L. I, ch. XI, 31.

[5]) l. c., L. I, ch. X, 36.

diese Regel erwähnt.[1]) Es liegt also hier vielleicht eine gesetzgeberische Laune R.'s selber vor, die aber wohl nur bei den Anhängern der Plejade, wie Vauquelin[2]) z. B., Beachtung fand; denn in späteren Poetiken lesen wir nichts mehr von dieser Regel. Fassen wir nunmehr das Obige kurz zusammen.

Nach R.'s Meinung soll der epische Stoff auf geschichtlichen Thatsachen beruhen: «*Le bon poète jette toujours le fondement de son ouvrage sur quelques vieilles annales du temps passé ou renommée invétérée, laquelle a gagné crédit au cerveau des hommes*» (*Préf.* III, 23). Ferner muss ein solcher Stoff ein entsprechendes Alter haben, um der Erinnerung der eigenen Zeitgenossen entrückt zu sein, vornehmlich kriegerische Aktionen enthalten und darf endlich nur eine beschränkte Zeitdauer haben. Nicht minder ausführlich als über den Stoff hat R. auch über die innere Durchführung des epischen Gedichtes gehandelt.

b) Dichterische Hilfsmittel.

1. Einführung mythologischer Gestalten.

Eine der hauptsächlichsten Schwierigkeiten für den epischen Dichter ist die Gefahr der Monotonie. Als bestes Mittel, sie zu vermeiden, betrachtet R. die Einführung der mythologischen Gestalten in das Heldengedicht. Dies zwingt uns zu einigen Worten über seine Anschauung von der antiken Mythologie. Ihre Entstehung führt R. zwar auf die ältesten Zeiten zurück, aber niemals war die Mythologie, seiner Meinung nach, der lebendige Ausdruck einer existierenden Religion. Vielmehr sind die Göttermythen nichts weiter als menschliche Fabeln, geschickt erfunden und in Umlauf gebracht von jenen Dichtern frühester Zeiten, die, wie wir oben[3]) gesehen, die Mittelspersonen zwischen der Gottheit und dem Menschenge-

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[1]) Siehe hierüber Robert, *La Poétique de Racine*, p. 132.

[2]) Vauquelin (II, v. 253–256):

«*L'héroïque suivant le droit sentier*
Doit son œuvre comprendre au cours d'un an entier.»

[3]) Siehe p. 23 ff.

schlechte waren. Sie nahmen solche Fabeln zu Hilfe, um den gewöhnlichen Sterblichen die Eigenschaften der Gottheit entweder sinnlich näher zu bringen oder sie ihnen dadurch ferner zu rücken, grossartiger erscheinen zu lassen:

Celui qui le premier du voile d'une fable
Prudent enveloppa la chose véritable. . . .
Afin que le vulgaire au travers seulement
De la nuit vist le jour et non réellement.

(*Le Bocage royal* III, 419.)

So waren die Mythen und Heldensagen von Anfang an poetische Erfindungen, dichterische Kunstmittel, welche in symbolischer Form die Eigenschaften des einzigen Gottes schilderten. Ganz ausdrücklich sagt dies R. in folgenden Versen:

«Car Jupiter, Pallas, Apollon, ce sont les noms
Que le seul Dieu reçoit en maintes nations,
Pour ses divers effets que l'on ne peut comprendre,
Si par mille surnoms on ne les fait entendre.

(*Hymne* VI. V, 120.)

Ja, sogar die Alten wussten, dass man die Mythologie symbolisch oder allegorisch deuten müsse, und verstanden es schon, die einem Mythus zu Grunde liegende Wahrheit aus der Fabel heraus zu schälen; wenigstens schreibt R. ihnen diese Kunst zu, wenn er in Bezug auf den Mythus von Minos und Jupiter sagt:

«Voilà comme les vieux ont dextrement tâché
Démmanteler le vrai d'une fable caché.
Jupiter ne fut onc, ni Minos, en la sorte
Que nos pères l'ont feint, tout cela se rapporte
Aux rois, aux magistrats et à leurs conseillers
Qui gouvernent l'oreille et sont ses familiers . . .»

(*Préf.* III, 420.)

Diese durch das ganze Altertum sich hindurchziehende, symbolische Auffassung der Mythologie findet sich selbst-

verständlich auch bei Homer und Vergil.[1]) Gemäss ihrem Beispiele darf dann auch der moderne Dichter verfahren. Es steht ihm frei, die antiken Götterfiguren als typische Vertreter gewisser göttlicher Eigenschaften oder gar menschlicher Triebe, in mannigfaltige Intriguen verwickelt, als treibende Kräfte der epischen Handlung darzustellen, in die dadurch ein dramatisches Element hineingetragen wird. Dabei muss er nur die einzige Bedingung erfüllen, die eingeführten Typen niemals aus ihrer geschichtlich gewordenen Charakterrolle fallen zu lassen. R. drückt diese Aufforderung an den modernen Dichter also aus: «*Commençant et finissant toutes les actions par Dieu, auquel les hommes attribuent autant de noms qu'il a de puissance et de vertues, imitateur d'Homère et de Virgile, qui n'y ont jamais failli.*» (*Préf.* III, 29.) Soweit geht R. als Theoretiker. Aber hier hat das Wort Geltung, dass die Praxis nicht immer mit der Theorie harmoniert. Nachdem nun R. als Dichter weit grösseren Einfluss ausgeübt hat denn als theoretitischer Ästhetiker, müssen wir auch noch kurz erwähnen, welcher Art die Verwendung der antiken Mythologie in seinen Werken ist. Zunächst erlaubt er sich, ebenso wie die andern Plejadendichter, selbständig neue Mythen zu erfinden, oder die antiken Mythen willkürlich ohne alle Rücksicht auf die Tradition zu verändern.[2]) Sodann fasst R. die alten Götternamen sogar als blosse poetische Personifikationen gewisser Ideen auf. «*Junon . . . est prise . . . pour une maligne nécessité qui contredit souvent aux vertueux.*» (*Au lecteur* III, 11.)

Dadurch werden aber die Götter ihres Nimbus völlig beraubt und zu rein allegorischen Figuren gestempelt, die auf gleicher Stufe wie die personifizierten Begriffe *Raison, Science* u. s. w. stehen. Während also die R.'sche Schule offiziell gegen die aus dem Mittelalter stammende allegorische Poesie ankämpft, verfällt sie selber aufs Neue

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[1]) Über die allegorische Erklärung Homer's im Altertum und insbesondere bei den Stoikern, siehe Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 50 u. 421.

[2]) Siehe hierüber Brunot, l. c., p. 170 ff.

in diesen Fehler, und der Unterschied zwischen der früheren Dichterschule und der Plejade besteht eigentlich nur darin, dass die allegorischen Wesen nunmehr andere Namen tragen. Schliesslich ging R. sogar so weit, lebenden Personen antike Götternamen beizulegen und diese als ein Mittel zu benützen, den Grossen des Hofes zu schmeicheln; so wurde Henri II als Jupiter, und seine Schwester Marguerite als Minerva gefeiert; in ähnlicher Weise wurde jedem Gliede des Königshofes sein Name und sein Platz im neuen Olymp angewiesen. Zu solch versteckter Schmeichelei der Grossen diente R. die Mythologie vorzugsweise in seiner Eklogen- und Pastourellendichtung. Ein noch gröberer Missbrauch liegt aber darin, dass R., in höchst geschmackloser Weise, christliche und heidnische Anschauungen vermengt und so, freilich ohne Absicht, zur Entwürdigung christlicher Dogmen beiträgt. Für R. war also, um es kurz zu sagen, die Mythologie ein Spiel dichterischer Phantasie.[1]) überliefert aus der grauen Vorzeit des klassischen Altertums und von ihm erfasst mit dem frommen Aberglauben eines Renaissancemenschen an jene vergangene Welt. Allein in der Arbeitsstube des Dichters artete die so entstandene, ehemals lebensfähige und natürliche Schöpfung nur allzu oft durch die Einwirkung des schon in Skeptizismus gebadeten Geistes der damaligen Epoche in frostige Allegorie aus.

Was endlich den Gebrauch der antiken Mythologie vor R. anlangt, so ist bekannt, dass schon die mittelalterlichen Dichter Frankreichs davon einige Kenntnis hatten. Häufig wurden einzelne der antiken Götter mit den Gottheiten der ungläubigen Muhammedaner und anderer Heidenstämme identifiziert, wie z. B. im Rolandsliede. Jedoch erst Jean Lemaire führte die wichtigsten Namen der klassischen Mythologie in seine

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[1]) «*La mythologie est pour lui une foi de l'imagination tolérée par la raison.*» Petit de Julleville I, 172. — Über die Bedeutung der Mythologie im 16. Jahrh., ihre künstlerische und literarische Verwendung siehe Bourciez (L. II, ch. II u. III), und Birch-Hirschfeld (S. 82—83). — In neuerer Zeit hat Maxime Du Camp (*Les Chants modernes*. Paris 1855, 8°, p. 55) darauf hingewiesen, dass die Mythologie aus der Dichtung ausgeschlossen sein sollte.

Poesie ein, freilich zunächst mit dem Zwecke, sie als Prunkstücke seiner Gelehrsamkeit zu gebrauchen und noch nicht um ihres poetischen Gehaltes willen. Jean und Clément Marot verschmähten dann ebenfalls diesen neumodischen Aufputz nicht; aber erst R. und seine Schule benützen die Mythologie bewusstermassen als poetisches Kunstmittel und sehen darin einen unversiegbaren Wunderbrunnen, aus dem sich stets neue Phantasiegebilde hervorzaubern lassen. [1])

2. Einschiebung von Episoden.

Ein weiteres Mittel, die epische Erzählung im Gang zu halten, erblickt R. in der Einschaltung zahlreicher Episoden. Sie gewährten einerseits dem Dichter die Möglichkeit, den Faden der Haupthandlung langsamer abzurollen anderseits gefielen sie dem Leser jener Zeit um so eher, als er, in mittelalterlichem Geschmack noch etwas befangen, mehr Neugierde nach stofflicher Abwechselung [2]) denn Interesse für kunstvollem Aufbau an den Tag legte. Während wir jetzt im Drama diejenige Poesiegattung erblicken, welche am vollkommensten die mannigfaltigen Beziehungen menschlichen Treibens darzustellen vermag, hielt man damals das Epos für den Inbegriff aller Poesie und für fähig, am besten der Menschheit Geschicke wiederzuspiegeln. Deshalb muss der epische Dichter persönlichen Einblick [3]) in alle Gebiete menschlichen Thuns haben. Und so verlangt denn auch R. von ihm, dass er «*tantôt philosophe, tantôt médecin, arboriste, anatomiste et jurisconsulte*» sein solle. (*Préf.* III, 20.) [4]) Gerade durch die Einschaltung von Episoden verschieden-

[1]) Siehe hierzu Pellissier, *Préface* p. 92.

[2]) «*Et dirai en passant qu'en quelques-uns de nos Romans le Poëte héroïque pourra trouver son profit: comme sont les avantures des Chevaliers, les amours, les voyages, les enchantements et semblables choses.*» Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 78/79.

[3]) «*La première chose soit d'aller voir par effet ce qu'il n'a vu qu'en écriture; qu'il aille contempler les vives images des choses de la Nature.*» Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 92.

[4]) Vergl.: «*L'art de la guerre lui doit être familier, l'art nautique, brief, les arts mécaniques ne lui doivent être inconnus.*» Peletier l. c., p. 89/90.

artigsten Inhalts legt dann der Dichter Beweise seines allseitigen Wissens ab und prägt dadurch ferner dem epischen Gedichte seinen universellen Charakter auf. Gleichwohl soll dabei das vornehmlich kriegerische Kolorit des Epos nicht verwischt werden; demnach wird der Dichter allem, was in das Kriegshandwerk einschlägt, besondere Beachtung schenken und es umständlich schildern (cf. III, 20; siehe oben S. 55).

Diese Episoden brauchen dann nicht rein erzählender Natur zu sein, also nicht nur Thatsachen und Seelenstimmungen zum Ausdruck zu bringen: sie können auch einen deskriptiven Zweck verfolgen, indem der Dichter, statt der durch Aneinanderreihen der einzelnen Züge gegebenen Beschreibung eines Objektes, dessen Entstehung und allmähliches Werden in seinen einzelnen Phasen dem Leser vor Augen bringt. Was nämlich Lessing[1]) später als eines der epischen Hauptgesetze formulieren sollte, hat, vorahnend, auch schon R. eingesehen und gefordert: dass nämlich die epische Poesie nur Handlungen darstellen dürfe, Körper also nur andeutungsweise durch fortschreitende Handlungen schildern könne. R. freilich drückt sich noch etwas unbeholfen aus: *Tu imiteras les effects de la nature en toutes tes descriptions, suivant Homère. Car s'il fait bouillir de l'eau en un chaudron, tu le verras premier fendre son bois, puis l'allumer et le souffler, puis la flame environner la panse du chaudron tout à l'entour et l'escume de l'eau se blanchir et s'enfler à gros bouillons avec un grand bruit et ainsi de toutes les autres choses. Car en telle peinture ou plustôt imitation de la nature consiste toute l'âme de la poésie héroïque.*» (*Préf.* III, 29.)

3. Verwendung von Gleichnissen.

Mit der deskriptiven Episode verwandt ist das Gleichnis.[2]) Wird dasselbe weiter ausgeführt und reichlicher entwickelt,

[1]) Siehe Lessing, *Laokoon* (Kap. 16); ferner Lange, *R.'s Franciade*, S. 25, wo dieser Zug der R.'schen Poesie mit dem Bemerken erwähnt wird, dass R. als Dichter „leicht in plumpe und ungeschickte Übertreibung" dieses poetischen Mittels verfalle.

[2]) Siehe hierzu Gandar, l. c., p. 149.

so trägt es ebenfalls dazu bei, die epische Darstellung belebt, farbenreich und phantasieanregend zu gestalten. Demgemäss empfiehlt R. die Anwendung dieses Hilfsmittels und gibt zugleich die Fundorte an, wo der Dichter stets neuen Stoff zu Gleichnissen holen kann. Als eine solch unerschöpfliche Quelle bezeichnet er, wie schon Peletier[1]) gethan, die Natur, und zwar die belebte wie die leblose: *Tu n'oubliras les descriptions du lever et du coucher du soleil, les signes, qui se lèvent et couchent avec luy, ni les sérénitez, orages et tempestes . . . . . tu enrichiras ton poëme par variétez prises de la nature.*» (*Préf.* III, 18.) Weiter unten ergänzt R. diesen Hinweis auf die Natur noch in folgender Weise: «*Souviennetoy, lecteur, de ne laisser passer sous silence l'histoire ny la fable appartenant à la matière et à la nature, force et propriétez des arbres, fleurs, plantes et racines, principalement si elles sont anoblies de quelques vertus non vulgaires, et si elles servent à la médecine, aux incantations et magies, et en dire un mot en passant par quelque demi vers ou pour le moins par un épithète.*» (*Préf.* III, 24.)

Als weiteren Fundort von Gleichnissen führt er dann noch die verschiedenen Handwerke und insbesondere den Jägerberuf an: «*Quant aux comparaisons, tu les chercheras des artisans de fer et des veneurs, comme Homère, pescheurs, architectes, massons, et brief de tous métiers dont la nature honore les hommes. Il faut les bien mettre et les bien arranger aux lieux propres de ta poësie.*» (*Préf.* III, 26.)

4. Gebrauch von Tropen und Figuren.

Während R. die oben angeführten Stilvorschriften, welche gewissermassen die Grundelemente der epischen Darstellungsweise bilden, mehr oder minder ausführlich bespricht und begründet, bringt er dem Leser eine weitere Reihe von Regeln des epischen Stils in der Weise zur Kenntnis, dass er für jede derselben den technischen Kunstausdruck anführt und sie dann durch ein aus den antiken Dichtern gezogenes Beispiel praktisch erläutert.[2]) Auf diese Weise erinnert er nämlich

[1]) Vergl. hiermit Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 15.

[2]) Über weitere „stilistische Vorschriften“ R.'s siehe unten.

an jene auf Umschreibung des eigentlichen Begriffs beruhenden Tropen und Figuren, wie Antonomasie, Metapher und Metonymie, die er selbst alle in der Praxis gebrauchte und hier kurz mit *belles circonlocutions* bezeichnet: «*Les excellens poëtes nomment peu souvent les choses par leur nom propre .... mais par belles circonlocutions.*» (*Préf.* III, 17.) Ferner schärft er die richtige Verwendung der Epitheta ein, die prägnanten Inhalts und charakteristisch, nicht bedeutungslos oder gar blosse Füllwörter sein dürfen. *Enrichissant [ton discours] d'épithètes significatifs et non oisifs.* (*Préf.* III, 18.) So hatte auch schon Dub. gewarnt vor «*froids ou oieux ou mal à propos*» Beiwörtern, und verlangt «*que tu en uses de sorte que sans eux ce que tu dirais, serait beaucoup moindre.*»[1]) Schliesslich vergisst er auch nicht des Gebrauchs der ironischen Hyperbel: «*Tu n'oublieras aussi d'insérer en tes vers ces lumières ou plustôt petites étincelles de la poësie, comme „Italiam metire jacens“ qui est proprement un sarcasme.* (*Préf.* III, 31.) Jedoch dürfen all diese Hilfsmittel nur mit Mass und Ziel verwendet werden; denn sonst würde der Stil überladen und schwülstig, wovor R. wiederholt warnt: «*Mais il en faut sagement user: car autrement tu rendrais ton ouvrage plus enflé et bouffi que plein de majesté.*» (*Préf.* III, 18.)

Als weiteren Schmuck des epischen Gedichtes bezeichnet R. die gelegentliche Einstreuung von lehrhaften Sentenzen und Lebensregeln;[2]) allein auch sie gefallen nur, wenn sie selten sind: «*L'enrichissant .... par excellentes et toutefois rares sentences; car si les sentences sont trop fréquentes en ton œuvre héroïque, tu le rendras monstrueux.* (*Préf.* III, 19.) Auch versäumt er nicht, alle jene Momente anzuführen, deren Gesamtheit dem epischen Gedichte seine besondere Lokalfarbe und sein spezifisch kriegerisches Aussehen verleihen. Hierher gehört die Erwähnung der heroischen Sitten und Gebräuche in Kleidung (III, 25), im gegenseitigen Verkehre (Gastgeschenke III, 27), im Kampfe, sowie bei der Totenfeier. (III, 28).

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IX, 141.

[2]) Vergl. «*D'autre part il fait bon contempler les passages de filosofie épandus par tout un œuvre*». Peletier, *Art poét.*, p. 79.

Dabei unterläuft unserm Theoretiker der naive Anachronismus,[1]) dass er manchmal moderne Gebräuche und Erfindungen in eine während des Mittelalters oder gar im Heroenzeitalter verlaufende Handlung überträgt, und so z. B. das um des Francus Scharen tobende Kampfgetöse noch erhöht durch *«le son diabolique des canons et harquebuses qui font trembler la terre et froisser l'air d'alentour.»* (*Préf.* III, 28.)

c) **Anordnung und Ausführung.**[2])

Was ferner die Anordnung des epischen Stoffes betrifft, so hat hierin der Dichter völlig freie Hand. Er braucht sich also keineswegs an die chronologische Reihenfolge der zu schildernden Thatsachen zu halten; das letztere müsste nur der Historiker thun. Der Dichter darf vielmehr an einem beliebigen Punkte der Handlung einsetzen, wofern es ihm nur gelingt, den kausalen Zusammenhang der einzelnen Teile der Handlung im Verlauf des Gedichtes seinem Leser klar zu legen: *«Le poëte bien advisé . . . commence son œuvre par le milieu de l'argument et quelquefois par la fin; puis il déduit et poursuit si bien son argument . . . . . tellement que le dernier acte de l'ouvrage se cole, se lie et s'enchaisne si bien et si à propos l'un dedans l'autre que la fin se rapporte dextrement et artificiellement au premier point de l'argument.»* (*Préf.* III, 20 f.).

Diese Regel vom Anfang des epischen Gedichtes ist aus Horaz abgeleitet, der vom Dichter sagt:

„*Semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res*
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit.“ [3])

Sie wurde schon von den italienischen Poetikenschreibern angeführt, so z. B. von Mutio: *«L'ordine del contare è ch'abban-*

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[1]) Über das Wesen des Anachronismus u. dessen zulässige Arten, siehe Stapfer, *Shakesp. et l'Antiquité*, ch. IV: *Les Anachronismes de Shakesp.* Den Anachronismus als Fehler behandelt zuerst Deimier, *Art poét.*, ch. XVI, 533 (nach Rucktäschel p. 50).

[2]) Zur Anordnung des epischen Stoffes, siehe Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 19.

[3]) Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 148 149.

doni il diritto principio. [1]) Sodann kommt auch noch Sealiger auf sie zurück mit folgenden Worten: „*Ne quaquam ab ovo incipiendum. . . . . non recto tramite ducendum*" [2]), sodass R. sie als ein Hauptstück des epischen Inventars betrachten musste. Wegen dieser scheinbaren Wichtigkeit thut dann auch Vauquelin ihrer noch Erwähnung bei der Behandlung des Epos.[3]) Gemäss dieser Regel ist es also nicht nötig, dass das Ende des epischen Gedichtes mit dem Ausgange der epischen Handlung zusammenfalle; vielmehr kann der epische Dichter auch in der Weise seinem Ziele sich nähern, dass, «*s'acheminant vers la fin*», er den Faden abrollt «*au rebours de l'histoire*» (*Préf.* III, 8). Und zwar hat sich der Epiker um so weniger der historischen Methode anzubequemen, als ihm das Gesetz der poetischen Wahrscheinlichkeit gestattet, die Handlungen und Schicksale seiner Personen durch das Einwirken übermenschlicher Kräfte zu motivieren. Unter Berufung auf die tragischen Dichter beansprucht nämlich R. auch für den Epiker das Recht, sich die Inszenierung eines *deus ex machina* zu erlauben «*pour esclaircir l'obscur de la matière quand le poëte ne peut desmesler son dire et que la chose est douteuse.*» (*Préf.* III, 11.)

Eine solche Betonung des göttlichen Waltens ist übrigens ganz im Einklang mit dem Geiste des Epos, durch welches ja ein religiöser Zug gehen soll. Deshalb sagt R.: «*Tu n'oubliras jamais de rendre le devoir qu'on doit à la Divinité, oraisons, prières et sacrifices, commençant et finissant toutes tes actions par Dieu . . . . imitateur d'Homère et de Virgile qui n'y ont jamais failli.*» (*Préf.* III, 29).[4])

Die Anrufung der Götter ist ihm also nicht bloss ein poetisches Hilfsmittel, sondern auch ein Akt der Religiosität mit der Bitte um geistige Inspiration. Denn die Musen

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[1]) Mutio, *Ars poet.* p. 82.

[2]) Sealiger, *Ars poet.*, L. III, ch. XCVI, p. 365. Vergl. auch Peletier: «*Le grand œuvre ne se commence pas à un 1er bout, mais à quelque endroit notable des années suivantes.*» *Art poét.* p. 74.

[3]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 240 ff.

[4]) Vergl.: „*Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva.*" Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 385 und ferner Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 73.

«*qui se souviennent du passé et prophétisent l'advenir*», lassen den Dichter den Lauf des epischen Gesanges finden «*plus par fureur divine que par invention humaine*». (*Préf.* III, 29).

Durch die oben erwähnte Anordnung des epischen Stoffes und die Voraussetzung des unmittelbaren Eingreifens der Gottheit entsteht sodann beim Leser und Hörer — denn auch das epische Gedicht soll mündlich vorgetragen werden [1]) — jene Geistesspannung, jene Unbefriedigtheit der Neugierde, welche das Interesse an dem Fortgang des Gedichtes wachhält. Dieses Kunstmittel poetischen Effekts ist schon seit Horaz ein Inventarstück der Poetiken (Horaz, Ars poet. v. 136—152). Scaliger erwähnt es in folgenden Worten „*Maxime vero nobis studendum est ut rerum exitus aliter cadat quam res ipsae interea pollicentur.*» [2]) Peletier hatte auch schon etwas Ähnliches im Auge, als er sagte: «*Le commencement doit être modeste . . . autrement il sera forcé qu'il se rabaisse par succès de propos.*» [3]) Vauquelin verlangt ebenfalls, den Geist des Lesers oder Hörers durch Abwechslung und Kontraste [4]) in Spannung zu halten.

Nunmehr haben wir alle auf den epischen Stil bezüglichen Regeln, soweit sie R. erwähnt, besprochen; ausgenommen sind nur jene, welche sich auf die poetische Sprache und den Vers beziehen. R.'s Bemühungen um den formalen Teil der Poesie sind aber so bedeutend, dass wir in zwei gesonderten Kapiteln darauf zurückkommen müssen. Hier möge deshalb die Bemerkung genügen, dass hinsichtlich des epischen Verses es ihm nicht gelungen ist, Theorie und Praxis in Einklang zu bringen: als epischer Dichter wendet er nämlich den zehnsilbigen Vers an, während er als Theoretiker dem zwölfsilbigen Verse den Vorrang einräumt.

Um nun noch in wenigen Worten R.'s Ansicht über das Epos wieder zu geben, wollen wir daran erinnern, dass

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[1]) «*Je te supliray seulement d'une chose, lecteur, de vouloir bien prononcer mes vers et accommoder ta voix à leur passion.*» (*Préf.* III, 12.) Vergl. hiemit *Déf.* L. I, ch. X, p. 143.

[2]) Scaliger, Ars poet. L. III, ch. XI, p. 227.

[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 74.

[4]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 279—296.

es ihm der Inbegriff aller Poesie ist und alle Gattungen in sich vereinigt. So hatte auch schon Mutio gesagt: «*Il poema sovrano è una pittura dell'universo et però in se comprende ogni stilo, ogni forma, ogni ritratto.*» [1])

Dub. fasst seine Meinung darüber dahin zusammen, dass

«*En imitant l'auteur de l'univers,*
Toute essence et idée il comprend en ses vers.» [2])

Auch Peletier nennt es dem Meere, die anderen Gattungen dagegen den Flüssen vergleichbar.[3]) Endlich sehen die gleichzeitigen, lateinischen Poetikenschreiber das Epos ebenfalls für den Inbegriff aller Poesie an. Scaliger z. B. nennt es das „*mixtum genus, quod omnium est princeps, quia continet materias universas*".[4]) Sonach schliessen sich also alle Ästhetiker jener Tage dem oben geäusserten Urteile R.'s über das Epos an. Allein wenn uns diese Übereinstimmung auch die allgemeine Hochschätzung desselben im 16. Jahrhundert klar beweist, so kann sie uns gleichwohl nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass die damaligen Kunstverständigen in dieser vagen Definition, die in ihrer Allgemeinheit freilich etwas Richtiges enthält, eben doch nur ihr mangelhaftes Verständnis von dem eigentlichen Wesen dieser Gattung zu verbergen trachteten. Noch Vauquelin hilft sich über eine genauere Definition auf obige Weise hinweg, wenn er sagt:

C'est un tableau du monde, un miroir qui rapporte
Les gestes des mortels en différente sorte. [5])

Auch im folgenden Jahrhundert machte man nur geringe Fortschritte in der Erkenntnis des Epos und blieb, wie dies aus den Werken Rapin's, Le Bossu's und noch Boi-

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[1]) Mutio, *Ars poet.* p. 80.
[2]) *Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), p. 216.
[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 73.
[4]) Scaliger, L. I, ch. III. p. 14.
[5]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I. v. 471. 472.

leau's hervorgeht, vielleicht gerade aus dem obigen Grunde, bei der einseitigen Wertschätzung und Vorliebe früherer Zeiten für diese Gattung stehen. [1])

Das epische Gedicht soll ferner gleich der lyrischen Poesie auf das Gemüt wirken und nicht nur des Lesers Neugierde erwecken, sondern auch ein edleres, auf Mitleid und Mitgefühl beruhendes Interesse für seine Helden hervorrufen: *«Tu seras industrieux à esmouvoir les passions et affections de l'âme, car c'est la meilleure partie de ton mestier, par des carmes qui t'esmouvront le premier, soit à rire ou à pleurer, afin que les lecteurs en facent autant après toy.* (*Préf.* III, 28.)

Ausserdem muss der epische Dichter sein Werk trotz des vorwiegend erzählenden Charakters auch noch dramatisch zu gestalten wissen. Denn das Epos soll ebenfalls handelnde Personen zeigen und gleich dem Drama im Wechsel der Szenen die sich kreuzenden Interessen durch Handlungen zur Darstellung bringen. Aus diesem Grunde nennt Vituperan die Äneide ein Beispiel des *„Genus mixtum ex pathetico et morato"* und sagt schliesslich ebenfalls *„omnes fabulae formae in unam potissime epopeiam cadunt"*. [2]) R. aber drückt obigen Gedanken folgendermassen aus: *Ne sois jamais long en tes discours .... car la poësie héroique, qui est dramatique et qui ne consiste qu'en action, ne peut longuement traicter un mesme sujet.* (*Préf.* III, 27.)

Was aber den Zweck des Epos anlangt, so soll es vor allem zur Verherrlichung der nationalen Herrscherdynastie und des eigenen Volkes beitragen. Vergil und Homer haben, R.'s Ansicht nach, ein gleiches Ziel verfolgt: *«C'est Homère lequel .... coulant s'insinuer en la faveur et bonne grace des Aeacides .... entreprit une si divine et parfaite poësie pour se rendre et ensemble les Aeacides par son labeur à jamais très honorez.* (*Préf.* III, 9.)

Schon Vida hatte es für die Aufgabe des epischen Dichters gehalten, zum Lobe des Vaterlandes zu singen, was aus folgenden Worten hervorgeht:

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[1]) Diese epischen Theorien kamen dann durch Vermittlung Dryden's von Frankreich nach England. Siehe hierüber Weselmann, p. 51.

[2]) Vituperan, *Ars poet.* L. I, ch. XI, p. 33.

„Immemor ille nimis patriae oblitusque suorum.
Si non Italiae laudes aequaverit astris".[1])

Der Begriff des Epos war demnach für R. ein sehr weiter. Es ist ihm in letzter Linie ein Tendenzgedicht, bestimmt zum Lobe hervorragender Persönlichkeiten, und beruht vorzugsweise auf patriotischen Motiven.[2]) Allein trotz dieser Irrtümer müssen wir doch eingestehen, dass er sich redlich bemüht hat, das Wesen des Epos zu erfassen. Freilich, wo das Genie versagt, muss eben die Methode nachhelfen, und diese hat beim Dichten noch selten ganz allein zum Erfolge geführt. So kommt es, dass, wenn auch R.'s *Francias* eine missglückte Schöpfung ist, seine Betrachtungen über das Epos immerhin von gründlichem Studium der Muster und der früheren Theorien zeugen und manchmal, wie wir sahen, auch einen Fortschritt in der Erkenntnis des Wesens dieser Gattung bedeuten.

§ 2.

Die Lyrik.

a) Die Lyrik im allgemeinen

R.'s poetische Beanlagung wies ihn zweifelsohne mehr zur Lyrik als zum Epos hin. Schon dem Umfange nach nimmt die subjektive Poesie in seinem Gesamtwerke den ersten Platz ein. Sein lyrisches Talent hat ihn auch befähigt, in dieser Gattung als kühner und glücklicher Reformator seine Haupttriumphe zu feiern. Allerdings sind gar viele seiner lyrischen Produkte für den modernen Leser ungeniessbar geworden; allein gerade dieser der Vergessenheit anheimgefallene Teil seiner Lyrik macht es dem kritischen Betrachter möglich, Umfang, Beschaffenheit und Eigenart der lyrischen Bestrebungen R.'s zu erkennen und zu beurteilen. Es könnte nun auffallen, dass er, der so unend-

[1]) Vida, L. II, v. 235.

[2]) Vergl. hiermit Vrtuperan's Definition des Epos: *„Poesis quae illustres actiones imitatur narrando, epopeia est."* L. I, ch. II, p. 71.

lich fruchtbar als lyrischer Dichter war, sich in seinen theoretischen Erörterungen über diese Gattung so karg zeigt. Indessen wollte R., wie wir schon früher erwähnt haben, nicht durch Theorien, sondern hauptsächlich durch sein Beispiel wirken. Überdies darf man vielleicht auch auf ihn den Satz anwenden, dass der Dichter sich immer da am wenigsten um Regeln kümmert, wo seine innere Stimme ihn auf die richtige Fährte leitet. Dazu kommt endlich noch der äussere Grund, dass Dub., der erste Theoretiker der Plejade, gerade über die Formen der lyrischen Poesie in dem Manifeste der Schule schon ziemlich ausführliche Vorschriften und Regeln veröffentlicht hatte.[1]) So mochte es R. ferne liegen, auf das gleiche Thema nochmals zurückzukommen. Es war dies um so weniger nötig, als in Dub.'s Werk mehr oder minder auch seine Gedanken zum Ausdruck gebracht waren.[2]) R.'s theoretische Erörterungen über die lyrische Poesie sind niedergelegt in der Vorrede zu seinen Oden (II), in den seinen Elegien vorgedruckten Gedichten (IV, 210), in gelegentlichen, hierher gehörigen Bemerkungen der Vorrede zur *Franciade*, sowie seines *Art poétique*; endlich haben bei dem Versuche, R.'s ästhetische Ansichten über die lyrische Poesie fest zu stellen, uns auch einzelne Stellen seiner Gedichte als Grundlage gedient.

1. Inspirationsquellen des Dichters.

Auch von dem lyrischen Dichter gilt der Satz, dass der beste Teil seines Könnens in der angeborenen Ader liegen muss; was ihm jedoch besonders not thut, ist eine von der Natur mitgegebene Begeisterung für Kunst und Musik. R. dankt ausdrücklich den Musen dafür, dass sie ihm diese Gabe in den Schoss gelegt haben und nennt sich «*idolâtrant la musique et la peinture*». Die äusseren Inspirationsquellen der R.'schen Lyrik sind alsdann nicht eben zahlreich, so gross auch die Zahl seiner lyrischen Dichtungen ist. Froher Lebensgenuss, Wein, Weib und Gesang sind meistenteils die Motive,

[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 112—119.
[2]) Siehe oben p. 12 ff.

welche in seinen Gedichten wiederkehren. Besonders die Liebe macht den Dichter sinnreich, und er sagt deshalb:

«Quand je suis amoureux, j'ai l'esprit et la voix
L'invention meilleure et la Muse plus forte.»[1])

Und wenn, wie wir nachher bei Besprechung der einzelnen Arten lyrischer Poesie erfahren werden, er diesen Kreis verwendbarer Motive auch noch etwas erweitert, so ist derselbe immerhin noch von bescheidenem Umfange. R. selbst scheint diese Beschränkung als drückende Last empfunden zu haben. Er klagt darüber, dass es dem modernen Dichter unmöglich sei, durch Originalität im Inhalte zu glänzen. So sagt er im Eingange einer an den Dichter Desmasures gerichteten Hymne:

Masures, désormais on ne peut inventer
Un argument nouveau, qui soit bon à chanter.
— — — — — — — — — — — — —
Aux anciens la Muse a tout permis de dire
Tellement qu'il ne reste à nous autres derniers
Si non le désespoir d'en suivre les premiers.

(V, 239.)

Unter solchen Umständen bleibt dem Dichter nur übrig, nach Originalität in der Form zu streben. Dies letztere hat denn auch R., wie wir sehen werden, redlich zu thun sich bemüht.

2. Das Naturgefühl.

Bei der Betrachtung der äusseren Natur[2]) drängt sich ihm die Wahrnehmung auf, dass ihre Schönheit zum grossen Teil in der Mannigfaltigkeit ihrer Erscheinungen beruhe. Bei dem innigen Zusammenhange, den er zwischen Poesie und Natur voraussetzt, entnimmt er sich daraus eine poetische

[1]) *Sonnets pour Hélène*, L. II, Nr. 67.

[2]) Über R.'s Stellung zur Natur und sein Naturgefühl, siehe Gandar, l. c., p. 143.

Lehre. Er sagt: «*Je suis de cette opinion que nulle poësie ne se doit louer pour accomplie, si elle ne ressemble la nature, laquelle ne fut estimée belle des anciens que pour être inconstante et variable en ses perfections.*» (*Préf.* III, 12.)

Demnach soll auch die lyrische Poesie *inconstante et variable* sein. Da sie nun Gefühle und Empfindungen darstellt und wieder zu erwecken sucht, so scheint R. durch den Hinweis auf die Natur dem Dichter die Notwendigkeit darlegen zu wollen, in seinen Gedichten eine solche Anordnung zu treffen, dass in dem Leser ein Wechsel verschiedenartiger, ja entgegengesetzter Gefühle hervorgerufen werde; und in der That liegt in einem solchen Kontraste der Empfindungen ein poetisches Reizmittel, das der lyrische Dichter kaum entbehren kann.

3. Die lyrische Poesie und die Musik.

Ebenfalls eine eigentümliche Stellung in der R.'schen Lyrik nimmt die Musik ein; sie bildet nach seiner Meinung ein wesentliches Erfordernis der lyrischen Poesie überhaupt. Schon bei der Abhandlung über das Epos haben wir vernommen, welch' hohen Wert er auf den richtigen Vortrag seiner Verse legt: «*Je te supplie encore de rechef, où tu verras cette marque! rouloir un peu eslever ta voix pour donner grâce à ce que tu liras.*» (*Au lecteur* III, 13.) In der lyrischen Poesie ist nun der Vortrag ein noch viel wichtigerer Faktor. Indem er sich musikalischen Gesetzen unterwirft, wird er hier zu einem wesentlichen Hilfsmittel des lyrischen Poeten. R. hat nun insofern eine neue Richtung in der Lyrik angebahnt, als er sie wieder mit der Musik in engere Verbindung setzen wollte. Poesie und Musik sind für ihn ein unzertrennliches Ganze: «*La musique est la sœur puisnée de la poësie . . . . sans la musique la poësie est presque sans grâce, comme la musique sans la mélodie des vers est inanimée, et sans vie.*» So lauten, nach Binet, R.'s eigene Worte. (VIII, 51.) Dichter und Sänger sollen also womöglich immer in einer Person vereinigt sein. Zum mindesten muss aber der Dichter auf den Komponisten Rücksicht nehmen. Denn manche Gedichte haben ohne musikalische Begleitung, sei es Gesang

oder Instrumentalmusik, überhaupt keinen lyrischen Charakter mehr. So sagt er von seinen in sapphischer Manier gedichteten Oden: *Les vers sapphiques ne sont ny ne furent ny ne seront jamais agréables, s'ils ne sont chantez de voix vive ou pour le moins accordez aux instruments qui sont la vie et l'âme de la poësie.* (II, 8.) Deshalb kehren auch die Namen der lyrischen Instrumente, wie Laute, Leier, Harfe oftmals in seinen Gedichten wieder; andererseits wurden viele seiner lyrischen Erzeugnisse in Musik gesetzt, weil sie gewissermassen schon von vornherein dazu gedichtet schienen. Jedoch will R., dass die Musik einen männlichen und kräftigen Charakter an sich trage; sie ist ihm bereits ein Gradmesser für den Kulturzustand einer Gesellschaft; denn, sagt er,

La cité sera tôt ruinée,
Où la musique est toute efféminée.

Bei dieser Hochschätzung der Musik ist es kein Wunder, dass man sich auch vom theoretischen Standpunkte aus in der Plejade damit beschäftigte. Namentlich Baïf befasste sich mit deren Pflege und stiftete 1591 eine Akademie,[1]) welche die hervorragenden Musiker jener Zeit mit den ersten Dichtern des Landes in Berührung brachte. R. war natürlich ebenfalls Mitglied derselben und brachte den in diesem Kreise angestellten Versuchen einer innigeren Verbindung von Poesie und Musik das lebhafteste Interesse entgegen.

b) Die einzelnen lyrischen Dichtungsarten

Nach diesen allgemeinen Erörterungen über die lyrische Poesie gehen wir nunmehr zu den Vorschriften über, die R. bezüglich der einzelnen Gattungen gegeben hat. Ein Kennzeichen seiner lyrischen Poesie ist der Reichtum an Formen und Versmassen. Diese Mannigfaltigkeit in der Form war, wie wir oben schon angedeutet, für R. durch seine Art der

[1]) Über die Einrichtung dieser Akademie siehe näheres bei Nagel, *Die metrischen Verse Baïf's*, und weiter unten.

Naturbetrachtung bereits vorgezeichnet. Darin findet also seine diesbezügliche Produktivität ihre Erklärung.

Seine Neuerungen betreffen einerseits die Einführung und erstmalige Pflege neuer Arten der lyrischen Poesie, andererseits die Erfindung neuer Strophen und Reimgebilde. Die neuen Formen, welche nun in der französischen Poesie Eingang finden sollen, bezeichnet R. an einer Stelle seines *Art poétique* kurz folgendermassen: «*Tente à cet effet Chants, Pastoraux, Hymnes, Poëmes et Odes.*» (*Art poét.* VI, 329.)

Dub. dagegen widmete den neu einzuführenden Gattungen ein ganzes Kapitel seiner *Défense*. Ihm entnehmen wir, dass es sich hauptsächlich um folgende lyrische Formen handelt:

1. Das Sonett.[1])

Dasselbe wurde, wie feststeht, allerdings schon von Clément Marot eingeführt; allein erst die Plejade macht es in der französischen Literatur heimisch. Die Muster, welche man nachzubilden sucht, sind Petrarca und «*quelques autres modernes Italiens*», so z. B. Bembo.[2]) Wie es nun scheint, lässt R. zwei Klassen von Sonetten zu; zum wenigsten kann man in seiner Dichtung eine solche Zweiteilung konstatieren. Der ersten Klasse gehören jene an, welche er nach petrarkischer Manier abgefasst hat. Ihre Kennzeichen sind: Armut an wahren Gefühlen, Überfluss an Wort- und Verskünsteleien, sowie ein Versteckenspielen mit philosophischen Gedanken, die meistenteils dem Neuplatonismus entstammen,[3]) der in Frankreich insbesondere durch des Lyoner Gelehrten M. Scève Dichtung «Delie» Eingang gefunden hatte. Was die zweite Klasse von Sonetten anlangt, so sind sie ihrem Charakter nach mehr mit den altfranzösischen

[1]) Peletier behandelt es schon in einem ganzen Kapitel: *Art poét.* p. 61 ff.; vergl. Welti, Gesch. des Sonettes, passim.

[2]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV. p. 112 ff.

[3]) Über R. als Philosoph. siehe Chalandon, l. c., ch. IX, p. 135. Über den Neuplatonismus in der damaligen Liebesdichtung, siehe Bourciez, L. I. ch. IV, und ferner Symonds, „*The Dantesque and Platonic Ideals of Love*“, in der *Contemporary Review*, 1890, Sept.

Chansons zu vergleichen. Ihnen sind Wahrheit des Gefühls und einfache Natürlichkeit meistens eigen. Diese zweifache Art der Sonettendichtung lässt sich bei allen der Plejade angehörigen Dichtern unterscheiden. Sie alle kehren, wie ihr Meister R., der zuerst befolgten petrarkischen Richtung den Rücken und betonen die Wahrheit der in den späteren Sonetten geschilderten Empfindungen. So stellt Dub. seinen an *Olive* gerichteten Sonetten die Sammlung von *Poësies contre les Petrarquistes* entgegen.[1]) Baïf vertauscht die *Amours de Méline* mit denjenigen der *Francine*, und Jodelle dichtet *Amours* und *Contreamours*.[2]) Von den eigentlichen Theoretikern der Plejade, R. und Dub., ist jedoch diese zweite Klasse nicht besonders behandelt worden. Peletier dagegen,[3]) der ebenfalls die auf das Sonett bezüglichen Regeln angibt, erwähnt ausdrücklich den philosophischen Charakter dieser Dichtungsform, und Jacques de la Taille[4]) ist sonderbarerweise überhaupt gegen das Sonett eingenommen, das man, seiner Ansicht nach, den Italienern zurückschicken solle.

An seiner äusseren Form haben die Plejadendichter gegenüber ihren italienischen Mustern nur unwesentliche Veränderungen angebracht. Der epigrammartige Schluss, den Dub. im Sonett verlangt, findet sich weder stets bei ihm noch bei seinen Genossen. Bei der zweiten Klasse von Sonetten zeigt sich auch wieder der alte Satz bewahrheitet, dass, wo die Theorie schweigt, die wahre Poesie um so lauter redet. Denn die Gedichte dieser Klasse gefallen auch noch dem modernen Leser und bilden für ihn wohlthuende Ruhepunkte, wenn er den Sonettenwald R.'s zu durchqueren hat. Allein R. selbst ist nicht mit sich zufrieden, wenn er in diese Sphäre hinabsteigt. So ruft er einmal seiner angebeteten Marie, sie und sich selber anklagend, zu:

[1]) *Œuvres de Dub.* (ed. Marty-Laveaux), II, 333.

[2]) Siehe hierzu die Aufsätze von Fehse, *Jodelle's Lyrik*, in der Zeitschrift für neufranz. Sprache und Litt. II, 215 ff., sowie Nagel, *Strophenbau Baïf's*, in Herrig's Archiv LXI, 438—462.

[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 61 62, und vergl. ferner Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 560—595.

[4]) Siehe hierzu Rucktäschel, l. c., p. 26.

« Vous m'avez tourné mon grave premier style
Qui pour chanter si bas n'était point ordonné.»

Doch auch dieses poetische Sichgehenlassen weiss er, auf antike Muster sich stützend, zu rechtfertigen:

« Or si quelqu'un après me vient blâmer de quoi
Je ne suis plus grave en mes vers que j'étois,
Dis-lui que les amours ne se soupirent pas
D'un vers hautement grave, ains d'un style bas
Populaire et plaisant, ainsi qu'a fait Tibulle
L'ingenieux Oride et le docte Catulle.» (I, 146.)

Wie Vida schon früher dem Dichter das Herabsteigen in die Welt des Kleinen mit folgenden Worten erlaubt hatte:

„At non exiguis etiam te insistere rebus
Abnuerim, si magna voles componere parvis.“ [1])

so glaubte auch R. aus seinem Lieblingsdichter Vergil die Lehre ziehen zu dürfen, dass es dem lyrischen Dichter bisweilen vergönnt sei, das Naive, Kleine und Unscheinbare in der Natur und im Leben zum Gegenstande seines Liedes zu machen. Er sagt zu Remy Belleau:

« Or si à Virgile on veut croire,
On n'acquiert pas petite gloire
A traicter bien un œuvre bas.
— — — — — — — — —
Et qui voudra bien plaire, il faut
Ne chanter pas toujours le haut.» (VI, 322.) [2])

2. Die Ode.

In der Odendichtung [3]) muss der moderne Lyriker selbstverständlich auf die antiken Muster zurückgehen. Dieser lyrischen

[1]) Vida, *Art poét.* II, v. 282.

[2]) Über einen schottischen Nachahmer der R.'schen Sonettendichtung, siehe O. Hofmann's *Studien zu Alexander Montgomery*, in: Englische Studien (1894) XX, 37 ff.

[3]) Über die Odendichtung R.'s, siehe Gandar, l. c., p. 83 ff.

Form das französische Sprachgewand umzulegen, erscheint R. als eine ewigen Ruhmes werte Unternehmung. Im Gefühle eigener Kraft ruft er der Laute, dem Instrumente des Odendichters, die kühne Aufforderung zu, von nun an französische Weisen zu begleiten, nachdem die griechischen und römischen Sänger verstummt seien:

«Sus maintenant, luth doré,
Change de forme et me sois
Maintenant un luth françois.» (II, 394.)

In der Odendichtung lassen sich ebenfalls, wie beim Sonett, zwei Klassen unterscheiden. Die erste Klasse kann man als die leichtere Odendichtung bezeichnen. R. singt darin nach sapphischen, anakreontischen und horazischen Vorlagen des Daseins Freude in Liebes-, Trink- und Spielliedern und gibt als deren Stoffgebiet vorzugsweise an: *L'amour, le vin, les banquets dissolus, les danses, masques, chevaux victorieux, escrime, joustes et tournois et peu souvent quelque argument de philosophie.* (II, 7.)[1]) An Gedichten solchen Inhalts erholte sich R. manchmal, wie untenstehende Verse bezeugen,[2]) von der mühevollen Schöpfung der nach pindarischem Muster gebauten, ernsten Odendichtung, die durch hohen Schwung und fast unergründbare Gelehrsamkeit[3]) sich auszeichnen musste. Die für diese Klasse passenden Stoffe hatte schon Du b. gekennzeichnet, als er sagte: *Te fourniront de matière les louanges des Dieux et les Hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des*

[1]) Vergleiche hiermit Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 65, und Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 645—690. Sie beide kennen die zweifache Art von Oden.

[2]) *Mais loue qui voudra les replis recourbez,*
Des torrens de Pindare en profond embourbez,
Obscurs, rudes, fascheux et ses chansons cognues
Que je ne scay comment par songes et par nues;
Anacreon me plaist, le doux Anacreon! (VI, 203.)

[3]) Vergl. *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 114: «*Chante moy ces Odes et qu'il n'y ait vers où n'apparoisse quelque vestige de rare et antique érudition.*»

choses mondaines, la solicitude des jeunes hommes . . . .» [1]) Diesen Stoffkreis erweitert R. noch, insofern er ausdrücklich dem Odendichter die Aufgabe zuweist, das Lob der Freundschaft und der Kunstmäcene in erhabenen Tönen zu feiern: «*C'est le vrai but d'un poète lyrique de célébrer jusqu'à l'extrémité celui qu'il entreprend de louer.*» (II, 13.)

Nachdem bereits Sibilet die Bezeichnung *Ode* gebraucht, ihr die *affections craintives ou esperantes de l'amour* als Stoff angewiesen und ein Gedicht von Mellin de St. Gelais als Muster einer Ode bezeichnet hatte, [2]) empfiehlt auch der gleichzeitige Theoretiker Peletier diese damals neue Kunstgattung; er sagt vom Sonett und der Ode, sie seien «*Deux genres d'ouvrage élégans, agréables et susceptibles de tous beaux argumens.*» [3]) R. braucht also auch in diesem Punkte das Werk seiner Vorgänger nur anzuerkennen und fortzusetzen.

3. Die Elegie.

Auch die Elegie sucht R. in einigen wenigen Versen, die seinen elegischen Gedichten vorausgehen, zu definieren. Ursprünglich zum Ausdruck einer Totenklage bestimmt, habe sie sich allmählich zur Aufnahme jedes beliebigen Stoffes bequemen müssen; es sei ihr ferner eine prägnante Kürze eigen und ihr Schluss verlange eine epigrammartige Fassung. Ausserdem solle nur ein einziges Gefühl in der ganzen Elegie vorherrschen, dies müsse aber mit scharfen Strichen gezeichnet werden; endlich dürfe die ganze Elegie nicht mehr als dreissig bis vierzig Zeilen zählen. Indessen hält sich R. selber nicht an diese Vorschriften, führt vielmehr zu seiner Entschuldigung an, dass er als Hofdichter nach Bestellung arbeiten müsse, und dass seine Auftraggeber den Dichter nach der Elle belohnten. Siehe hierüber die zwei Gedichte «*Au lecteur*». (VI, 210.) Auch Dub. hatte schon die Elegie dem modernen

[1]) L. II, ch. IV, p. 114. Vergl. Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 65: «*La matière de l'Ode sont les louanges des Dieux, Demidieux et des Princes, les Amours, les banquets, les jeux festils et semblables passe-temps.*»

[2]) Siehe Pellissier, *Préface* p. XV.

[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 64.

Dichter empfohlen, als er sagte: «*Distile auecques vn style coulant . . . ces pitoyables Elegies, à l'exemple d'vn Ouide, d'vn Tibulle, et d'vn Properce.*» [1])

4. Die Hymne.

In Bezug auf die Hymne ist es von Interesse, zu erfahren, dass R., ihrer ursprünglichen, religiösen Bestimmung entsprechend, sie zur Lobpreisung Gottes und der Heiligen gebraucht wissen will. Der Humanist Marull († 1511) ist, nach Borinski, der erste, welcher zuerst christliche Stoffe in lateinischer Hymnenform besungen hat.[2]) Wir sehen hierin wieder einen Beweis für unsere oben aufgestellte Hypothese, dass R. zielbewusst auf eine Verschmelzung antiker Kulturelemente mit modern-christlicher Anschauung hinarbeitete. In dem seinen Hymnen als Einleitung vorausgeschickten Gedichte drückt er sich folgendermassen aus:

«Ah! les chrestiens deuraient les gentils imiter
Et chommer tous les ans à certains jours de festes,
La mémoire et les faits de nos saincts immortels,
Et chanter tout le jour autour de leurs autels.»
(V, 11.)

Von einem solchen Wiederaufleben christlicher Poesie verspricht sich R. die herrlichsten Folgen, die er also ausmalt:

L'âge d'or reviendroit . . . . . .
Eux voyans leur mémoire ici renouvelée
Garderaient nos troupeaux de tac et clavelée.
Nous de peste et famine . . . . . (III. 11.)

5—7. Das Cartel, die Maskarade und das Poème.

Schliesslich erwähnen wir noch das *Cartel*, die *Maskarade* und das *Poème*. Das zuerst genannte *Cartel* ist nach R. französischer Herkunft und war ursprünglich eine Art von

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 113 f. Vergl. Peletier, l. c., p. 68, und Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 515—542.

[2]) Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance* p. 38.

Streitgedicht. «*L'honneur . . . . les [= les vieux Français] faisait par l'artel défier aux tournois ceux qui forçaient les lois, le peuple et la droiture.*» (IV, 120.)

Die *Maskarade* stammt aus Italien; sie ist nach R. gewissermassen Vertreterin der kunstvolleren Tragödie und wurde von ihm hauptsächlich zu Hoffestlichkeiten benützt: [1])

«*L'accord italien, quand il ne veut bastir*
Un théatre pompeux, un coustoux repentir,
La longue tragédie en Mascarade change.»
(IV, 120.)

Das *Poème* endlich befasst sich in kurzer Weise mit der Darstellung kleiner Episoden oder mit der gedrängten Auslegung eines philosophischen Gedankens. Als Belegstelle verweise ich auf das seinen *Poèmes* vorgedruckte Gedicht «*Au lecteur*» (VI, 7.). Die anderen Arten, welche Dub. einführen wollte, wurden von R. zwar als Dichter gepflegt, aber nicht theoretisch behandelt. Es sind dies: Das Epigramm,[2]) die Epistel,[3]) Satire[4]) und Ekloge. Dub. empfiehlt sie in folgenden Worten: «*Jete toy à ces plaisants Epigrammes . . . à l'imitation d'en Martial . . . . aux Epistres . . . si tu les voulois faire à l'immitation d'Elegies comme Ouide . . . ou comme Horace . . . aux Satyres, si tu ne voulois, à l'exemple des Anciens, en vers Heroïques . . . taxer modestement les vices de ton Tems . . . . aux Ecclogues Rustiques, à l'exemple de Thëocrit et de Virgile.*»[5]) Auch Sibilet hatte schon die meisten der neu einzuführenden Arten erwähnt und gekannt, aber er zeigt sich für sie ebensowenig eingenommen wie Charles Fontaine.

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[1]) Vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poétique* I, v. 365—375. und Pellissier, l. c., p. 21.

[2]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 59, 60, und Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III. v. 288.

[3]) Peletier, l. c., p. 67.

[4]) Von Peletier weniger empfohlen: «*D'autant que ceux qu'on reprend, tant s'en faut qu'ils aient à se reformer par là, qu'ils ne font que s'en aigrir davantage.*» (l. c., p. 69.)

[5]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 112—119. Zur Eklogendichtung vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 238—250.

der an denselben nur die Neuheit des Namens anerkennen will und sie sonst als den Franzosen schon längst bekannte Formen hinzustellen sucht.[1])

Fassen wir das Gesagte zusammen: Auf lyrischem Gebiete hat R. sich keineswegs als tief eindringender Kritiker erwiesen. Während er in Bezug auf das Epos neben manchen unrichtigen, auch vielfach ganz zutreffende Beobachtungen an seinen Mustern gemacht hat, scheint er sich um die lyrische Poesie als Theoretiker überhaupt nicht viel gekümmert zu haben, wenn wir von Reim, Vers und Strophenbau absehen. In seinen lyrischen Werken aber laufen, wie wir sahen, zwei Strömungen nebeneinander her, eine anmassende, dem damaligen Kunstgeschmack huldigende, jetzt aber ungeniessbare Gelehrtenpoesie, welche den Zeitgenossen durch pedantische Kommentatoren, wie Richelet,[2]) Muret[3]) und Belleau.[4]) noch genussreicher gemacht wurde, und eine ursprüngliche, naive, rein menschliche Lyrik, welche die Leser aller Zeiten befriedigen wird. Um nun auch kurz die Lyrik der anderen Plejadendichter zu charakterisieren, können wir uns nicht besser fassen, als Fehse dies gethan: „R. ist kenntlich durch plastische Gegenständlichkeit, Dub. durch stilistische Einfachheit und Klarheit, Jodelle fällt auf durch Schwung der Gedanken und durch Ringen nach Erhabenheit des Ausdrucks“;[5]) bei Baïf endlich findet sich, wie bereits Nagel richtig bemerkt hat, eine gewisse Gesuchtheit der Sprache und Vorliebe für geistreiche Pointen.[6])

Wieder anders gestaltet sich nun R.'s Verhältnis zum Drama, dessen Begründung nach den Grundsätzen der Reformpartei ebenfalls schon in Dub.'s Programme geplant erscheint.

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[1]) *Le Quintil Censeur*, p. 211, in *Déf.* (*ed. Person*); ferner Sibilet, L. II, ch. VIII, u. Pellisier, *Art poét. de Vauquelin, Préf.* 15 u. 18.

[2]) I—IV. Buch der Oden (1550).

[3]) *Amours de Cassandre*, u. V. Buch der Oden (1552), sowie die Hymnen (1555).

[4]) *Amours de Marie* (1557).

[5]) Fehse: *Jodelle's Lyrik*, in: Körting's Zeitschrift II, 183.

[6]) Nagel: *Baïf's Werke*, in: Herrig's Archiv LXI, 52 ff.

§ 3.

Das Drama.

a) Das Drama überhaupt.

Dramatisch ist R. niemals thätig gewesen; denn von seiner Jugendübersetzung des aristophanischen Plutus kann man hier wohl absehen. Da er ferner als ästhetischer Schriftsteller nur flüchtig des Dramas Erwähnung thut und einzelne Gesetze desselben nur gelegentlich anführt, so ergibt sich daraus die Thatsache, dass R. der dramatischen Poesie gegenüber sich am passivsten verhalten hat. Jedoch rührt diese Stellung keineswegs von einer Unterschätzung des Dramas oder von Gleichgiltigkeit gegen diese Gattung der Poesie her. Vielmehr wollte die Plejade auch auf diesem Gebiete Grosses leisten. Ausser Jodelle, dem eigentlichen Dramatiker derselben, gehören noch Grevin, Jean und Jacques de la Taille, sowie Garnier zu dieser Schule; sie alle helfen thätig am Ausbau der dramatischen Theorien der Plejade mit. Dub. hatte auch nicht versäumt, schon in seinem Manifest zur Verabfassung von Dramen aufzufordern; aber er, der sonst nichts von der Fürsten Gunst verlangt, sagt hier: «*Quand aux Comedies et Tragedies si les Roys, et les Republiques les vouloient restituer en leur ancienne dignité . . . ie seroy' bien d'opinion, que tu t'y employasses.*» [1]) Selbst späterhin liess er das Theater nicht ausser acht und forderte seinen Freund Baïf zum Besteigen der tragischen Bühne auf:

«*Mais si un jour par l'esprit de ta voix*
Tu donnes l'âme au théatre François,
Assure-toy que tu seras . . . ecouté.» [2])

In gleicher Weise hatte schon Peletier zum Schreiben von französischen Dramen geraten und hinzugefügt: «*Ce genre de Poème, s'il est antrepris, aportera Honneur à la langue Françoise.*» [3])

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 118.
[2]) *Œuvres de Dub.* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*). p. 142.
[3]) Peletier, l. c., p. 73.

R. trug sich sogar einmal mit der Absicht, im Drama schöpferisch aufzutreten, wie man auf Grund folgender Stelle vermuten darf:

«S'il advient quelque jour que d'une voix hardie
J'anime l'échafaud par une tragédie.»
(Elegie à mon livre. I, 146.)

Was ihn an der Ausführung seines Planes hinderte, wissen wir nicht. Vielleicht ist es das Gefühl eigener Unzulänglichkeit gewesen. Jedenfalls hätte ihm seine Neigung zur Detailmalerei, sowie zu umfangreichen oratorischen Episoden bei der Komposition eines Dramas mehr hinderlich als förderlich sein müssen. Sein poetisches Talent war eben mehr lyrisch-epischer als dramatischer Natur. Gleichwohl hat er stets Interesse für das Drama gehegt und dies dadurch bekundet, dass er die damaligen dramatischen Dichter wie Grevin und Garnier in Gedichten feiert und zum Schaffen aufmuntert.

b) Das Drama im besonderen.

1. Die Tragödie.

Gehen wir nunmehr dazu über, seine theoretischen Ansichten über das Drama zu besprechen. Die meisten Bemerkungen R.'s beziehen sich auf die Tragödie.

Was zunächst den tragischen Stoff anlangt, so soll der Dichter ihn der Geschichte unglücklicher Fürstenhäuser des Altertums oder auch der neueren Zeiten entnehmen. Die tragische Bühne muss darstellen *les morts et misérables accidents des princes* (II, 7). Diese Fürstengeschlechter werden in folgenden, an den Tragiker Grevin gerichteten Versen noch näher bestimmt:

«D'Athènes, Troye, Argos, de Thèbes et de Mycènes
Sont pris les arguments qui conviennent aux scènes,
Rome l'en a donné que nous voyons ici,
Et crains que les Français ne l'en donnent aussi.»
(VI, 314.)

So hatte schon Mutio die Zahl der für das Drama passenden Fürstengeschlechter mit folgenden Worten eingeschränkt: «*Tragedia deve rimanersi fra poche famiglie.*»[1]) Als Quelle des über diese Familien kommenden Unheils betrachtet R. in erster Linie die Leidenschaft des ungezügelten Zornes:

«*L'ire, cause des tragédies,*
Fait les voix en plaintes hardies
Des rois tremblant sous le danger.» (II, 280.)

Aus obigen Anführungen geht zur Genüge hervor, dass nach R.'s Ansicht die tragische Bühne nur traurige Stoffe, und zwar nur die Unglücksgeschichte hervorragender Dynastien darstellen darf. In dem an Grevin gerichteten Gedichte sagt er geradezu:

«*La plainte des seigneurs fut dite tragédie.*» (VI, 314.)

Damit stimmen auch die berüchtigten Worte Scaliger's von dem für die Tragödie passenden Stoffe überein: „*Res tragicae grandes, atroces, jussa regum, caedes, desperationes, suspendia, exilia, orbitates, parricidia, incestus, incendia, pugnae, occaccationes, fletus, ululatus, conquaestiones, funera, epitaphia, epicedia.*“[2])

Schon etwas massvoller drückt sich Mutio aus, der ebenfalls vom Stoffe der Tragödie redet: «*In questa gli esempji miserabili et horrendi convien havere la sua parte.*»[3])

Von den französischen Poetikenschreibern ist Sibilet der erste, welcher der Tragödie Erwähnung thut. Allein er weiss von ihr noch nicht mehr zu sagen, als dass sie mit der *Moralité* zu vergleichen sei, namentlich wenn die letztere einen unglücklichen Ausgang habe.[4])

Peletier, welcher schon genauer über das Drama unterrichtet ist, widmet dem Unterschiede von Tragödie und Ko-

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[1]) Mutio, *Tres libri* etc., p. 13.

[2]) Scaliger, l. c., L. III, ch. XCVII, p. 366.

[3]) Mutio, l. c., p. 73.

[4]) Sibilet, *Art poét.*, bei Pellissier, *Art poét. de Vauquelin*, *Préf.* p. 18.

mödie ein ganzes Kapitel. Er gibt als Inhalt der Tragödie an: «*Occisions, exils, malheureux definements de fortunes, d'enfants et de parents.*» [1])

In seiner Vorrede zur *Franciade* spricht R. sich gelegentlich auch über den Zweck der dramatischen Poesie aus. Im Unterschiede vom Epos, das nur nebenbei belehrend wirken solle, sei für Komödie und Tragödie die moralische Belehrung die Hauptsache, «*lesquelles sont du tout didascaliques et enseignantes et il faut qu'en peu de paroles elles enseignent beaucoup comme mirouers de la vie humaine*» (III, 19). Diesem lehrhaften Charakter entsprechend, sollen sie zahlreiche Sentenzen enthalten, während das epische Gedicht deren nur wenige bringen darf. In gleicher Weise sagt Scaliger: *Tragedia sententiis fulcienda est; sunt enim quasi columnae aut pilae quadam universae fabricae illius.*[2]) Auch Peletier betont schon den lehrhaften Charakter der Tragödie, wenn er sagt: «*Le poëte doit parler sentencieusement, craindre les Dieux, reprendre les vices, menacer les mechants, ammoneter à la vertu et le tout succintement et resolument.*»[3])

R. erwähnt ferner schon als eine allgemein bekannte Regel, dafs die in einer Tragödie oder Komödie — was auffallend ist — dargestellte Handlung die Dauer eines Tages nicht überschreiten dürfe. Den Zwang, der für den Poeten in dieser Regel enthalten ist, nahm R. wahr; deshalb fügte er auch gleich an, in welcher Weise sie sich einigermassen umgehen lasse, so dass dem Dichter die volle Ausnützung des 24 Stunden zählenden Zeitabschnittes möglich werde. Er riet nämlich, die Handlung von einer Mitternachtsstunde bis zur andern auszudehnen und sie nicht zwischen Sonnenauf- und Untergang zu verlegen: «*Elles sont bornées et limitées d'espace, c'est-à-dire d'un jour entier. Les plus excellents maistres de ce mestier les commencent d'une minuict à l'autre et non du poinct du jour au soleil couchant pour avoir plus d'estendue et de longueur de temps*» (II, 19).

[1]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 72. Vergl. noch Vauquelin's Definition des tragischen Stoffes, III, v. 153—162.

[2]) Scaliger. L. III, ch. XCVII, p. 368.

[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 72.

R. scheint dieses Gesetz aus Aristoteles selbst oder vielleicht aus Trissino's[1]) *Ars poetica* (1529) geschöpft zu haben. Jodelle befolgte es bereits in seiner *Cleopatra* (1552). Grevin spielt darauf an in seinem *Bref discours sur le théâtre* (1561), wo er diejenigen tadelt, welche «*font un discours de 2 ou 3 mois es jeux de l'université*». R. spricht die Regel zum erstenmal in französischer Fassung aus (1565), und zwar schon in milderer Form als Scaliger, der (1561) gesagt hatte: „*Scenicum negotium totum sex octove horis peragitur*". Jean de la Taille stellt in der Vorrede zu seinem *Saül* (1572) ausser der Zeitregel bereits die Ortsregel zum erstenmal unter den Franzosen auf: «*Il faut toujours représenter l'histoire en un même jour, en un même temps et en un même lieu.*»[2])

Vituperan kehrt in Bezug auf die Zeitregel zur milderen Auffassung R.'s zurück, wenn er sagt: *Actio tragediae unius diei, vel ad summum duorum spatio terminatur.*[3])

Auch darüber wurde im Kreise der Plejade schon verhandelt, ob der Chor in der Tragödie nötig sei oder nicht. Grevin z. B. hatte dies in der Vorrede zu seinem *Jules César* mit der Begründung verneint, dass «*diverses nations requièrent diverses manières de faire*».[4]) So waren also schon die wesentlichsten Punkte der dramatischen Technik in den Jahren 1550—1575 von der Plejade und deren Anhängern behandelt worden.[5]) Dabei war man zur Formulierung der berüchtigten Regeln gekommen, — ausser der von der Einheit der Handlung — welche ein Jahrhundert später eine so grosse Rolle spielen sollten. Ja, Jean de la Taille veröffentlicht bereits 1572 eine lange Abhandlung über die Tragödie, welche den Titel trägt *L'art de la tragédie*. Von den späteren Poetikenschreibern der Plejade gibt Vauquelin sogar eine

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[1]) Siehe hierzu Arnaud, *Les théories dramatiques*, p. 116 ff.

[2]) Robert, *La poétique de Racine*, p. 351.

[3]) Vituperan, l. c., L. II, ch. X, p. 102.

[4]) Arnaud, *Les théories* etc., p. 132.

[5]) Arnaud, l. c., p. 117: «*Les règles de la poétique classique sont presque toutes contenues dans les quelques écrits théoriques des premiers disciples de R.*»

kurze Geschichte der Tragödie, wiederholt die Zeitregel R.'s und dehnt sie ebenfalls auf die Komödie aus:

«Le Tragic, le Comic, dedans une journée
Comprend ce que fait l'autre [sc. der Epiker] *au cours de son année.»*[1])

Der um einige Jahre später schreibende Laudun d'Aigaliers kann sich dagegen mit ihr nicht befreunden, obwohl er sich sonst als Anhänger der Plejade bekennt: *«Cette loi ne nous peut obliger à cela, attendu que nous ne sommes pas reiglés à leur* (der Klassiker) *façon d'ecrire.»*[2]) Damit haben wir die Geschichte der 3 Einheiten bis ins 17. Jahrhundert hinein verfolgt. Chapelain, der sie später mit diktatorischer Gewalt zur Geltung brachte, hätte sie also ganz gut bei den französischen Theoretikern des 16. Jahrhunderts — in derem Sinne ja auch er die Zeitregel verstand — finden können und nicht von den Holländern zu entlehnen brauchen.[3]) Nach dieser Abschweifung kehren wir zu R. zurück. Wir haben schon oben gesehen, dass er für den Epiker das Recht in Anspruch nahm, sich jenes Mittels zu bedienen, das man gewöhnlich mit den Worten *deus ex machina* zu bezeichnen pflegt. Für den dramatischen Dichter nun ist es, seiner Meinung nach, ein geradezu notwendiges Hilfsmittel, um den Knoten der Handlung zu entwirren und sie zu einem befriedigenden Abschlusse zu bringen.[4]) R.'s Ansicht über den für die Tragödie passenden Vers werden wir später kennen lernen.

2. Die Komödie.

Der Komödie widmet unser Autor noch weniger Worte als der Tragödie. Wir wissen schon, dass sie ebenfalls einen moralischen Zweck verfolgt, wie die dramatische Dichtung

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[1]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, vv. 255, 425—530, 1035—1050.
[2]) Laudun, *Art poét.* ch. IX, nach Rucktäschel p. 31/32.
[3]) Siehe hierzu Robert, *La poétique de Racine*, p. 353.
[4]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 191: „*Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit.*"

überhaupt. Den auf der komischen Bühne zu behandelnden Stoff soll der Dichter einem Gebiete entnehmen, das R. folgendermassen umschreibt: «*La licence éffrenée de la jeunesse, les ruses de courtisanes, avarice des vieillards, tromperie de valets.*» (II, 7.) In dem an Grevin gerichteten Gedichte dehnt er das stoffliche Gebiet der Komödie noch in dem Sinne aus, dass er ihr die Schilderung des Lebens und Treibens der unteren Volksklassen als Aufgabe zuweist, während die Tragödie, wie wir gesehen haben, nur das Geschick der oberen und höchsten Gesellschaftsklassen zur Darstellung bringen darf:

«*Ils [les poëtes] ont sur l'eschaffaut par feintes présentée*
La vie des humains en deux sortes chantée
Imitant des grands Roys la triste affection . . .
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — .
L'action du commun fut dite comédie.» (VI, 314.)

Noch genauer als R. hatte schon Peletier den Stoff der Komödie angegeben, auf Grund der von Plautus und Terenz überkommenen Stücke, wenn er sagte: «*Ils s'introduisent personnes populaires . . . . il faut faire voir l'avarice ou la prudence des vieillards . . .*» [1])

Auch darf der komische Dichter, im Gegensatze zum Tragiker, seinen Stoff der Geschichte aller Zeiten entnehmen:

«*L'argument du comique est de toutes saisons,*
Mais celui du tragique est de peu de maisons.»
(VI, 314.)

Diese letzten zwei Bemerkungen lassen uns vermuten, dass für R. *comédie* und *tragicomédie* so ziemlich das nämliche bedeutete, insofern das Wesen der *tragicomédie,* dieser Vorläuferin des bürgerlichen Schauspiels im 16. Jahrhundert. darin bestand, das Alltagstreiben der Menschen auf der

[1]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 70.

Bühne zu behandeln, also abwechselnd heitere und traurige Szenen dem Zuschauer vorzuführen.

Vituperan definiert bereits diese Gattung folgendermassen: *Comedia adsciscens graviores personas.*[1]) Bald sollte sie auch Garnier mit seiner *Bradamante* auf die Bühne bringen (1580). Vauquelin sucht sodann jene Gattung noch näher zu definieren und ihr unter Berufung auf des Euripides Stücke, *Ion* und *Orestes*, das Bürgerrecht zu verschaffen.[2])

Was endlich den Aufbau des komischen Stückes anlangt, so fordert R. vom Dichter ausdrücklich eine gute Ausarbeitung aller Teile der Komödie, deren es nach Peletier und Vauquelin ohne den Prolog drei gab, nämlich «*La proposition du fait* (Ier Acte = Protasie), *l'avancement au progres* (2^e Acte = Epistasie), *la catastrophe* (3e Acte) = *soudeine conversion des choses en mieux*».[3]) Diese Sorgfalt in der Ausführung der einzelnen Teile scheint R. bei vielen der zeitgenössischen Komödienschreibern vermisst zu haben, was wir folgenden Versen entnehmen zu dürfen glauben:

> «*Il ne faut estimer que la mère Nature*
> *Les saisons des humains ordonne à l'avanture*
> *Comme un meschant comique en son théâtre fait,*
> *Le premier acte bon, le dernier imparfait;*
> *Elle compose tout d'une meure sagesse.*»[4]) (VI, 259.)

Damit haben wir alle Gattungen besprochen, die R. als Theoretiker überhaupt erwähnt. Nicht alle hat er, wie wir sahen, gleich bedacht; die eine, wie das Epos, wurde ausführlich von ihm behandelt, bei anderen gibt er nur eine kurze Definition. Eine Gattung jedoch wurde von Dub. und R. ganz vergessen, nämlich das Lehrgedicht im engeren Sinne. Diese Lücke sollte schliesslich noch Vauquelin ausfüllen. Nach ihm hat die didaktische Poesie ihren Platz zwischen dem bukolischen Gedichte und dem Epos. Wer

[1]) Vituperan, L. II, ch. XVI, p. 129.
[2]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 169.
[3]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 70; Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 111 ff.
[4]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 32—37.

sich für das letztere zu schwach und für das erstere zu gut dünkt, der möge zum Lehrgedicht greifen:

«Si d'une longue alaine un bel œuvre tu veux
Parfaire pour passer jusqu'aux derniers neveux,
Chante d'un air moyen, non tel que l'Héroïque,
Ni si bas descendant que le vers Bucolique,
Mais qui de l'un et l'autre un vers enlassera,
Qui tantost s'élevant, tantost s'abaissera.»[1])

Nunmehr gehen wir dazu über, R.'s Vorschriften hinsichtlich der poetischen Diktion und des dichterischen Stils zusammenzufassen.

[1]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 913—930, wo er auch die bekanntesten Dichter dieser Gattung von Hesiod bis Baïf aufzählt.

Kapitel IV.

Diktion und Stil.

§ 1.

Zweck, Möglichkeit und Notwendigkeit einer sprachlichen Reform.

Der modernen Kritik ist es gelungen, R. und seine Zeitgenossen der unverdienten Vergessenheit, welcher ihre Namen anheim gefallen waren, wieder zu entreissen und sie gegenüber dem Vorwurf der Lächerlichkeit, mit welchem das unbillige, wenn auch witzige Wort Boileau's[1]) ihr Andenken entehrt hatte, zu rechtfertigen. Mit Recht betonen die Hauptvorkämpfer für R.'s Rehabilitierung, wie besonders Egger,[2]) Darmesteter,[3]) Sainte-Beuve, Chalandon und Scheffler, dass derselbe schon deshalb Anspruch auf dauernde Anerkennung besitze, weil er die Grundlage jener poetischen Sprache geschaffen habe, welche, vom Genius der grossen Schriftsteller des 17. Jahrhunderts befruchtet, sich zu klassischer Vollkommenheit entwickeln konnte. Schon darum ist es von hohem Interesse, die Regeln kennen zu lernen, auf welche R. seine sprachliche Reform gründen wollte.

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[1]) Siehe unten p. 155.

[2]) *De l'Hellénisme* I, 234.

[3]) *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux* etc. p. 9.

Wir untersuchen zunächst die Gründe, welche R. zu einer solchen Reform veranlassten, als deren Endzweck man die Schaffung einer „idealen Kunstform" bezeichnen kann.[1]) Den Anstoss hierzu gab die von dem schaffenden Dichter bei der Arbeit gewonnene Erkenntnis, dass bei dem damaligen Zustande der französischen Sprache es unmöglich sei, einem dichterischen Werke diejenige sprachliche Vollkommenheit und äussere Gestaltung zu geben, welche dasselbe zu einem Kunstprodukte im Sinne der antiken Geisteswerke stempeln könnten. Alle Gebildeten jener Zeit hatten die Empfindung, dass ihrer Muttersprache die Fähigkeit abginge, den in das französische Geistesleben neu eingedrungenen Ideen einen adäquaten, kunstgerechten Ausdruck zu verleihen. Der innerlich mächtig wirkende Trieb nach Gestaltung bedurfte eines besseren Instrumentes, um sich bethätigen zu können. R. selbst spricht sich folgendermassen aus:

A vingt ans . . . .
Je vy que des Français le langage trop bas
A terre se traisnait sans ordre ny compas.»
(VI, 158.)

Die Klage über diese Unzulänglichkeit der Sprache war damals allgemein unter den Autoren. So sagt Ponthus de Thiard von seiner dichterischen Jugendarbeit: «*J'ai eu peine d'embellir et hausser le stile de mes vers plus que n'estoit celui des rimeurs qui m'avaient précédé.*»[2]) Den Zweck, den R. bei seiner Reform im Auge hatte, war nun eben, diesem Mangel einer Dichtersprache abzuhelfen und dem heimatlichen Idiome alle diejenigen Vorzüge und Eigenschaften zu geben, welche man den antiken Sprachen sowie der italienischen nachrühmen zu können glaubte.

Die Möglichkeit, das gesteckte Ziel zu erreichen, stand für R. fest; sie ergab sich für ihn aus seiner philosophischen Auffassung von dem Werden und Vergehen aller irdi-

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[1]) Ebert, *Entwickelungsgeschichte*, p. 75.

[2]) *Préf.* der «*Erreurs amoureuses*», bei Pellissier. *Art poét. de Vauquelin*, p. 11.

schen Dinge, der Nationen wie der Literaturen.[1]) Sein Nationalstolz fühlte sich geschmeichelt, einmal auch auf eine Blütezeit der französischen Literatur hoffen zu dürfen: *Car ce n'est la raison que la nature soit tousjours si prodigue de ses biens à deux ou trois nations, qu'elle ne veuille conserver ses richesses aussi bien pour les dernières comme les premières.* (III, 33.) Die sichere Hoffnung, dass auch Frankreichs Sprache noch zu Höherem berufen sei, leuchtete schon aus Dub.'s Worten hervor: *Le tens viendra . . . que nostre Langue . . . sortira de terre, et s'eleuera en telle hauteur . . . qu'elle se pourra egaler aux mesmes Grecz, et Romains.*[2]) Vauquelin glaubt dann bereits, die französische Sprache habe jenen erhofften Zustand der Vollkommenheit erreicht; denn er sagt:

La France aussi depuis son langage haussa
Et d'Europe bien tost les vulgaires passa,
— — — — — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — — — — —
S'enlargit tellement qu'elle peut à son chois,
Exprimer toute chose en son naif François.[3])

Eine weitere Ermutigung zu dem geplanten Unternehmen fand R. in seiner irrigen Auffassung der geschichtlichen Entwickelung der menschlichen Sprachen.[4]) Seiner Ansicht nach ist nämlich die Sprache, wie die Poesie, ein göttliches Geschenk, dessen ursprüngliche Vollkommenheit durch menschliche Abnützung immer mehr geschwunden ist. In ihrem damaligen Zustande gilt sie ihm geradezu als korrumpiert, und die so verderbten modernen Sprachen nennt er kurzweg Schöpfungen des ungebildeten, grossen Haufens. Einen Beweis seines unheilvollen Einflusses auf die Sprache will R. in der grossen Menge der unregel-

[1]) Vergl. Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v 393–412: *Tout ce que nous ferons est sujet à la mort* etc.

[2]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. III, p. 58.59, sowie L. I, ch. IV, p. 61.

[3]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 580–585.

[4]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 60 f.:
„ . . . *verborum vetus interit aetas,*
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque."

mässigen Verba erblicken und er fährt also fort: «*Cela nous donne à cognoistre que le peuple ignorant a fait les langages et non les scavans; car les doctes n'eussent jamais tant créé de monstres en leur langue qui se doit si sainctement honorer.*» (VII, 33.) Eine ähnliche Ansicht über die Ursache der Verdorbenheit der Sprache hat auch Dub., wenn er sagt: «*Elles viennent toutes d'une mesme source et origine: c'est la fantaisie des hommes.*» [1]) Dabei ist zu allen Zeiten die Einwirkung der Poesie auf die Sprache heilsam gewesen und die Dichter haben sich um dieselbe namentlich dadurch verdient gemacht, dass sie unablässig den Wortschatz durch Neubildungen zu vermehren bedacht waren: «*Les Poëtes, comme les plus hardis, ont les premiers forgé et composé les mots, lesquels pour estre beaux et significatifs ont passé par la bouche des Orateurs et du vulgaire, puis finablement ont esté receus, louez et admirés d'un chacun.*» (VII, 335.)

Schon Mutio sprach den gleichen Gedanken aus: «*La belta, la nettezza de le lingue si conserva tra i libri et da scrittori scrirer s'impara, non da vulgo errante.*» [2]) Das Recht zu einem Eingriffe in die Sprachentwickelung leitet R. eben aus dem Umstande ab, dass, wie alles Bestehende, so auch die Sprache Wandlungen und Veränderungen erleiden könne und müsse; nur die antiken Sprachen sollten unveränderliche Zeugen einer abgestorbenen Vergangenheit sein. Es schwebte also hier R. die Idee des Fortschritts vor, ohne dass es ihm jedoch gelang, sie klar auszudrücken. Auch Dub. hatte dies nicht vermocht. Er sagte nur:

«*Dieu qui a donné pour Loy inviolable à toute chose créé. de ne durer perpetuellement . . . etant la fin . . . de l'vn . . . le commencement . . . de l'autre.*» [3])

Als die Faktoren, welche sprachbildenden Einfluss besitzen, bezeichnet R. ausser den Dichtern auch die *rois, princes, senateurs,* und an letzter Stelle noch die *marchands et trafiqueurs.* (III, 33.)

Im Hinblick auf solche Erwägungen beansprucht er

[1]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. I, p. 39.
[2]) Mutio, l. c., p. 70.
[3]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. IX, p. 78.

alsdann das Recht vorzugsweise für die Poeten, unbekümmert um das Gerede des grossen Haufens, einen bestimmenden und gewissermassen willkürlichen Einfluss auf ihre Muttersprache auszuüben. Seine eigenen Worte lauten:

«Il faut mettre peine, quoy que murmure le peuple, avec toute modestie de l'enrichir et cultiver [la notre langue]» (VII, 335 f.)

Nunmehr haben wir so ziemlich alle Gedanken der Plejadentheoretiker über die Sprache und deren Entwickelung aufgezählt. Wir ersehen daraus, dass die sprachphilosophischen Studien in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts einen raschen Anlauf genommen hatten. Der Inhalt von Werken, wie Hotman's *Francogallia* (1572) und Fauchet's *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poésie française* beeinflusste bereits die poetischen Theorien, und namentlich Vauquelin hat in seinem *Art poétique* beim letzteren sich oftmals Rat erholt.[1])

Bevor jedoch R. und seine Mitarbeiter zur Begründung der neuen Dichtersprache schreiten konnten, mussten sie zunächst die Unzulänglichkeit der von der früheren Dichtergeneration herrührenden Sprachform und die Notwendigkeit eines neuen sprachlichen Instrumentes öffentlich nachweisen; die Anhänger des Alten mussten entweder für die Reform gewonnen oder in der literarischen Welt zum Verstummen gebracht werden. Dub.'s Manifest hatte schon den Kampf gegen die alte Richtung eingeleitet und war gewissermassen der Absagebrief gewesen. Auch R. nahm thätig an diesem Kampfe teil. Sein persönlicher Streit mit Mellin de St. Gelais ist ein schlagender Beweis dafür. Hierdurch haben wir Gelegenheit, die negative Seite der R.'schen Kritik kennen zu lernen, insoweit sich dieselbe als Aufgabe stellt, die Schäden und Mängel der zeitgenössischen Dichtung aufzudecken. Welchen Vorwurf bringt nun R. gegen die Anhänger der Marot'schen Dichtungsweise vor? Den Hauptfehler derselben erblickt er darin, dass ihre Dichterwerke nur gereimte Prosa seien und somit den Namen Poesie gar nicht verdienten. Denn nach R.'s Ansicht enthält der Satz:

[1]) Pellissier, *Art poét. de Vauquelin, Préf.* p. 75.

«*Le style prosaïque est ennemy capital de l'éloquence poëtique*» (III, 16) eine unumschränkt gültige Wahrheit. Insofern ihren Versen gerade dasjenige abgehe, was die Schönheit der Form bedinge, wie «*peinture relevée, figures, schemes, tropes, metaphores, phrases et periphrases*» (III, 16) — kurz dasjenige, was sie «*separe de la prose triviale et vulgaire*» (l. c. 16.) —, komme auch dem Verfertiger solcher Reimereien nicht der Name Dichter, sondern Reimschmied zu: «*Il y a autant de difference entre un poëte et un versificateur qu'entre un bidet et un genereux coursier de Naples.*» (III, 19.) Und worin dieser Unterschied bestehe, gibt R. in folgenden Worten an: «*Ces versificateurs se contentent de faire des vers sans ornement, sans grâce et sans art, et leur semble avoir beaucoup fait pour la republique, quand ils ont composé de la prose rimée.*» (III, 20.) Auch Peletier war schon der Ansicht gewesen, dass die Dichter bisher eine zu farb- und bilderlose Sprache gehabt hätten «*trop voisine du langage vulgaire*», und er rät deshalb «*de devenir un peu plus hardis et moins populaires.*» [1]) Diese abgeblasste prosaische Diktion ist nach R. zum Teil auch durch die damals üblichen Dichtungsformen bedingt, welche an und für sich schon der Entfaltung höheren poetischen Schmucks und dichterischer Kunst hinderlich seien. Darum fordert er auch das Aufgeben jener Formen:

«*Fuyant ces vulgaires façons*
Ces vers sans art, ces nouvelles chansons.» (VI, 329.)

Was er unter diesen kunstlosen Versen versteht, ersehen wir aus folgender Stelle: «*Erite . . . de faire des epigrammes, sonnets, satyres, elegies et autres tels menus fatras, où l'artifice ne se peut estendre*» (III, 30). Dub. verlangte ebenfalls zu wiederholten Malen das Aufgeben der erwähnten Formen und fügte ihnen noch folgende bei: «*Rondeaux, Ballades, Vyrelais, Chants Royaux, Chansons.*» [2]) Dass gleichwohl diese Arten noch lange

[1]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 18.

[2]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 112—119; siehe ferner *Déf.* L. II, ch. XI, p. 149.

in der Provinz das Leben fristen, beweist der Umstand, dass auch noch spätere Theoretiker der Plejade sie ausdrücklich als veraltet bezeichnen und davor warnen. So sagt Jacques de la Taille: «*Les Moralités, Ballades, Farces, chants royaux, Lais, Virelais, Rondeaux, coqs à l'Ane et toutes telles rimasseries sont déjà décriées du règne des Muses.*»[1]) Ja sogar noch Vauquelin glaubt seinen allzu konservativen Normannen einschärfen zu müssen:

«*Mais ta muse ne soit jamais enbesoignee*
Qu'aux vers dont la façon ici t'est enseignée,
Et des vieux chants Royaux decharge le fardeau
Oste-moy la Ballade, oste-moy le Rondeau.»[2])

Übrigens nimmt er sich doch die Mühe, den Ursprung dieser Arten aufzuklären und auch deren lange Blütezeit zu entschuldigen.[3])

Fassen wir das Gesagte kurz zusammen. Während die alte Schule, von Cretin bis Marot, ihr Hauptaugenmerk auf den Reim richtete[4]) und in einseitiger Weise das dichterische Können in geschickt ersonnenen Reimen und deren Verkettung in Form von dreieckigen Gabeln und allen möglichen anderen Spielereien zu finden glaubte, verlangte R. von einem nicht minder einseitigen Standpunkte aus, dass man als das wesentlichste Element der Poesie den sprachlichen Ausdruck, den poetischen Stil betrachte, und dass hierin vor allem des Dichters Kunst und Geschicklichkeit sich bethätigen solle. Wenn nun auch die Anhänger der neuen wie der alten Richtung in gleich grober Selbsttäuschung einzelne Bestandteile der poetischen Form

[1]) *La Maniere de faire des vers en français comme en grec et en latin* (1573) p. 14, nach Rückäschel p. 26.

[2]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* I, v. 543–546 u. II, v. 935.

[3]) Vauquelin, *Art poét* I, v. 547–565.

[4]) Wie ich aus Héron's Ausgabe von Fabri's *Rhétorique* soeben ersehe, ist in neuerer Zeit jenen Reimspielereien eine ausführliche Studie gewidmet worden von A. Canel, *Recherches sur les jeux d'esprit et les bizarreries littéraires principalement en France. Evreux.* 1869. 2 vols. 8°

für das Wesen der Poesie selbst nahmen, so bezeichnet doch die R.'sche Reform insofern einen Fortschritt, als sie, neben der ererbten Gewandtheit im Reimen, die Aufmerksamkeit auf die sprachliche Form zur Gewissenssache machte.

Die Vertreter und Freunde der älteren Dichtungsweise waren jedoch nicht die einzigen Gegner der Schule R.'s. In dem Lager derjenigen, welche seine Lehrer und Freunde gewesen waren, erstanden ihm bei seinem Reformversuche Widersacher, die um so gefährlicher waren, als sie wegen ihrer Gelehrsamkeit vom Publikum als wissenschaftliche Grössen gefeiert wurden. Es waren dies die französischen Vertreter jenes Hyperhumanismus, welcher die moderne Zeit in ihrer Existenzberechtigung negierte und Volk und Sprache gerne wieder in der Antike hätte aufgehen lassen. Gleich den Begründern des Humanismus hielten sie die Vulgärsprache jeder höheren Entwickelung für unfähig, und erkannten nur ein in lateinischer Sprache geschriebenes Werk als eine wissenschaftliche oder dichterische Leistung an. Schon Dub. hatte diese Verächter der modernen Sprachen zu bekehren gesucht.[1]) R. bemüht sich ebenfalls, diese in der Verehrung des Altertums ihm geistig verwandten Gegner auf seine Seite zu ziehen. Bei den Überredungsversuchen, die er deshalb anstellt, haben wir Gelegenheit, eine neue Seite seiner negativen Kritik kennen zu lernen; diesmal nämlich geht er darauf aus, die Verwerflichkeit des Lateinschreibens in moderner Zeit darzuthun. Durch den Hinweis auf das unerbittliche Naturgesetz der Vergänglichkeit alles Irdischen sucht er diese Verehrer der alten Sprachen von der Nutzlosigkeit des Versuchs zu überzeugen, einem bereits abgestorbenen Körper, wie das Lateinische, künstlich neues Leben einzuflössen: «*D'une langue morte l'autre prend vie, ainsi qu'il plaist à l'arrest du destin et à Dieu qui commande, lequel ne veut souffrir que les choses mortelles soient eternelles comme luy*» (III, 36).

Ferner gibt er ihnen zu verstehen, dass es dem modernen

[1]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. XI, p. 89—95.

Lateinschreiber unmöglich sei, ein so gründlicher Kenner des Lateinischen er auch sein mag, jene lebensvolle Darstellungsweise und jene naturfrische Energie zu erreichen, die wir an den antiken Schriftstellern bewundern. Seinem kritischen Blicke entgeht auch nicht jene andere Verirrung eines grossen Teiles der Humanisten, welche durch eine blinde und peinlich genaue Nachahmung des ciceronianischen Stiles die Klassizität ihres modernen Lateins sichern wollten. Was R. von diesen Eiferern, — einem «*troupeau servile*» nach Dub.'s Ausdruck — hält, geht aus folgender Beurteilung ihrer Thätigkeit hervor: «*Ils avaient recousu ou raboliné je ne scay quelles vieilles tapetasseries de Vergile et de Ciceron*» (III, 36).

Und wie niedrig er ihre Leistungen hängt, deutet er durch folgenden drastischen Vergleich zwischen einem Schwan und einer Gans an: «*Car quelque chose qu'ils puissent escrire, tant soit-elle excellente, ne semblera que le cry d'une oye au prix du chant de ces vieils cygnes, oiseaux dediez à Phebus*» (l. c. 36). Diese Unmöglichkeit, es den Alten in ihrer Sprache gleichzuthun, hatte auch schon Dub. den damaligen Lateinschreibern vorgehalten, indem er sagte: «*Mais vous ne serez si bons Massons . . . que leur puissiez rendre celle forme, que leurs donnarent premierement ces bons, et excellens Architectes: et si vous espérez . . . que par ces fragments recueillis, elles puyssent estre resuscitées, vous vous abusez.*» [1]) Mit prophetischem Blicke sagt R. ihnen voraus, dass die Zukunft den modernen Sprachen gehöre, und dass nur derjenige Dichter auf dauernden Nachruhm rechnen könne, der seine Werke in einer Sprache verfasse, welche auch diejenige der Nachwelt sein werde: «*Ils en rapporteront plus d'honneur et de reputation à l'avenir*» (III, 35). Nachdem er mit solchen Vernunftgründen seinen Widersachern entgegengetreten war, suchte er auch noch auf ihr Gemüt einzuwirken und in ihnen Teilnahme sowie Mitleid für ihre Muttersprache wachzurufen. Er bittet sie «*Prendre pitié comme bons enfants de leur pauvre mère naturelle*» (III, 35).

Sein Patriotismus lässt ihn sogar in die Worte ausbrechen: «*C'est un crime de lesemajesté d'abandonner le langage*

[1]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. XI, p. 92.

de son pays, vivant et florissant, pour vouloir deterrer je ne scay quelle cendre des anciens» (III, 35). Dagegen verlangt er öffentliche Ehrung und nationalen Dank für diejenigen Schriftsteller, welche zuerst statt der lateinischen Sprache ihre Muttersprache gebraucht hatten: *«Quiconques furent les premiers qui osèrent abandonner la langue des Anciens pour honorer celle de leur païs, ils furent veritablement bons enfants, et non ingrats citoyens et dignes d'estre couronnés sur une statue publique et que d'âge en âge on face une perpetuelle memoire d'eux et de leurs vertus»* (VII. 323).

Auch Peletier hatte in ebenso beredten als eindringlichen Worten die Pflege der Muttersprache seinen Zeitgenossen ans Herz gelegt: *«Nous tenons notre langue esclave nous-mêmes; nous nous montrons etrangers au notre propre pays . . . le ciel François produit-il de si pauvres esprits qu'ils ne se puissent servir de leur langue?»*[1]) Sogar noch Vauquelin meint auf diesen Punkt zurückkommen zu müssen, doch gibt er bereits wieder zu, dass man in beiden Sprachen ein bedeutender Schriftsteller sein könne und zählt deshalb auch die angesehensten Lateinschreiber Frankreichs in seinem *Art poétique* mit auf.[2])

Im Kampfe mit diesen Gegnern vertrat also R. wiederum die Idee des Fortschritts. Deshalb fand er auch auf allen Seiten Unterstützung. Selbst die Vertreter der älteren Generation, wie Bouchet, bequemten sich zu dem Geständnis, dass sie nicht einsehen könnten, warum *«On ne se puisse declarer aussi bien et aussi proprement en François et Italien qu'en Grec et Latin.»*[3])

Somit hat R. also dazu beigetragen, dass in der Literatur und der Wissenschaft die lateinische Sprache seit jener Zeit der französischen das Feld räumte, und die führenden Geister der Nation sich vorzugsweise ihrer Muttersprache bedienten. Dadurch kam es auch, dass das Französische viel früher als die anderen modernen Kultursprachen jenen Grad

[1]) Peletier. *Art poët.* p. 34—36.

[2]) Vauquelin. *Art poét.* III, v. 748; III, v. 700; siehe auch Birch-Hirschfeld, l. c., I, 111.

[3]) Bouchet, *Serées.* p. 287.

der Vollkommenheit erreichen konnte, der die Werke der Prosaschriftsteller und Dichter des *grand siecle* auszeichnet.

§ 2.

Ronsard's Besserungsvorschläge.

1. Mehrung des Wortschatzes.

In dem Bewusstsein, dass Tadeln und Zerstören nur die eine Seite der Kritik sei,[1]) und notwendigerweise Besserungsvorschläge im Gefolge haben müsse, macht sich R. nun daran, positive Regeln, die auf die Begründung einer poetischen Sprache abzielen, aufzustellen. Auf zweierlei Weise sucht er einen poetischen Wortschatz zu gewinnen: erstens durch direkte Herübernahme einzelner Wörter aus fremden Sprachen, sowie durch Wortbildungen oder Zusammensetzungen mit Hilfe von der eigenen Sprache angehörigen Elementen — beides nach Analogie fremder Sprachgesetze — und zweitens durch eine regenerierende Auffrischung der damaligen Umgangssprache in den nationalen Quellen des heimatlichen Idioms.

Wir haben schon früher (p. 40) gesehen, dass R. von dem Dichter Bekanntschaft mit den hauptsächlichsten Fremdsprachen fordert. Es geschah dies hauptsächlich in Rücksicht auf den dadurch ermöglichten besseren Gebrauch der Muttersprache; ja er geht sogar soweit, zu behaupten, dass man diese überhaupt nicht handhaben könne ohne Kenntnis der fremden Sprachen: *Il est fort malaisé de bien escrire en langue vulgaire, si on n'est instruit en celles des plus honorables et fameux estrangers* (VII, 323).[2]) Aus ihnen soll nun der Dichter gelegentlich einen oder den anderen Ausdruck in seine Muttersprache verpflanzen: *Je te conseille d'elles comme d'un riche tresor trouvé soubs terre enrichir ta propre nation* (VII, 323).

[1]) Brunot, l. c., p. 76: *Les négatifs ne sont pas des révolutionnaires complets.*

[2]) Auch Vauquelin stellt den Satz auf, dass eine Sprache aus der anderen Nahrung schöpfen müsse und erläutert ihn in mehreren Versen *Art poét.* II, v. 971—980.

So hat R. dem Italienischen nicht nur einzelne Wörter, sondern auch andere sprachliche Eigenarten entlehnt, wie z. B. die Deminutivsuffixe *ello* und *etto*, die er sogar bisweilen zu einem Worte verband *(ondette : ondelette)*.[1]) Diejenigen Fremdsprachen jedoch, in denen der französische Dichter bei seinem sprachlichen Schaffenseifer hauptsächlich Anregung, Stoff und Vorbild suchen wird, sind für R. selbstverständlich die antiken Sprachen und insbesondere das Lateinische. Auch sie werden in doppelter Weise tributpflichtig gemacht, erstens durch unmittelbare Entlehnung von Vokabeln, und zweitens durch Übertragung einzelner Sprachgesetze auf das Französische; es sollen dort also, mit Hilfe von gewissen antiken Sprachgesetzen, neue Worte und Wortzusammensetzungen gebildet werden.

Was dagegen die syntaktischen Gesetze der alten Sprachen anlangt, so brauchte und wollte R. zu deren Nachahmung nicht besonders auffordern. Sie wurden ja von den an lateinische Lektüre seit früher Jugend gewöhnten Schriftstellern jener Zeit ganz bewusstlos und ohne Absicht ins Französische herübergenommen. Die Beispiele, welche man hiervon findet, sind grösstenteils nichts weiter als Beweise einer unbewussten Nachahmung des antiken Sprachbaues.

Zur direkten Anleihe von Wörtern brauchte R. ebenfalls nicht mehr ausdrücklich aufzumuntern. Auf dieses Mittel war man ja, unter dem Zwange der Notwendigkeit, schon seit langer Zeit verfallen und hatte von ihm, während der langen Übersetzungsperiode, welche der R.'schen Reform vorausging, nur allzu häufig Gebrauch gemacht. Ja, R. sah sich sogar veranlasst, einen Missbrauch in dieser Hinsicht hintanzuhalten. Er warnt davor, einem lateinischen Worte Aufnahme zu gewähren, wenn dessen Begriff durch eine schon vorhandene französische Vokabel ganz gleichwertig ausgedrückt werde.[2]) Demgemäss tadelt er auch das Verfahren jener älteren Schriftsteller, wie Jean le Maire und anderer

[1]) Näheres hierüber bei Dor, l. c, p. 4; Günther, l. c., p. 67, u. Nagel, *Baïf's Wortbildung*, in Herrig's Archiv LXI, 200–242.

[2]) Schon Cicero hatte gesagt: „*In transferendis (e graeco) verecundus*". De oratore. 24, 81.

Zeitgenossen desselben, welche ihre Prosa geradezu mit lateinischen Worten überschwemmten, um damit den Eindruck der Gelehrsamkeit zu erzielen: «*Je te veux encore advertir de n'écorcher point le Latin, comme nos devanciers qui ont trop sottement tiré des Romains une infinité de vocables estrangers, ou qu'il y en avoit d'aussi bons en nostre propre langage*» (VII, 334).

Diese Zeit der *Latiniseurs* war gewissermassen eine Art Vorrenaissance, wo die literarische Reform sich noch nicht auf die poetischen Gattungen und deren Inhalt, sondern hauptsächlich auf das Vokabular und die Prosa erstreckte; dabei liefen freilich manchmal die absonderlichsten Barbarismen und Verstösse gegen den Geist der französischen Sprache mit unter. Schon Fabri (1520) und vor ihm Infortunatus (1500) hatten sich gegen diese *Latiniseurs à outrance* gewendet und ihnen zugerufen: «*N'escumez point les vocables latins.*» [1]) R. wusste also wohl, was ihn von solchen Vorläufern trennte. Dies hinderte ihn jedoch nicht, einzelne von Jean le Maire und seiner Schule eingeführte Wörter wieder in Gebrauch zu nehmen und das von jenem gegebene Beispiel zu Neubildungen nach lateinischen Sprachgesetzen nachzuahmen.[2]) In dem Bestreben, diesen *Escumeurs de Latin* das Handwerk zu legen, wurde R. allenthalben von gleichgesinnten Genossen unterstützt. Ausser Männern, wie Robert und Henri Estienne,[3]) Amyot und Calvin, war ihm namentlich Rabelais dabei von Nutzen, der gerade diese Anhänger des Fremden mit den Pfeilen seines Spottes angriff.[4]) Dub. und Peletier zeigten sich in diesem Punkte weniger behutsam. Der letztere sagt: «*Un mot bien deduit du Latin aura bonne grâce en lui donnant la teinture française.*» [5]) Wie leicht er

[1]) Zschalig, l. c., p. 50, ferner Langlois, l. c., p. 67, und Fabri, der auch mehrere Arten von «*barbarismes latins*» aufführt, II, 113—117 (ed. Héron).

[2]) Siehe hierzu Plötz, l. c., p. 12.

[3]) Siehe Estienne, *Conformité* etc., *Préface*, p. 10.

[4]) Siehe Birch-Hirschfeld I, 80, u. Rabelais, Pantagruel L. II, ch. VI.

[5]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 52 f.:

„*Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si*
Graeco fonte cadant, parce detorta.“

diese letztere Forderung erfüllt sieht, geht daraus hervor, dass er Wörter herüberzunehmen erlaubt wie *ragire*: *ragir*, und schliesslich den naiven Rat erteilt, fremde Ausdrücke zu «*cacher parmi les usitez de sorte qu'on ne s'aperçoive point qu'ils soient nouveaux.*» [1]) Sogar noch Vauquelin ist für die Einführung neuer Wörter aus allen Fremdsprachen, wenn dies behutsam geschieht:

> «*Si quelques mots tu veux mettre en usage,*
> *Montre toy chiche et caut à leur donner passage:*
> *Ce que bien tu feras, les joignant finement*
> *Avec ceux dont la France use communement.*» [2])

Anders verhält es sich bezüglich der Neubildung von Wörtern nach Analogie antiker Sprachgesetze. Hierzu rät R. ausdrücklich mit folgenden Worten: «*Tu composeras hardiment des mots à l'imitation des Grecs et Latins*» (III, 335). Wenn schon seine Vorgänger die antiken Sprachen in diesem Sinne benutzt hätten, dann wäre, meint R., es bereits zu seiner Zeit besser mit der französichen Poesie gestanden: «*Si ceux qui se mesloient de la Poësie les plus estimez en ce mestier, du temps du feu Roy François et Henri, eussent voulu sans envie permettre aux nouveaux une telle liberté, notre langue en abondance se feust en peu de temps egallée à celle des Romains et des Grecs*» (VII, 335).

Welche antiken Sprachgesetze R. bei der Neubildung französischer Worte besonders in Anwendung bringen will, können wir aus seinen theoretischen Bemerkungen nicht entnehmen. Hierüber müssen uns seine Werke Aufschluss geben. Auf Grund derselben lässt sich feststellen, dass R. lateinische und griechische Suffixe zur Bildung von Substantiven (wie *esse* griech., *ité* lat.) und Adjektiven (wie *can*, *ide*) benützt,[3]) dass er ferner zusammengesetzte Wörter, zu deren Schaffung die französische Sprache bis dahin nur wenig Neigung gezeigt hatte, in ziemlicher Anzahl nach griechischem Muster bildet und verwendet. Nun hat zwar die Kom-

[1]) Peletier, p. 36—38.
[2]) Vauquelin, I, v. 314—318.
[3]) Siehe hierüber Dor, p. 27.

position zum Aufbau der romanischen Sprachen wesentlich beigetragen und wirkt auch jetzt noch, wie Darmesteter gezeigt hat, als lebendige Kraft mächtig fort; allein zur Komposition vermittelst syntaktischer Ellipse (z. B. timbre-poste) war schon das Lateinische nicht geneigt und ebensowenig das Altfranzösische.[1]) R. wollte nun gerade durch dieses letztere Mittel, sowie auch durch Juxtaposition, zusammengesetzte Wörter schaffen, nachdem schon früher Scève und Ponthus de Thiard[2]) ähnliche Versuche angestellt hatten. Die hauptsächlichsten Arten der Komposition und Juxtaposition, welche wir bei R. finden, lassen sich durch folgende Beispiele illustrieren[3]):

1. *homme-femme* (Subst. u. Subst.)	Juxtaposition.
2. *dos-nu* (Subst. u. Adj.)	
3. *cherre-pieds* (Subst. mit Subst.)	Komposition.
4. *chasse-mal* (Verb u. Subst.)	
5. *nuit-rolant* (Subst. u. Verb)	

Hinsichtlich des Gebrauchs der durch Komposition (3—5) entstandenen Wörter war neu, dass R. sie nicht nur substantivisch, sondern auch attributiv und appositionell verwendet hat, z. B. *l'amour porte-brandon*. Peletier war der erste gewesen, der dieser Adjektivierung der Komposita das Wort geredet hatte und gibt als ein Beispiel hiervon an: «*L'hiver porte-froid*..»[4]) Da der Zweck der Reform die Bildung eines poetischen Wortschatzes war, so kann man schon daraus folgern, dass R.'s Neuerungen sich hauptsächlich auf das Substantiv und Adjektiv beziehen müssen. Bei der Durchsicht seiner Werke findet man denn auch in der That, dass die anderen Wortgattungen, wie z. B. das Verb, weniger durch seine Reformen in Mitleidenschaft gezogen wurden. In Be-

[1]) Darmesteter, *De la création* etc., p. 133.

[2]) Siehe Pellissier, *Art poét. de Vauquelin. Préf.* p. 18.

[3]) Darmesteter, l. c., p. 189, u. Nagel, *Baïfs Wortbildung*. in Herrig's Archiv LXI, 200—242.

[4]) Peletier, p. 38. Vergl. auch Estienne's Auslassungen hierüber in seiner *Precellence*, p. 157.

zug auf das letztere hat R. ebenfalls nicht durch die Theorie, sondern nur durch sein Beispiel einzelne Neuerungen herbeigeführt. So bildet er von Substantiven oder Adjektiven vermittelst der Silbe *oy* Zeitwörter (*guerroyer*), oder er verwendet Substantiva und Adjektiva in verbaler Funktion, indem er ihnen die Silbe *en* vorsetzt (*encharner*) [1]: lauter Wortbildungen, die mit der von uns zuletzt behandelten Kompositionsweise eigentlich nichts zu thun haben.

Dabei soll nun freilich nicht in Abrede gestellt werden, dass R. in der früher (S. 105) erwähnten Art von Zusammensetzung manchmal als praktischer Dichter des Guten zu viel gethan hat. Allein die zum Beweise für seine Fremdwortmanie so häufig aufgeführten Verse [2]) bezeugen doch nur, dass er die Unmöglichkeit beklagt, derartige Wortbildungen im Französischen nach Belieben vorzunehmen. Jedenfalls steht soviel fest, dass R. als Theoretiker keineswegs einem übertriebenen Latinisieren das Wort geredet hat. Er will vielmehr, dass bei eventuellen Neuschöpfungen der Dichter stets auf das nationale Sprachgefühl Rücksicht nehme. Die beratende Stimme desselben kommt nach R. durch das Auge und Ohr zur Geltung. Demgemäss sind solche Wortgebilde, welche schon ihrem blossen Aussehen oder Klange nach dem französischen Auge oder Ohre wehe thun, unzulässig. Es geht dies aus der Art seiner Aufforderung zu Neubildungen hervor: «*Tu composeras . . . pourveu qu'ils soient gracieux et plaisans à l'aureille*» (VII, 335). Schon Sibilet hatte in einem Kapitel, betitelt *De l'élocution poétique*, ebenfalls dazu aufgemuntert, aber unter Hinzufügung der Worte: «*Il le face tant modestement, et avec tel jugement que l'aspreté du mot nouveau n'égratigne et ride les aureilles rondes.*» [3]) Selbst Dub. beschränkt eine ebendahin zielende Vorschrift folgendermassen: *Toutesfois, avecques modestie, Analogie, et Iugement de*

[1]) Nagel, l. c., p. 238.

[2]) «*Ah! que je suis marry que la Muse Françoise*
Ne peut dire ces mots comme fait la Grégeoise,
Oxymore, dispotme, oligochronien,
Certes je les dirais du sang Valesien.» (VI. 380.)

[3]) Zschalig, l. c., p. 69.

l'Oreille.» [1]) In ähnlichem Sinne verlangten auch Peletier und Vauquelin Mässigung bei etwa allzu grossem Schöpfungstrieb des Dichters und stete Rücksichtnahme auf den herrschenden Sprachgebrauch.[2])

Ja, diese Rücksicht auf das nationale Sprachgefühl treibt R. so weit, dass er sogar empfiehlt, den antiken Eigennamen durch Anhängung einer besonderen Endung ein französisches Gepräge zu geben: *«Tu tourneras les noms propres des anciens à la terminaison de ta langue, autant qu'il se peut faire à l'imitation des Romains, qui ont approprié ce qu'ils ont peu des Grecs à leur langue Latine.»* (VII, 335).

Zu solchem Anpassen fremdsprachlicher Eigennamen an den nationalen Lautstand rät schon Vida, wenn er sagt:

„Horresco diros sonitus . . .
Idcirco si quando ducum referenda, virumque
Nomina dura nimis dictu . . . illa . . . mollia reddunt." [3])

Dub. spricht die gleiche Weisung mit folgenden Worten aus: *«Accomode onques telz Noms propres, de quelque Langue que se soit, à l'usage de ton vulgaire . . . et dy Hercule, Thesée.»* [4])

Obwohl nun schon Montaigne [5]) gegen diese Maskierung fremder Namen polemisierte, fand R.'s Vorschlag doch Beifall, und so kommt es, dass gar manche antike oder andere fremdsprachliche Namen uns in französischem Gewande fast unkenntlich geworden sind.

Allein R. wollte nicht nur durch Anlehnung an die alten Sprachen seine Reform zu stande bringen; sie sollte vielmehr auch auf nationaler Grundlage aufgebaut sein.

Wir wenden uns deshalb jetzt denjenigen seiner Vorschriften zu, welche auf die Ausnützung der im französischen Idiom selbst liegenden Hilfsmittel hinweisen. Der Grundgedanke, von dem R. hierbei ausgeht, ist der, dass

[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VI, 127.
[2]) Peletier, l. c., p. 38; Vauquelin I, v. 385–388.
[3]) Vida, III, vv. 310, 320–324.
[4]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VI, 128.
[5]) Montaigne, *Essais* I, ch. 46.

man die Umgangssprache der damaligen Zeit poetisch brauchbar machen müsse, indem man ihren Wortbestand in nationalen Quellen wieder auffrische und sie so gewissermassen einer Regeneration unterziehe. Unter Umgangssprache verstehen wir jedoch nicht die Sprachweise der grossen Masse des Volkes, sondern im Sinne R.'s diejenige des Hofes und der am Hofe verkehrenden Gesellschaftsklassen. An und für sich ist freilich auch die höfische Sprache noch nicht zur Poesie geeignet; sie enthält viele Wendungen, welche sich nicht für den poetischen Gebrauch schicken, und der Dichter würde Unrecht thun, sie ohne weiteres als sprachliches Instrument zu benützen. R. warnt ausdrücklich «*d'affecter par trop le parler de la Cour lequel est quelquefois très mauvais pour estre langage de Damoiselles et jeunes Gentilshommes qui font plus proffession de bien combattre que de bien parler*» (VII, 321). Sehen wir nun zu, wie er die Hofsprache dichterisch brauchbar machen will.

Zunächst gilt es, an Stelle der abgeblassten und farblosen Ausdrücke der konventionellen Sprache plastische und prägnante Worte bezw. Wendungen zu setzen, wie solche im Munde des Volkes gäng und gäbe sind. Namentlich die Sprache der Handwerker ist reich an derartigen, energischen und sinnlichen Bezeichnungen. Deshalb empfiehlt sie R., wie wir schon oben (S. 62) sahen, auch als Fundort für Gleichnisse. Daraus erwächst aber dem Dichter die Pflicht, in steter Fühlung mit dem Volke und seiner Sprache zu bleiben. «*Tu practiqueras bien souvent les artisans de tous mestiers comme de Marine, Venerie, Fauconnerie, et principalement les artisans de feu . . . .*» (VII, 321). Auf diese Quelle der Sprachbereicherung hatten auch Dub.[1]) und Peletier[2]) schon hingewiesen.

Sogar ausserhalb der Plejade stehende Männer wie

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[1]) «*Encores te veux-ie aduertir de hanter quelquesfois non seulement les Scauans, mais aussi toutes sortes d'Ouuriers et gens Mecaniques . . .*» *Déf.* (*ed. Person*). L. II, ch. XI, p. 147, ferner L. II, ch. VI, p. 126.

[2]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 89f: «*Il doit savoir les principales adresses, usages, et vocables des gens Mecaniques.*»

Pasquier[1]) und H. Estienne[2]) sprechen die gleiche Ansicht aus und später erneuert Vauquelin noch einmal diese Vorschrift seines Meisters.[3])

Reiche Ausbeute an bildlichen Ausdrücken gewähren ferner die Dialekte. In ihnen soll sich nach R.'s Meinung die Hofsprache, d. h. die Sprache der Gebildeten, wieder verjüngen. Dabei will R. keinem Dialekte eine bevorzugte Stellung einräumen: *Tu sçauras dextrement choisir et approprier à ton œuvre les mots plus significatifs des dialectes de nostre France, . . . et ne se faut soucier, si les vocables sont Gascons, Poictevins, Normans, Manceaux, Lionnais ou d'autres païs* (VIII, 321). In der zweiten Vorrede zur *Franciade* kommt er ebenfalls auf diesen Gedanken zurück und äussert sich folgendermassen: *Je te conseille d'user indifféremment de tous dialectes, comme j'ai desja dit . . . car chacun jardin a sa particulière fleur.* Peletier war ebenfalls schon der Ansicht, dass man aus der Bauernsprache, überhaupt aus allen Dialekten und sogar aus dem Provenzalischen, Wörter einführen solle; denn *tout est françois*.[4]) Wie die Schüler R.'s diese Weisung auffassten, ersehen wir aus folgenden Versen Baïf's:

Là (Paris) quatre ans je passay, façonnant mon ramage
De grec et de latin; et de divers langage
(Picard, parisien, tourangien, poitevin,
Normand et champenois) mellay mon angevin.»[5])

Übrigens stimmte diesem Vorschlage R.'s auch der Philologe H. Estienne bei in seiner Abhandlung über die Ähnlichkeit des Französischen mit dem Griechischen.[6]) Schliesslich wiederholte auch noch Vauquelin die Lehre R.'s in folgenden Versen:

[1]) Pasquier, *Œuvres, lettre* XII. II, 476.
[2]) Estienne, *Precellence* p. 143.
[3]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 960.
[4]) Peletier, *Art poét.* p. 40.
[5]) Baïf, *Œuvres en rimes* p. 11.
[6]) Estienne, *Conformité* p. 21.

«L'idiome Norman, l'Angevin, le Manceau
Le François le Picard, le poli Tourangeau
Aprens, comme les mots de tous arts mecaniques
Pour en orner après tes Phrases Poétiques.» [1])

Doch darf nach Vauquelin durch solche Anwendung dialektischer Wörter die Klarheit der Sprache keinen Eintrag erleiden:

«Amenant de Gascogne ou de Langedouy
D'Albigeois, de Provence un langage inouy. [2])

Sodann will R. auch die in der älteren Sprache liegenden Schätze wieder heben.

Denn er ist keineswegs, wie man behauptet hat, ein Verächter der nationalen Vergangenheit. Ja, einmal spricht er sich sogar dahin aus, dass ihm ein altväterischer Meistersänger, der die *Romans de geste* durchblättere und an ihren altertümlich klingenden Worten Geschmack finde, noch lieber sei als ein pedantischer Federfuchser, welcher sich mit Spitzfindigkeiten der lateinischen Grammatik abplage: «*Encore vaudrait-il mieux, comme un bon bourgeois ou citoyen, rechercher et faire un lexicon des vieils mots d'Artus, Lancelot et Gaurin ou commenter le Roman de la Rose que s'amuser à je ne scay quelle grammaire latine qui a passé son temps*» (III, 36).

Alte und vergessene Worte dürfen also nicht, blos weil sie ein archaisches Gepräge haben, aus dem dichterischen Vokabulare zurückgewiesen werden: «*Tu ne rejetteras point les vieux mots de nos romans, ains les choisiras avecque meure et prudente election*» (VII, 310).

Schon Vida sagte in ähnlichem Sinne:

„*Saepe mihi placet antiquis alludere dictis.*“ [3])

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[1]) Vauquelin I. v. 361—364.

[2]) Vauquelin II, v. 910.

[3]) Vida, *Ars poet.* III, v. 257.

Dub.[1]) und Peletier[2]) sprechen die gleiche Aufforderung aus, und auch Pasquier[3]) schliesst sich ihrer Meinung an.

Diese Vorliebe R.'s für archaische Worte und Provinzialismen hat ihren Grund darin, dass gerade sie bei seinem Suchen nach pittoresken Ausdrücken, »*mots significatifs*«, ihm sehr oft das Gewünschte darboten. Besonders ein Zug ist dabei charakteristisch; seiner Ansicht nach sind nämlich die alten Worte des pikardischen und wallonischen Dialektes hauptsächlich empfehlenswert wegen der ihnen innewohnenden Naivität des Ausdrucks: »*Outre je t'advertis de ne faire conscience de remettre en usage les antiques vocables et principalement ceux du langage wallon et picard, lequel nous reste par tant de siècles l'exemple naïf de la langue françoise*« (III, 32).

Ganz unbewusst fühlte sich R. von der Ursprünglichkeit und Natürlichkeit der älteren, französischen Redeweise angezogen, also von den Eigenschaften, welche den Franzosen als Erbteil aus grauer Vorzeit geblieben sind. R.'s Ansicht von dem hohen Alter des wallonischen Dialektes teilt auch Vauquelin; sie rührt von Claude Fauchet her, der sie zuerst in seinem Buche über den Ursprung des Französischen aussprach.[4]) Auf diesen Fonds alter Ausdrücke wies R. auch in mündlicher Rede seine Genossen hin. D'Aubigné berichtet hiervon in seinem *Avertissement des Tragiques* und führt als eigene Worte des Meisters an:

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VI, p. 129: »*Si tu ne voulois quelquefois vsurper, et quasi comme enchasser ainsi qu'vne Pierre precieuse, et rare, quelques motz antiques en ton Poëme .... Pour ce faire, te faudroit voir tous ces vieux Romans, et Poëtes Francoys ....*«

[2]) Peletier, p. 39: »*Il ne sera defendu de ramener quelquefois les mots anciens comme heberger etc.*«

[3]) Pasquier, *Œuvres* II, p. 47, nach Brunot, p. 249.

[4]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* II, v. 959—961:

> »*Or l'Vualon estant tout le premier vulgaire*
> *Et l'Italie et l'Espagne ont formé l'exemplaire*
> *Du leur sur son Roman.*«

Siehe ferner Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine* etc. L. I, ch. VII.

«*Je vous recommande par testament que vous ne laissiez point perdre ces vieux termes, que vous les employiez et deffendiez hardiment contre des maraux qui ne tiennent pas élégant ce qui n'est point escorché du latin et de l'italien*».[1])

Noch eine Freiheit räumt R. dem Dichter in Bezug auf die Benützung archaischer Vokabeln ein. Man braucht sie nämlich nicht immer genau in ihrer alten Form oder ehemaligen Bedeutung wieder aufleben lassen, — obwohl dies meistens der Fall sein wird — es steht einem vielmehr frei, sie modernisiert an Gestalt und Bedeutung wieder in Umlauf zu bringen. So sind vermutlich folgende Worte R.'s zu deuten: «*Si les vieux mots abolis par l'usage ont laissé quelque rejetton ... tu le pourras provigner, amender et cultiver*» (III, 33).[2]) Meistenteils freilich werde man sich des alten Wortes in der Weise bedienen, dass man mit seiner Hilfe durch Ableitung oder Zusammensetzung ein neues schaffe: «*Tu ne desdaigneras les vieux mots François, d'autant que je les estime toujours en vigueur, quoy qu'on die, jusqu'à ce qu'ils ayent fait renaistre en leur place, comme une vieille souche, un rejetton*» (VII, 335).

Solche Neubildungen seien zulässig bei jedem Worte, welcher Wortgattung es auch angehören möge: «*De tous vocables, qu'ils soient en usage ou hors d'usage, s'il reste encore quelque partie d'eux, soit en nos verbes, adverbes ou participes, tu le pourras par bonne et certaine analogie faire croistre et multiplier*» (VII, 335). Auch Vida hatte schon in diesem Sinne zur Schaffung von neuen Wörtern in folgenden Versen ermuntert:

„*Nos etiam quaedam ideireo nova condere nulla*
Religio vetat, indictasque effundere voces.“[3])

Gleichwohl will R. auch hier einer unbesonnenen Wortschaffung entgegentreten.[4]) Etwaiger Übereifer findet seine

[1]) Nach Petit de Juleville, Leçons etc. I, 171.

[2]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 47f:
„*Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum*
Reddiderit junctura novum.“

[3]) Vida, III, v. 267.

[4]) Vergl. Cicero, *de oratore* III, 37: „*Tenuis orator nec in faciendis verbis erit audax ... et parcus in priscis.*“

Schranken in dem Gesetze, dass jedes neugeschaffene Wort nach Analogie eines bereits im Volke kursierenden Prototyps gebildet sein müsse: «*D'avantage je te veux bien encourager de prendre la sage hardiesse d'inventer des vocables nouveaux, pourveu qu'ils soient moulez et façonnez sus un patron desja receu du peuple*»[1] (III, 32). Endlich will R. auch dadurch auf sprachlichem Gebiete dem Dichter freiere Bewegung gestatten, dass derselbe ein und dasselbe Wort in verschiedener Funktion gebrauchen darf, wie z. B. *verre, verrer, lobbe, lobber* (VII. 336).[2])

Wenn es nun dem Dichter erlaubt sein sollte, durch solch mannigfaltige Mittel einen poetischen Wortvorrat zu schaffen, so lag die Gefahr nahe, dass sich ein sogar nach Individuen verschiedenes Kauderwelsch ergeben würde, das schliesslich niemand mehr verständlich wäre. Eine solche Regellosigkeit lag aber nicht in R.'s Absicht; deshalb sucht er Garantien dafür aufzustellen, dass die Einheitlichkeit der Sprache gewahrt bleibe. Ein Hauptmittel hierfür sah er in der Verpflichtung des Dichters, sich dem «*usage*» anzupassen.[3]) Man war nun freilich damals nicht darüber einig, wo man diesen «*standard language*» finden konnte, obwohl Fabri schon sein Wesen ganz richtig angegeben hatte.[4]) Die einen meinten, beim gewöhnlichen Volke von Paris, die andern beim Parlamente und den Gelehrten, wieder andere beim Hofe.[5]) Diesen letzteren schloss sich auch R. an, was aus folgenden

[1]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 58 f.:

„*Licuit semperque licebit*
Signatum praesente nota producere nomen."

[2]) Siehe noch weitere Beispiele hiervon bei Nagel, *Baïf's Wortbildung*, in Herrig's Archiv LXI, 200—242.

[3]) Vergl. Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 71 f.:

„ . . . . . , *si volet usus*
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi."

[4]) *Art de rhetorique* (*ed. Héron*) I, 305: «*Le plus beau langaige qui soit, c'est le commun et familier qui n'est de haultz termes trop scabreux et escumez du latin ou de bas termes barbares qui ne sont cogneuz que en ung lieu.*»

[5]) Siehe Thurot, *La Prononciation française* I, 87 ff., und Brunot, p. 222.

Worten hervorgeht: «. . . *dialectes entre lesquels le courtisan est toujours le plus beau, à cause de la majesté du prince*» (III 34).

Auch Dub. hatte früher schon den Hof die «*seule escole où volontiers on apprent à bien et proprement parler*» genannt.[1]) Von dem daselbst herrschenden Sprachgebrauche sollte der Dichter namentlich nicht in Bezug auf die syntaktischen Gesetze abweichen. Deshalb untersagt R., in Befolgung der schon von Charles Fontaine gegebenen Vorschrift, jede Art von Inversion, insbesondere diejenige des Subjekts: «*Tu ne transposeras jamais les paroles ny de ta prose ny de tes vers; car notre langue ne les peut porter*» (III, 26). Peletier dagegen, der in dem Mangel an Inversionen eine Schwäche der französischen Sprache erblickte, meinte dass, «*qui roudra remedier à un tel défaut de notre langue*», sich um seine Muttersprache verdient machen würde[2]). Dub. huldigte in diesem Punkte ebenfalls einer freieren Ansicht und fand schön «*de mettre la charrue devant les bœufs*».[3])

Aus gleichen Gründen, wie oben (S. 113) erwähnt, verbot R. auch die Auslassung des Artikels[4]) und der Subjektsfürwörter vor Verbalformen. «*Tu n'oublieras jamais les articles et tiendras pour tout certain que rien ne peut tant défigurer ton vers que les articles delaissez; autant en est-il de pronoms primitifs, comme je, tu, que tu n'oublieras non plus*» (VII, 329). In diesem Falle stimmte ihm auch Dub. bei, indem er sagte: «*Garde toy aussi de tumber en vn vice commun, mesmes aux plus excellens de nostre Langue, c'est l'omission des Articles . . .*[5]) Dagegen hat R. nichts einzuwenden gegen den Gebrauch des Adjektivs anstatt eines Adverbs bei Intransitiven, die Substantivierung des Adjektivs (*le vert* für *la verdure*) und diejenige des Infinitivs —, lauter Dinge, welche Dub.[6]) ebenso

[1]) Dub., *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) I, 73.

[2]) *Art poét.* p. 40.

[3]) Siehe Brunot, p. 495.

[4]) Über den Gebrauch des Artikels herrschten im 16. Jahrh. verschiedene Ansichten; siehe hierüber Brunot, p. 337 ff., u. bezüglich der Fürwörter, l. c., p. 377 ff.

[5]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. X. p. 142.

[6]) *Déf.* L. II. ch. IX, p. 140.

wie Peletier[1]) schon früher dem Dichter zugestanden hatten. In das Belieben des letzteren stellte R. auch die Anhängung eines *s* in der 1. Pers. Sing. Präs. der auf einen Dentallaut endigenden Verba.[2]) Peletier dagegen hatte, der Unterscheidung halber, das *s* in der 1. Pers. überall gestrichen wissen wollen, nach Analogie von Formen wie *je tien*;[3]) die Auslassung des *e* beim Futur, auch in der Schrift, wurde von R. und Peletier zugelassen. «*Tu raccourciras les verbes trop longs comme donra, soutra . . . n'ayant en cela regle que ton aureille*» (VII, 328). Beide gestatteten also in orthographischer Hinsicht dem Dichter möglichst viel Spielraum. Für die von Peletier, Baïf und Meigret auf diesem Gebiete angeregten Reformbestrebungen empfand R. lebhaftes Interesse, obgleich er ebensowenig wie Dub. aus Scheu vor dem Publikum in seinen Werken orthographische Neuerungen anzubringen wagte (III, 36).[4])

Fassen wir nun kurz R.'s Vorschriften zusammen, so ergibt sich, dass er bei all seinen Neuerungsvorschlägen stets mit Besonnenheit und Mässigung vorgehen wollte. Dub. und selbst Peletier zeigten hierin nicht so viel Zurückhaltung; denn der letztere forderte z. B. den Dichter auf zur Bildung von Komparativen und Superlativen wie *grandieur* und *grandissime*.[5]) Nicht minder kühn in willkürlicher Behandlung der Sprache zeigten sich sodann R.'s Nachahmer, z. B. Du Bartas und Du Monnin, sowie der radikalste Theoretiker der Plejade, Jacques de la Taille.[6]) Dieser befürwortete die Verstümmelung von Wörtern, die Einführung von Neologismen, den übermässigen Gebrauch von Archaismen, sowie orthographische Willkürlichkeiten aller Art und dies alles nur, um die französische Sprache unter das Joch der antiken Quantitätsbestimmungen gewaltsam zu beugen. Solcher Ra-

[1]) *Art poét.* p. 38—39.

[2]) Siehe darüber Brunot, p. 409, u. Rons., VII, 332.

[3]) *Art poét.* p. 87.

[4]) Siehe Dub., *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) I, 47 u. 49: «*Je loue grandement ceux qui ont voulu reformer l'orthographe*», welche er eine durch die Juristen (*Praticiens*) verdorbene nennt.

[5]) *Art poét.* p. 39.

[6]) Siehe hierzu Rucktäschel, p. 26—27.

dikalismus missfiel R. selber am meisten und hatte natürlich eine Reaktion zur Folge, die sich schon bei Vauquelin und Daigaliers, sodann deutlicher bei Deimier und am schärfsten bei Malherbe fühlbar machen sollte. Allein R. ist für diese Exzesse einzelner seiner Nachahmer nicht verantwortlich. Vielmehr bekunden alle seine sprachlichen Vorschriften seine Liebe zum heimatlichen Idiom, die, wie Opitz uns glauben machen will, soweit ging, dass er sich zwölf Jahre hindurch vom Griechischen fernhielt, um nicht seinen Stil zu verderben.[1]) Wenn er sodann in der Sprache des Hofes eine Art französischer Normalsprache erblickte, so geschah dies nicht aus Servilismus, sondern es äussert sich hierin vielmehr das Bewusstsein der gewonnenen Reichseinheit, die naturgemäss auf eine sprachliche Einheit hindrängt: «*Aujourd'huy pour ce que nostre France n'obeist qu'à un seul Roy, nous sommes contraints, si nous voulons parvenir à quelque honneur de parler son langage*» (VII, 322). So verlangt auch Du Perron, ein Hauptkritiker des 16. Jahrhunderts, dass man sich bemühe «*à parler le langage de la cour en la quelle se trouve tout ce qu'il il y a de politesse dans le royaume*».[2]) R.'s verhängnisvoller Irrtum bei seiner Sprachreform war, dass er glaubte, man könne dem Publikum eine poetische Sprache in kurzer Zeit aufzwingen, während eine solche sich doch nur allmählich aus der Volkssprache heraus entwickeln soll. Aber keineswegs waren seine Vorschriften dem Geiste der Sprache zuwider. Wir schliessen mit den Worten Darmesteter's: «*Il eût été heureux pour la langue de garder quelque chose de cette hardiesse et de cette témérité de R.*» [3])

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[1]) Siehe Beráneck, l. c., p. 10.

[2]) Überhaupt liess man auch bei der sprachlichen Reform politische Rücksichten nicht ausser Spiel. So hatte schon Claude de Seyssel ein «*projet d'embellir la l. fr.*» ausgearbeitet (1509, veröffentlicht 1559), zum Teil auch in der Absicht, die Sprache zu befähigen, als ein Werkzeug der französischen Grossmachtpolitik zu dienen. Vergl. auch oben S. 51, Anm.; siehe ferner L. Geiger's Referat in der Beilage zur Allgem. Ztg. Nr. 264, 1894, u. H. Morf's Aufs. in der Ztschr. für neufrz. Spr. u. Litt. 1895. XVI, 281. (Abhdl.)

[3]) Darmesteter, *De la création* etc., p. 244. — Über Malherbe's Reaktion auf diesem Gebiete, siehe Brunot, p. 249—293.

2. Ausbildung des dichterischen Stils.

Der wesentlichste Bestandteil des dichterischen Stils ist der Wortschatz, nicht nur als Träger des Gedankeninhalts, sondern auch als die äussere Erscheinungsform des durch das Werk realisierten Kunstideals. Es ist demnach erklärlich, dass sich R. vorzugsweise mit dem Wortschatze als dem Grundelemente des Stils beschäftigt hat. Die poetische Sprache sollte aus erhabenen und sonoren Ausdrücken bestehen, die der Prosasprache fern sind und «*qui font batterie aux vers*» (III, 21). Allein er hat auch die anderen Bestandteile des dichterischen Stils erkannt und berücksichtigt. In dem Abschnitte über das Epos haben wir schon gesehen, welch hohen Wert R. dem rhetorischen Schmucke der dichterischen Diktion beilegt. Alle die dort (S. 62) angeführten Regeln über den Gebrauch von Metaphern, Figuren, Antonomasien, Beiwörtern und Gleichnissen haben natürlich für die Poesie überhaupt Geltung. Bekannt waren ihm diese dichterischen Effektmittel wahrscheinlich aus Cicero's rhetorischen Schriften (namentlich *de inventione rhetorica* und *ad Herennium* Lib. IV) oder aus Quintilian's Werken (L. X), vielleicht kannte R. auch schon des Aristoteles Ansichten über die Metaphern.[1]) Auf den Gebrauch derselben hatten schon Fabri[2]) im ersten Buche seiner Rhetorik und dann Vida hingewiesen:

„*Tu mille vias, tu mille figuras*
Nunc hanc, nunc aliam ingredere et mutare memento.“[3])

Peletier widmet sodann den «*ornements de Poesie*» ein ganzes Kapitel.[4]) Dub. bespricht ebenfalls einzelne Arten ausführlicher, ist jedoch der Ansicht, dass man diese Dinge am besten aus den alten Klassikern lerne.[5]) Bezüglich der Wirkung dieses damals neumodischen Stiles auf das Publikum

[1]) Aristot. Poetik, Kap. XXI u. XXII.
[2]) Fabri, im Kapitel «*Couleurs*» (*ed. Héron*) I. 153 ff.
[3]) *Ars poet.* III. v. 35.
[4]) *Art poét.* p. 41—48.
[5]) Dub., L. I, ch. V, p. 64, u. L. II. ch. IX, p. 141.

erfahren wir von La Motte, dass der Leser, wenn er denselben einmal gekostet, *«s'en degoutera des autres tant qu'il ne voudra plus lire ny estimer autres ecrits»*.[1]) Die Eigenschaft aber, welche R. die wichtigste des dichterischen Stiles dünkt, ist die Sinnlichkeit des Ausdruckes, jene Plastik der Darstellung, welche den Reiz der antiken Literatur ausmacht. Die Mehrzahl der von ihm erlassenen Vorschriften, sei es, dass sie sich auf die Sprache oder auf rhetorische Ausschmückung beziehen, verfolgen eben den Zweck, die Darstellung plastisch zu gestalten. Im folgenden sollen nun noch einige weitere Ratschläge R.'s Erwähnung finden, die das gleiche Ziel verfolgen, aber mit anderen Mitteln. Es ist R. nämlich nicht entgangen, dass in dem Verhältnisse der Sprachlaute zu dem durch sie bezeichneten Gedankeninhalte manchmal ein gewisses plastisches Moment verborgen liegt, das der Dichter nur richtig anzuwenden brauche, um es poetisch wirksam zu machen. Er rät also dem Dichter, lautsymbolische[2]) Effekte, wo sie sich darbieten, nicht zu verschmähen. Durch den Hinweis auf die vergilischen Verse:

> *„Una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis*
> *Convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor."*
>
> (*Aeneis* VIII, 689 f.)

erläutert er obige Vorschrift, welche folgende Fassung hat: *«Ie te veux advertir, lecteur, de prendre garde aux lettres, et feras jugement de celles qui ont plus de son et de celles qui en ont le moins. Car A, O, U et les consonnes M, B et les SS, finissants les mots et sur toutes les RR, qui sont les vrayes lettres héroïques, sont une grande sonnerie et batterie aux vers»* (III, 31). Auch Peletier[3]) beschäftigte sich schon mit der *harmonie imitative* und bezeichnete dieselbe mit dem griechischen Worte *hypotypose*. Pasquier[4]) empfahl ebenfalls dieses poetische

[1]) Jodelle, *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) p. 7.

[2]) Siehe darüber ten Brink, *Über die Aufgabe der Literaturgeschichte* p. 12.

[3]) *Art poét.* p. 45.

[4]) Pasquier, L. VII, ch. X, nach Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 25.

Hilfsmittel, und auch noch Vauquelin kam darauf zurück. R. selbst hat sich der Lautmalerei in seinen Werken gerne bedient. Aus ihnen können wir ferner ersehen, dass ihm auch die poetische Wirkung der Alliteration nicht unbekannt war, und dass er durch Anwendung derselben ebenfalls „eine gewisse Sinnlichkeit des Ausdrucks für das Gehör erzielen" wollte.[1])

Ein weiteres Erfordernis des dichterischen Stiles ist die Klarheit und Verständlichkeit des Ausdrucks, sowie die Übersichtlichkeit in der Anlage des ganzen Werkes. Mit der Einteilung des Stoffes beschäftigt sich R. in dem Kapitel über die *disposition*, wo er in wenigen Worten die bereits von Sibilet und Peletier gekannte und aus Cicero entlehnte Definition dieses Begriffes angibt: *Disposition est une ordonnance des choses inventées*» (VII, 325). Peletier hatte sich darüber ausführlicher geäussert und namentlich die relative Abhängigkeit der drei Begriffe *invention, disposition élocution*» von einander an Beispielen aus Vergil darzuthun gesucht.[2]) Was dagegen die Klarheit in der Wahl der Worte anlangt, so warnt R. namentlich davor, dass, bei dem Streben nach poetischem Schwunge, man nicht in hohlen Bombast verfalle, ein Fehler, den man bei der damals beliebten Nachahmung italienischer und spanischer Muster leicht machte: «*Tu auras les conceptions grandes et hautes, comme je t'ay plusieurs fois adverti et non monstrueuses ny quintessencieuses comme sont celles des Espagnols*» (III, 31).[3])

Welch andere Mängel und Gebrechen sonst noch der Dichter zu meiden habe, führt R. nicht weiter aus; Peletier[4]) aber und vor ihm schon Fabri[5]) hatten den *vices de la poésie* eine eingehende Besprechung gewidmet.

[1]) Einige Beispiele von Alliteration bei R. zählt Lange aus der *Franciade* auf, p. 35. Im 18. Jahrhundert schrieb M. de Piis ein ganzes Lehrgedicht über die Verwendung der *harmonie imitative* in 4 Gesängen. 1785. Siehe Viollet le Duc p. 11.

[2]) *Art poét.* p. 19.

[3]) Vergl. noch R. VII, 308 u. 322, sowie Vida III, v. 15: „*Verborum imprimis tenebras fuge nubilaque atra.*"

[4]) *Art poét.* p. 41 u. 50—52.

[5]) *Art poét.* (*ed. Héron*) II, 112—133.

R. zeigt sich also auch in Bezug auf den Stil als Anwalt des *bon sens*, dem eitles Wortgeflunker ebenso unerträglich scheint wie die Missachtung des notwendigen poetischen Schmuckes.[1]) Gleich fern von falschem Pathos und trockener, philisterhafter Ausdrucksweise, bestimmt R. seinen stilistischen Standpunkt in folgenden, an seinen Lehrer Daurat gerichteten Versen:

«Je n'aime point ces vers qui rampent sur la terre
Ny ces vers ampoullez, dont le rude tonnerre
S'enrole outre les airs, les uns font mal au cœur
Des lecteurs dégoustez, les autres leur font peur:
Ny trop haut, ny trop bas, c'est le souverain style.
Tel fut celuy d'Homère et celuy de Virgile. (V, 349.)

Eine solche Ansicht von der Beschaffenheit des poetischen Stiles ist der beste Beweis dafür, dass das Studium der antiken Literaturen nicht fruchtlos für R. gewesen ist. Denn die vornehmste stilistische Lehre, welche das Altertum uns geben kann, ist doch zweifelsohne die, dass wir die Wichtigkeit der Form erkennen und sie wieder in das richtige Verhältnis zum Inhalt setzen, und ferner die, dass der Schriftsteller in all seinem Thun sich vom Extreme fernhalten muss, wenn er ein wahres Kunstwerk schaffen will.

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[1]) Über R.'s Verstösse gegen diese, seine eigene Lehre, siehe Günther, p. 81; über die beabsichtigte Dunkelheit seiner Oden, siehe Gandar, p. 90.

Kapitel V.

Der Vers.

§ 1.

Die Versarten.

a) Der Alexandriner.

Was zunächst das Wesen des Verses anlangt, so haben sich R. und Dub. darüber recht unklar ausgedrückt und ebensowenig hatten ihre Vorgänger davon verstanden.[1])

Derjenige Vers nun, welcher in der französischen Poesie eine vorherrschende Stellung einnimmt, ist bekanntlich der Alexandriner oder Zwölfsilber. R. kommt das Verdienst zu, ihn wieder zu allgemeiner Verwendung gebracht zu haben, nachdem er im vorhergehenden Zeitraume so vernachlässigt worden war, dass Fabri ihn bereits *une antique machine de rimer* nannte.[2]) R. selbst rühmt sich seiner Verdienste um den Alexandriner in der ersten Vorrede zu seiner *Franciade*: *«lesquels vers j'ay remis le premier en honneur»* (III, 11).

In der Struktur desselben schlägt er keine Neuerungen vor. Der Charakter des Alexandriners erfordert nach seiner Meinung, dass man der Rede einen gewissen Schwung verleihe, weil sie sonst der Prosa allzu nahe komme: *«La composition des Alexandrins doit estre grave, hautaine et (s'il faut*

[1]) Siehe *Déf.* L. II, ch. VII, p. 131.

[2]) Siehe Fabri, (*ed. Héron*) II, 3.

ainsi parler) *altiloque, d'autant qu'ils sont plus longs que les autres et sentiraient la prose s'ils n'estoient composez de mots eslus, graves et resonans et d'une ryme assez riche*» (VII, 330).

Der Alexandriner ist schon seiner Geschichte nach zum epischen Versmasse bestimmt. Auch R. ist dieser Ansicht; er nennt ihn geradezu den *vers héroïque*. Durch die Beschäftigung mit der antiken Literatur war er zur Einsicht gelangt, dass die Wahl des Verses nicht gleichgültig sei, und jede Gattung der Poesie ihren besonderen, eigentümlichen Rhythmus und Vers verlange: «*Tout ainsi que les vers Latins ont leurs pieds, comme tu scais, nous avons en notre Poësie Françoise . . . une certaine mesure de syllabes, selon le dessein des carmes que nous entreprenons composer*» (VII, 322).

Wie kommt R. nun trotzdem dazu, in seiner *Franciade* den Zehnsilber zu gebrauchen?[1]) In seiner Jugend, und noch um das Jahr 1565, als sein *Abrégé de l'Art poétique* entstand, war er für die Verwendung des Alexandriners im Epos, obwohl er bereits um diese Zeit an seiner *Franciade* arbeitete. (Siehe VII, 331 und III, 15.) Allein schon in der ersten Vorrede zu seinem Epos (entstanden vor oder im Jahre 1572) kommt er von der Wertschätzung des Zwölfsilbers zurück. Zwei Gründe veranlassten ihn, wie er selbst sagte, von der Wahl dieses Verses in seiner *Franciade* abzusehen. Zunächst besitze der Alexandriner vielzuviel Ähnlichkeit mit der Prosarede. Er fürchte, an dieser Klippe Schiffbruch zu leiden trotz aller Kunst, die er auf Reim, Rhythmus und Sprache verwenden würde. Bei der grossen Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Rhythmus des Zwölfsilbers und der jambenartig sich fortbewegenden Melodie oder *Cantilène* der gewöhnlichen Prosarede ist diese Gefahr für das Französische allerdings begründet, andererseits ergibt sich daraus für den mit musikalischem Ohre begabten Dichter eine gewisse Mühelosigkeit des Versemachens. Diese Leichtigkeit der Produktion schreckte R. in zweiter Linie davon ab, den Alexandriner zu gebrauchen. In einem so erhabenen Werke, das die Frucht langjähriger Arbeit, tiefer Gelehrsamkeit, emsigen

[1]) Siehe hierzu Gandar, p. 58 f.

Fleisses darstellte, schien ihm dieser Vers, der sich gleichsam von selbst einstelle, gewissermassen am unwürdigen Platze zu sein: *Il m'eust été cent fois plus aisé d'escrire mon œuvre en vers alexandrins qu'aux autres, d'autant qu'ils sont plus longs et par consequent moins sujets, sans la honteuse conscience que j'ay, qu'ils sentent trop leur prose»* (III, 11).

Trotz all dieser Gründe scheinen die damaligen Kritiker die Wahl des zehnsilbigen Verses nicht gebilligt zu haben. R. hat diese Vorwürfe nicht gleichgültig aufgenommen. Um sich zu rechtfertigen, bringt er aber eine Entschuldigung vor, die einer Selbstanklage sehr ähnlich sieht. In einem Zusatze (der sich jedoch nur in einer einzigen Ausgabe seines *Art poétique* findet (1573)) zum Artikel *«Des vers alexandrins»* erklärt nämlich R. ganz offen, dass er den Zwölfsilber in seinem Epos habe verwenden wollen, allein auf Befehl des Königs Karl IX. den Zehnsilber habe gebrauchen müssen: *«Il s'en faut prendre à ceux qui ont puissance de me commander et non à ma volonté; car cela est fait contre mon gré, espérant un jour la faire marcher à la cadence Alexandrine; mais pour cette fois il faut obéir»* (VII, 330/31). [1])

Sollte sich nicht in dieser Erklärung ein Geständnis des Unwillens darüber verbergen, dass seine *Franciade* bei ihrem Erscheinen nicht den durchschlagenden Erfolg fand, den er erhofft hatte? Jedenfalls steht die Thatsache fest, dass er in der später entstandenen zweiten Vorrede zu seiner *Franciade* die Ablehnung des Zwölfsilbers mit den oben angeführten inneren Gründen wieder zu motivieren sucht und jener äusseren Beeinflussung nicht mehr Erwähnung thut. In dieser zweiten Vorrede erläutert er in ausführlicher Weise die schon angedeuteten Motive, vergleicht den Zwölfsilber nicht mehr mit dem antiken Hexameter, sondern mit den Senaren der Tragiker und beschränkt seinen Gebrauch auf das Drama und auf Übersetzungen, wo in der That Vers und Dichtung sich der Prosarede nähern können: *«Il ne faut t'esmerveiller, lecteur, de quoy je n'ay composé ma Franciade en vers Alexandrins, qu'autrefois en ma jeunesse, par ignorance, je pensois tenir en*

[1]) Siehe auch Stengel, Grundriss d. rom. Philol. 1893, II, 30.

nostre langue le rang des carmes héroïques; encore qu'ils respondent plus aux senaires des tragiques qu'aux magnanimes vers d'Homère et de Virgile . . . Depuis j'ai veu . . . que je m'estoie abusé: car ils sentent trop la prose très facile et sont enervez et flasques, si ce n'est pour les traductions . . . (III, 11, 15 f.). Übrigens besteht er nicht einmal auf der zuletzt geäusserten Ansicht und stellt es dem Dichter anheim, den Zwölfsilber auch anderswo zu gebrauchen: «*J'en laisse à chacun son libre jugement pour en user, comme il voudra*» (III, 11). Bei dieser Sachlage ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass R. bei der Wahl des Zehnsilbers nicht minder aus freiem Entschlusse als auf fremde Einwirkung hin gehandelt hat und dass wohl beide Faktoren ihn zu diesem Fehlgriffe schlimmster Art veranlasst haben.

Von den andern Theoretikern der Plejade kommt Dub. überhaupt nicht darauf zu sprechen, welcher Vers für das Epos sich am besten eigne. Peletier jedoch ist entschieden für den Zwölfsilber im heroischen Gedichte, wo allein derselbe «*son vrai et propre usage*» finde.[1]) Er begründet die Ablehnung des Zehnsilbers damit, dass die Reimwörter zu rasch auf einander folgen, und in einem Worte, der kurze Vers sich mit der epischen Breite schlecht vertrage.

Vauquelin endlich, der in jüngeren Jahren, aus Achtung für den Meister, den Zehn- und Zwölfsilber zugelassen hatte, spricht sich später ebenfalls entschieden für den Alexandriner aus und wagt sogar, den Anfang der *Franciade*, ins zwölfsilbige Versmass umgedichtet, seinem *Art poétique* beispielsweise einzuverleiben.[2])

b) Die anderen Versarten.

Der Zehnsilber oder *vers commun* findet, nach R.'s Ausführungen, vorzugsweise in der lyrischen Poesie Anwendung; jedoch sei auch der Alexandriner für lyrische Dichtungen keineswegs ungeeignet: «*Or comme les Alexandrins sont propres*

[1]) *Art poét.* p. 57.
[2]) *Art poét.* I, v. 507 u. II, v. 106.

pour les sujets héroïques, ceux-cy (les vers communs) sont proprement naiz pour les amours, bien que les vers Alexandrins reçoivent quelquefois un sujet amoureux» (VII, 331).

Für die höhere Lyrik, wie Oden und Hymnen, kommen Verse mit beliebiger Silbenzahl in Betracht, da sich solche am besten zur musikalischen Komposition eignen: *Tels vers sont merveilleusement propres pour la musique, la lyre et autres instruments»* (VII, 332).

Über die für die einzelnen Gattungen passenden Versmasse ausführlicher zu sprechen, konnte R. sich erlassen, nachdem hierüber Sibilet im fünften Kapitel,[1]) und nach ihm Peletier in Anlehnung an Horazens *Ars poetica* (v. 73—85) eingehende Vorschriften gegeben hatten.[2])

§ 2.

Die Versbehandlung.

a) Reim-, Vers- und Strophenbau.

Den Reim definiert R. als *«une consonnance et cadence des syllabes tombantes sur la fin du vers»* (Art poét. VII, 356). Weiter gehende Spekulationen über dessen Wesen und Herkunft scheint R. nicht angestellt zu haben.

Peletier meint, der Ursprung desselben sei zwar unbekannt, aber immerhin sei der Reim für den französischen Dichter eine absolute Notwendigkeit.[3])

Später spricht sich sodann Vauquelin im Anschlusse an Fauchet dahin aus, dass der Reim eine Erfindung der Kelten und zu den andern Völkern von Gallien aus gekommen sei.[4]) Nach R. soll der Reim reich sein, d. h. auch die vortonige Silbe umfassen (VII, 356). Diese Forderung hatte auch schon Dub. gestellt, der dabei zum erstenmal den Ausdruck *riche* gebraucht: *«Quand à la Rythme, ie suy*

[1]) Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 13.
[2]) *Art poét.* p. 56 57.
[3]) *Art poét.* p. 54.
[4]) *Art poét.* I, v. 600.

d'opinion, qu'elle soit riche.[1]) Ihm schliesst sich sodann Peletier an, der die *ryme riche* auch noch mit dem Namen *ryme exquise* belegt.[2]) Dub. hatte jedoch ausdrücklich vor weiteren Reimspielereien gewarnt, so z. B. vor den *rymes équivoques*, ferner die Reimverbindung von Simplex und Kompositum, sowie, nach des Infortunatus[3]) Vorgange, diejenige von Längen und Kürzen (*maître*: *mettre*) geradezu verboten.[4])

Bei der Aneinanderreihung der Verse stellt R. als Gesetz auf, den Wechsel von männlichen und weiblichen Reimen sorgfältig einzuhalten: «*A l'imitation de quelqu'un de ce temps, tu feras tes vers masculins et féminins tant qu'il te sera possible, pour estre plus propre à la Musique*» (VII, 320).

Schon lange indessen vor R. bestand der Gebrauch, mit männlichen und weiblichen Reimen abzuwechseln. Die erste Verslehre, welche dessen Erwähnung thut, ist die von Eustache Deschamps (1392). Er empfiehlt diesen Wechsel namentlich in der Balladendichtung.[5]) In dem *Art de rhetorique* des Infortunatus (1500) wird ebenfalls von der *alternance des rimes* gesprochen, jedoch bereits ohne Beziehung auf eine bestimmte Kunstgattung. Molinet bestätigt wiederum den erwähnten Gebrauch in seinem *Art de rhetorique* (1524).[6]) Durch Bouchet's Worte:

> «*Je treuve beau mettre deux féminins*
> *En rime plate avec deux masculins,*
> *Semblablement quand on les entrelasse*
> *En vers croisés.*»[7])

wurde das Gesetz dahin formuliert, dass immer zwei verschiedengeschlechtige Verse in gekreuzten Reimpaaren aufeinander folgen sollten (1537).

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[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VII, p. 130. Siehe hierzu die irrige Behauptung im Grundriss d. rom. Philol. II, 65.

[2]) *Art poét.* p. 54.

[3]) Siehe Langlois, *De artibus rhetor.* etc., p. 68.

[4]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. VII, p. 130.

[5]) Langlois p. 12.

[6]) Ibd. p. 84.

[7]) Bouchet, *Épitres familières* Nr. 107; nach Banner, *Über den Wechsel* etc. p. 26.

Du b. spricht sodann in seiner *Défense* ebenfalls von diesem Gesetze, macht aber aus dessen Beobachtung keine Gewissenssache, obwohl auch er in demselben ein Kennzeichen der neuen Poesie zu erblicken vermeint.[1]) Peletier ist in diesem Punkte ebensowenig formell wie Du b., doch erklärt er ebenfalls diese Regel für eine löbliche Neuerung, besonders in der Sonettdichtung.[2]) So sehen wir also, dass bei Aufstellung dieser Vorschrift R. zahlreiche Vorgänger gehabt hat, und wir unterlassen deshalb den Versuch, die oben mit *«quelqu'un de ce temps»* bezeichnete Persönlichkeit unter ihnen zu ermitteln.

Um dem Dichter das Reimen zu erleichtern, verlangte R., dass ausschliesslich der Laut eines Wortes und nicht dessen Orthographie berücksichtigt werde, eine Meinung, die schon Infortunatus geäussert hatte.[3]) Dem entsprechend gestattete R. z. B. Wörter auf *or* und *ort* durch den Reim zu verbinden (VII, 328).

Ohne solche Freiheiten müsse der Dichter, wie R. glaubt, oft auf viele schöne Gedanken verzichten; überhaupt sei der Reim von untergeordneter Bedeutung gegenüber der dichterischen Sprache und Fiktion: *Je voy le plus souvent mille belles sentences et mille beaux vers perdus par faute de telle hardiesse* etc. (VII, 326 und 328).

Und in der That erfreute sich die Mehrzahl der Plejadendichter in hohem Grade der Gabe des Reimes, so dass dieser Teil des poetischen Werkes ihnen nur geringe Mühe verursachte und sie noch nicht solcher Hilfsmittel bedurften, wie Jean le Fèvre deren eines in seinem *Dictionnaire des rimes* später veröffentlichte.[4]) Dem Dichter Peletier dagegen machte die Auffindung eines Reimwortes einige Schwierigkeit; jedoch habe dies das Gute für sich, meint er, den Dichter zu einer genaueren Fassung des Gedankens zu zwingen; auf jeden Fall aber sei dieser Umstand ihm nie

[1]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IX, p. 142-143.

[2]) Peletier, p. 62.

[3]) Langlois, l. c., p. 69.

[4]) Siehe Viollet le Duc, p. 16.

hinderlich gewesen an der Einstreuung schöner, poetischer Sentenzen in sein Werk.[1])

Schliesslich erwähnen wir noch, dass sowohl Dub. als auch Peletier bereits reimlose oder Blankverse kennen und zulassen, ohne sie jedoch dem angehenden Dichter zu empfehlen.[2])

Hinsichtlich der in einem Verse zulässigen Silbenzahl ersehen wir aus R.'s Werken, dass er Verse aus fünf bis zwölf Silben gebildet hat, aber nie solche aus vier Silben oder gar weniger. Auch Peletier und späterhin Vauquelin hielten Verse von geringerer Silbenzahl für unpoetisch.[3]) Zur Verwendung des elfsilbigen Verses, der den antiken Hexameter ersetzen sollte, hatte besonders Dub. aufgefordert: «*Adopte moy aussi . . . ces coulans, et mignars Hendecasyleables, à l'exemple d'vn Catule.*»[4])

Ausserdem versuchte Baïf einen fünfzehnsilbigen Vers einzubürgern, der sich wieder besonders für die Musik eignen sollte, den sogenannten «vers baïfin». Er kündigte denselben folgendermassen an:

«*Muse, . . . favorise ma hardiesse,*
Je veux donner aux Français un vers de plus libre accordance,
Pour le joindre au lut sonné d'une moins contrainte cadence.»[5])

In Bezug auf den Strophenbau gewährt R. ebenfalls volle Freiheit. Seine Strophen sind entweder aus gleichsilbigen oder verschiedensilbigen Versen gebildet und umfassen vier bis neun Zeilen, ja selbst einige zwanzigzeilige Strophen finden sich unter seinen Oden. Bei ihrem Aufbau verband R. die Verse in allen möglichen Reimverkettungen. Dabei hat er sich auch nicht davor gehütet, das zusammengehörige Reimpaar durch andere dazwischengeschobene Verse weit auseinander zu zerren, wovor, als einer Verletzung des Ohres.

[1]) *Art poét.* p. 55.
[2]) *Déf.* L. II. ch. VII, p. 132. u. Peletier. *Art poét.* p. 59.
[3]) *Art poét.* p. 57.
[4]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IV, p. 118
[5]) Baïf, *Œuvres* p. 35f.

Peletier besonders warnte.[1]) Nur die einzige Regel stellte R. in Bezug auf die Strophenbildung auf, dass die an gleicher Stelle stehenden Verse in einem aus mehreren Strophen bestehenden Gedichte immer gleichgeschlechtig sein sollen (VII, 326).

b) Der Rhythmus.

Wie für den Reim, so gibt es auch für den Rhythmus keine höhere Instanz als das Ohr. Seiner Unfehlbarkeit darf der Dichter vertrauen: «*Gardant tousjours une certaine mesure consultée par ton aureille, laquelle est certain juge de la structure des vers*» (VII, 333/34).

Um den rhythmischen Gang eines Verses zu erleichtern, gibt R. den Rat, die Häufung von einsilbigen Wörtern im gleichen Verse zu vermeiden [«*Tu éviteras aussi l'abondance des monosyllabes en tes vers pour estre rudes et mal plaisans à ouir* (VIII, 328)], die drei oder mehrsilbigen Wörter auf *ion* wegen ihres schleppenden Rhythmus vom gleichen Verse auszuschliessen, was auch schon Infortunatus empfohlen hatte.[2]) und andererseits Synkopierungen sowie Elidierungen bisweilen vorzunehmen, wie z. B. *donnerai* für *donnerai*; lauter Winke, die sich auch schon bei Peletier finden.[3])

c) Der Hiatus.

Hinsichtlich des Hiatus hat R. im Laufe der Zeit seine Meinung gewechselt. Zuerst hielt er ihn für fehlerhaft und wollte ihn untersagen: «*Tu éviteras autant que la contrainte de ton vers le permettra, les rencontres de voyelles et diphtongues qui ne se mangent point; car telles concurrences de voyelles font les vers merveilleusement rudes en nostre langue*» (VIII, 237). Später jedoch gelangt er durch die Lektüre der antiken Dichter zu der Überzeugung, dass auch im Hiatus sich dichterische Schönheit bergen könne und ändert seine frühere Ansicht

[1]) Peletier, p. 56.
[2]) Langlois, p. 33.
[3]) Peletier, p. 86.

dahin ab, *«que cela n'estoit point mal séant»* (III, 26). Die übrigen Theoretiker der Plejade behandelten diese Frage überhaupt nicht eingehend.

d) Die Cäsur.

Bezüglich des Platzes der Cäsur wollte R. an dem Gebrauche, der schon lange vor ihm bestanden, und den auch Peletier schon angegeben hatte,[1]) nichts geändert wissen; demnach sollte der Zehnsilber nach der vierten, und der Zwölfsilber nach der sechsten Silbe, die übrigen Verse aber überhaupt keine Cäsur haben.

Was die Beschaffenheit der Cäsur anlangt, so hält auch R. die *couppe feminine* für unerlaubt und erneuert deren Verbot durch Anführung eines speziellen Falles: *«Tu dois oster la derniere e feminine, tant de vocables singuliers que pluriers qui se finissent en ce et en ces, quand de fortune ils se rencontrent au milieu de ton vers»* (VII, 326). Von einer wegen des *e sourd* fehlerhaften Cäsur hatte zuerst Jacobus Magnus in seinem *Art de rhetorique* gesprochen (1425). Gleichwohl stellt er es in das Belieben des Dichters, das dumpfe *e* als cäsurtragende Silbe zu gebrauchen oder nicht.[2]) Jean le Maire verzichtet sodann bereits auf den Gebrauch der *couppe feminine* in seinen poetischen Werken.[3]) Gracien du Pont (1539) verlangt vom Dichter ganz formell die alleinige Anwendung der männlichen Cäsur.[4]) Sibilet wiederholt diese Vorschrift,[5]) und Dub., der sich in seinem Manifeste mit solchen Detailfragen überhaupt nicht gern befasst, verweist ausdrücklich den angehenden Dichter hinsichtlich der *«couppes femines, Apostrophes, Accens, le masculin et le feminin et autres telles choses vulgaires»* auf die poetischen Lehrbücher seiner Vorgänger.[6]) Peletier kommt ebenfalls auf die Beschaffen-

[1]) Peletier, p. 57.
[2]) Langlois, p. 19.
[3]) Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 6; u. Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der frz. Litt. etc. I. 73.
[4]) Langlois, p. 85.
[5]) Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 13.
[6]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. IX, p. 138.

heit der Cäsur zu sprechen und schreibt die männliche Cäsur vor. d. h. die Elidierung eines dumpfen *e* vor folgendem, vokalischem Anlaut.[1]) R. hatte also in diesem Punkte nichts weiter zu thun, als durch das Ansehen seiner Dichterautorität eine schon oftmals gegebene Regel zu sanktionieren. Anders verhält es sich mit dem Verbote des syntaktischen *Enjambement* innerhalb einer Verszeile. Diese Vorschrift ging zuerst von Peletier aus, der aber nur einen speziellen Fall anführte, wenn er die proklitischen Wörter *me, te, se, le*, etc. nicht in die Cäsur zu stellen erlauben wollte.[2]) R. formulierte alsdann diese Regel folgendermassen: »*Sur toute chose je te veux bien advertir . . . . que les quatre premieres syllabes du vers commun ou les six premieres des Alexandrins soient fagonnées d'un sens aucunement parfait, sans l'emprunter du mot suivant*« (VII, 331). Demgemäss soll also jede der durch die Cäsur entstandenen zwei Vershälften ein syntaktisches Ganze bilden.

c) Das Enjambement.

Wenn R. schon im Innern des Verses kein Übergreifen des Sinnes dulden wollte, so ist zu erwarten, dass er dieses Verbot auch auf die ganze Verszeile ausdehnte und ein Zerreissen des Sinnes durch den rhythmischen Einschnitt am Versende nicht zuliess. Sogar der sonst nicht eben an Regeln haftende Dub. untersagte in seiner *Défense* das *Enjambement*, weil dadurch die »*sentence trop abruptement coupée*«[3]) erscheine. Allein R. blieb seiner Ansicht auch in diesem Punkte nicht treu. Das Beispiel der Alten stimmt ihn zu einer milderen Anschauung: »*J'ay esté d'opinion en ma jeunesse que les vers qui enjambent l'un sur l'autre n'estoient pas bons en nostre poésie; toutes fois j'ay cogneu depuis le contraire par la lecture des autheurs grecs et romains*« (III, 26).

Blicken wir nun auf R.'s metrische Regeln zurück, so

[1]) Peletier, p. 58.
[2]) l. c., p. 58.
[3]) Dub. (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) I, 52

ergibt sich die Wahrnehmung, dass ihn bei deren Aufstellung vornehmlich zwei Gesichtspunkte leiteten. Wie bereits oben [1]) angedeutet, lag ihm daran, die Poesie mit der Musik möglichst innig verbunden zu sehen. Beide Künste sind für einander geschaffen und sollen sich gegenseitig ergänzen: «*En faveur desquels [la Musique et accord des instruments] il semble que la Poësie soit née; car la Poësie sans les instruments ou sans la grace d'une seule ou plusieurs voix, n'est nullement agréable, non plus que les instruments sans estre animez de la melodie d'une plaisante voix*» (VII, 320).

Doch genügte es ihm, auf diese Verbindung von Poesie und Musik als ein notwendiges Erfordernis der neuen Dichtung hingewiesen und sie als praktischer Dichter bethätigt zu haben. Vom theoretischen Standpunkte aus beschäftigte sich besonders Baïf mit dieser Sache. An Vorläufern, welche diesem den Gedanken einer solchen Verschmelzung von Poesie und Musik nahe legen konnten, fehlte es jedoch unter den früheren französischen Poetikenschreibern nicht. Schon Eustache Deschamps sagte: «*Nous avons deux musiques dont l'une est artificielle, l'autre est naturelle; on appelle «musique de bouche» en proferant paroles metrifiées.*» [2]) Auch Gracien du Pont nennt die Rhetorik «*une espece de musique*» und erörtert die Verwandtschaft beider Künste.[3]) Aber auch speziell der Gedanke, die antike Metrik ins Französische einzuführen, hatte schon im 15. Jahrhundert einzelne Dichter zu einem Versuche angelockt. Abgesehen von einer nicht auffindbaren Homerübersetzung in Hexametern, die Aubigné in seiner Jugend gesehen haben will, hat Michel de Boteauville bereits 1497 einen *Art de metrifier français* in metrischen Versen geschrieben.[4]) Sibilet billigt solche Verse nicht,[5]) Dub. jedoch betrachtet sie mit Wohlgefallen: auch Peletier heisst diesen Versuch willkommen, obgleich

[1]) Siehe p. 72.

[2]) Langlois, p. 111.

[3]) Langlois, p. 112.

[4]) Thomas, A.: «*M. de B. et les 1ers vers fr. mesurés*», in: *Annales de la Faculté des lett. de Bordeaux*, 5e année, No. 3.

[5]) Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 18.

er ihm wegen der damaligen Regellosigkeit in der französischen Orthographie kaum viel Glück prophezeit.[1]) Jodelle veröffentlicht 1553 bereits mehrere Disticha. Pasquier (1556) eine Elegie. Jacques de la Taille stellt sodann in seiner *Manière de faire des vers* (1572) die nötigen Quantitätsregeln für das Französische auf, in der Hoffnung, den nicht gelehrten *rimasseurs* dadurch gründlich die Poesie zu verleiden. Aber originell an Baïf ist seine Ansicht, durch Einführung der antiken metrischen Gesetze der französischen Poesie einen musikalischen Charakter verleihen zu können. Die Thatsache, dass er eine Akademie nur zu diesem Zwecke gründen konnte, beweist, dass auch noch andere Männer aus dem Gelehrten- und Dichterstande seinem Gedanken zustimmten. Und in der That gehörten dieser Akademie ausser R. die bedeutendsten Gelehrten und Musiker jener Zeit an. R. selbst dichtete zwei Oden, in denen er, freilich unter Beibehaltung des Reimes, die sapphische Strophe nachzuahmen suchte; doch kam man mit den metrischen Versen nicht recht vorwärts; der letzte Theoretiker der Plejade, Vauquelin, ist nicht sehr dafür eingenommen, was aus folgenden Versen hervorgeht:

Je ne scay si ces vers auront authorité,
C'est à toy d'en parler, sage Postérité.[2])

Nur der auch noch im 17. Jahrhundert der Plejade treugebliebene Du Gardin gibt als Anhang zu seinen *Premières adresses du chemin de Parnasse* wiederum eine Anleitung *pour faire marcher les vers français sur les pieds des auteurs latins.*[3])

Ausser dem musikalischen Elemente wollte R. noch ein

[1]) Peletier, p. 59.

[2]) *Art poét.* II, v. 849 850.

[3]) Viollet le Duc, p. 6. Über die Beteiligung der anderen Plejadendichter und sonstigen Zeitgenossen R.'s an Baïf's Versuche, siehe Bellanger, ch. II, *des vers mesurés*; Gandar, p. 86; Müller: *Über die metrischen Verse des 16. Jahrh.*; Nagel: *Die metr. Verse Baïf's*, und endlich die *Einl. zu Groth's Ausgabe von Baïf's Psaultier.* Heilbronn 1888.

anderes Prinzip in der Versbehandlung zur Geltung bringen: es lag ihm am Herzen, dass dem Dichter in Bezug auf die Technik des Verses möglichst viel Spielraum zugewiesen werde. Während er in grammatischer und syntaktischer Beziehung die genaue Befolgung der Regeln der gebildeten Umgangssprache verlangt und poetische Lizenzen nur ausnahmsweise zulässt: «*Je suis d'advis de permettre quelque licence à nos poëtes françois, pourveu qu'elle soit rarement prise . . . .*» (III, 26), soll der Dichter in Bezug auf Reim, Versbau und Rhythmus keinerlei Vorschriften unterworfen sein. Der Wohlklang sei sein einziges Gesetz. Denn der metrische Teil des Dichterwerks sei schliesslich doch nur nebensächlich im Verhältnis zum Ganzen. Die Sprache und der Inhalt sind seiner Ansicht nach die Hauptsache: «*La fable et fiction est le sujet des bons poëtes . . . . et les vers sont seulement le but de l'ignorant versificateur*» (VII, 324 f.). Die Zurücksetzung des metrischen Teiles der Poesie hinter Sprache und Inhalt wurde auch von Vituperan[1]) gut geheissen, und später kamen Melle de Gournay sowie Lancelot[2]) nochmals mit Nachdruck auf diese Lehre ihres bereits vergessenen Meisters zurück.

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[1]) Vituperan, I, ch. XVII, p. 64.
[2]) Siehe Rucktäschel, p. 21.

Kapitel VI.

Ergebnisse.

a) Literarische Geschmackswandlungen im 16. Jahrhundert.

Wenn wir die einzelnen Phasen des literarischen Wandlungsprozesses, den Frankreich im 16. Jahrhundert durchmachte, näher ins Auge fassen, so lassen sich innerhalb desselben zwei grosse Abschnitte unterscheiden, von denen der erste — das Zeitalter Rabelais' und Marot's — ungefähr bis 1547 sich erstreckt, der zweite — das Zeitalter R.'s und Montaigne's — ungefähr bis zum Jahre 1590 läuft.

Zur Zeit, als die Kriegszüge der Franzosen nach Italien ihren Anfang nahmen, herrschte in Frankreich die von der burgundischen Schule ausgehende Dichtungsweise vor. Grosse Gewandtheit im Auffinden von Reimen und in künstlicher Aneinanderreihung derselben bei geringem geistigen Gehalte sind die Kennzeichen dieser Dichterschule.[1]) Am Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts sind Jean Meschinot, Molinet, Alain Chartier und Jean Marot[2]) die bedeutendsten Poeten. Ihre Poesie blieb noch völlig unbeeinflusst von der Renaissance und deren Vertretern, welche bereits in stattlicher Anzahl am Hofe Ludwig XII. verkehrten und an

[1]) Näheres hierüber bei Richter: „*Die franz. Lit. am Hofe der Herzöge v. Burgund*", Diss. Halle 1882.

[2]) Weitere Dichter jener Zeit bei Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 5.

dessen Gemahlin Anne de Bretagne eine fürsorgliche Beschützerin hatten.[1]) So gehörten gleichsam zum königlichen Hofstaat folgende bedeutende Humanisten:

Paulus Aemilius, der *orateur et chroniqueur du roi*, Claude de Seyssel, der Biograph Ludwig XI., Laskaris, einer der ersten Lehrer des Griechischen in Frankreich, Hieronymus Aleander und dessen Nachfolger in der Würde eines *poeta regius*, Faustus Andrelinus.

Allein von ihrer Existenz und Thätigkeit gibt uns diejenige Verslehre, welche die poetische Theorie des scheidenden Jahrhunderts zusammenfasst, keinerlei Kunde. Die Einwirkung des klassischen Altertums auf die von einem anonymen Verfasser Infortunatus herrührende *Fleur de rhetorique* (1500) besteht nur darin, dass der Verfasser dieser Schrift bei der Aufzählung früherer Poetikenschreiber auch schon Aristoteles, Cicero und Hermagoras als solche anzuführen weiss.[2])

Inzwischen breitete sich in Frankreich der Humanismus stetig aus und wurde namentlich seit der Thronbesteigung Franz' I. unter der Hofgesellschaft zu einer Modesache. Der Zuzug neuer Humanisten aus Italien dauerte fort. Alioni sowie Alamani wurden nacheinander *poetae regii*, und ein reicher Kranz von einheimischen Humanisten lebte in Franzens Umgebung.[3]) Die Pariser Universität wird bereits ein Sammelpunkt für alle nach der neuen Wissenschaft hungrigen Jünglinge aus Deutschland, den Niederlanden und England. In Frankreich selber gibt sich allenthalben ein lebhaftes Interesse für die neuen Studien kund, und man sucht in den alten Klassikern nicht nur Befriedigung seiner stofflichen Neugierde, sondern auch schon Aufschluss über die religiösen und politischen Fragen, welche jene Zeit bewegten. Damals haben die frühesten Übersetzungen lateinischer Autoren (Vergil, Ovid) die Druckerpresse verlassen. Andere Gelehrte wieder legen die Früchte ihrer Klassikerlektüre in weitschweifigen Historienbüchern nieder, wobei die französische Prosa, welche noch einen stark dialektischen An-

[1]) Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 5.
[2]) Langlois, p. 67.
[3]) Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 11—13.

strich hat, dem Ansturme barocker Latinismen und Fremdwörter schonungslos ausgesetzt wird. Ein Beispiel solchen Unternehmens ist das unter dem Titel *Illustration des Gaules et singularités de Troie* (1513) bekannte, umfangreiche Geschichtswerk von Jean le Maire de Belges. Sein Buch liefert aber auch den Beweis dafür, dass man schon damals in der Prosarede die Eloquenz der alten Geschichtsschreiber bewusst nachahmte. „Als Ganzes beurteilt, zeigt das Werk, welch höchster Punkt einer begabten Feder nach den Regeln der rhetorischen Schule unter Verwendung eines aus dem Lateinischen ausgestatteten und verbrämten Wortschatzes zu erreichen möglich war." [1])

Somit vollzog sich also im 2. Dezennium des Jahrhunderts eine Wandlung des literarischen Geschmackes insofern, als der rhetorische Stil in die Prosa und in die Poesie seinen Einzug hielt. Diese Thatsache wird bestätigt durch den Theoretiker jener Tage, Pierre Fabri. Sein Buch trägt im Unterschiede von früheren, ebenfalls schon *Rhetorique* benannten Werken den Titel *Plaine rhetorique* (1521), weil er die Prosa und Poesie darin behandeln will. In dem umfangreichen, ersten Teile führt Fabri zum ersten Male in französischer Sprache alle Figuren, Tropen und sonstige dem oratorischen Stile eigenen Ornamente auf, welche er aus der Lektüre von Cicero's Schriften kennen gelernt hat. Er, der früheste Vorkämpfer der *science* gegen die *ignorance*, erklärt, die Rhetorik begreife in sich die Kenntniss aller anderen Wissenschaften: *La Rhetorique presuppose toutes les autres sciences, especialement poesie.*» [2]) Allein den aus dem Studium der Alten gezogenen Gewinn in die Poesie einzuführen, war ihm noch nicht möglich. Wir sehen dies aus dem zweiten Teile seiner Schrift, der Poetik. Diese ist verhältnismässig kurz ausgefallen; er beschränkt sich nämlich darauf, die damals üblichen Gattungen aufzuzählen, sowie die schon in früheren Verslehren sich findenden Reimregeln nochmals breit zu treten.

Für die Poesie als solche fiel aus der Schule der Rhetorik nur der zweifelhafte Gewinn ab, dass eine Menge von

[1]) Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 92.

[2]) Fabri (*ed. Héron*) I, 12.

Fremdwörtern in die poetische Sprache eingeführt wurde, welche dieselbe bisweilen zu einem wahrhaft makaronischen Kauderwelsch zu stempeln geeignet war.[1]) Die Lust an künstlichen Reimen nimmt immer noch alle Kraft des dichterischen Talentes in Anspruch; zum Gebrauche mittelalterlicher Allegorien kommt noch hinzu ein allegorischer Symbolismus der antiken Mythen, und in solcher Spielerei verzehrt sich des Dichters Erfindungsgabe, ohne auf die reale Welt irgend welche Rücksicht zu nehmen.

In Bezug auf den poetischen Stil macht sich der Einfluss der rhetorischen Schule nur darin geltend, dass sich die dichterische Diktion mit einem reichen Vorrate von hochtrabenden Beiwörtern ausschmückt und bisweilen eine affektierte Vornehmheit zur Schau trägt.[2])

Ebenso wie die Prosaschriftsteller das Altertum bereits stofflich ausbeuten, mit gelehrtem Wissen prangen und citatenreiche Bücher drucken lassen, nimmt man jetzt auch in der Poesie stoffliche Anlehen bei den Alten vor und holt zunächst das herüber, was dem bisherigen Kunstgeschmacke am meisten zusagte, nämlich die Mythologie des olympischen Götterhimmels.

Jedoch dieser Einfluss des Altertums war vorderhand nur äusserlicher Natur und konnte noch keineswegs die Grundlagen der nationalen Dichtung ins Wanken bringen. Während früher die Poesie fast ausschliesslich Moralpredigerin gewesen war, so wurde jetzt mit der wachsenden Erkenntnis auch die didaktische Aufgabe des Dichters eine andere: nunmehr fühlt er sich berufen, die Wissenschaft überhaupt dem Publikum zu übermitteln.[3]) In Anerkennung dieses relativen Fortschrittes, der in Dichtung und Prosa durch die rhetorische Schule erzielt wurde und sich hauptsächlich an den Namen Jean le Maire's knüpft, wurde dieser letztere auch von Dub. und Pasquier als ein Vorläufer der Plejade gefeiert, und der moderne Kritiker Becker nennt ihn geradezu den ersten humanistischen Dichter Frankreichs.[4])

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[1]) Siehe Fabri (*ed. Héron*) II, 117, u. Birch-Hirschfeld I. 80.

[2]) Birch-Hirschfeld I, ch. III, p. 66—83.

[3]) Birch-Hirschfeld I, 85.

[4]) l. c., p. 89. Siehe ferner Becker, Ph. Aug.: *Jean le Maire*

Inzwischen dringen wieder neue Ideen in das französische Geistesleben durch die Lyoner Schule ein. Lyon, das kommerzielle Bindeglied zwischen Italien und Frankreich, war nämlich in jener Zeit auch die Brücke, über welche die italienische Kultur nach Frankreich einzog. Dort inmitten einer wohlhabenden Bürgerschaft fand der Humanismus, der seinem innersten Wesen nach demokratisch war, den günstigsten Boden zur raschen Entwickelung. Schon seit dem Anfange des Jahrhunderts beschäftigte man sich daselbst mit antiker und italienischer Literatur, und seit der Mitte der dreissiger Jahre hatte man es auch bereits zu einer eigenen Lyoner Dichtung gebracht. Als hervorragende Charakterzüge des Lyoner Dichterbundes kann man kurz anführen: Die Nachahmung der petrarkischen Liebesdichtung, die Einführung eines zarten Mystizismus, wie er in den Schriften der Neuplatoniker Bessarion, Mirandola und Marsilio Ficino dargestellt wurde, und endlich die poetisch verklärte Wiedergabe des durch italienischen Einfluss veredelten, geselligen Verkehrs der Geschlechter. Daneben huldigte man in religiösen Dingen einer freieren Auffassung, die sogar bisweilen zur Annahme des Calvinismus führte oder zu einem mehr oder weniger versteckten Indifferentismus sich fortentwickelte. Die Männer, welcher dieser Dichterschule angehören, stehen zwar ebenfalls im Banne der rhetorischen Geschmacksrichtung, aber dennoch erweitern sie durch Einführung von Ideen, wie wir sie oben geschildert haben, den noch relativ beschränkten Kreis poetischer Vorstellungen und Empfindungen. Die hauptsächlichsten Vertreter dieser mystischen Poesie sind Antoine Héroet *(la parfaite Amie)*, Maurice Scève *(Délie)* und endlich die schöne Seilerin Louise Labé.[1])

Wieder anders geartet ist die Renaissancepoesie, welche sich am Hofe Franz' I. seit den dreissiger Jahren entwickelt und in Clément Marot sowie in Mellin de St. Gelais

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der erste hum. Dichter Frankreichs. Strassburg 1893. 8°. Dieses Buch kenne ich leider nur aus einer Rezension in der Zeitschr. für neufrz. Sprache u. Litt. XVI, p. 119, Refer.

[1]) Siehe über diesen Dichterkreis die ausführliche Darstellung Birch-Hirschfeld's I, ch. V, p. 158 ff.

ihre Hauptvertreter fand. Schon in äusserlicher Beziehung unterscheidet sich diese Dichtergruppe von ihren Vorgängern oder von den in der Provinz lebenden Anhängern der alten Richtung, indem sie ihre Werke nicht mehr in der antiquierten „gothischen" sondern in der „römischen Schrift" drucken lassen.[1])

Und wie die Drucktypen handlicher wurden, so wurde auch die Sprache jener Dichter eine gewähltere und edlere. Denn einerseits machte man sich von Provinzialismen allmählich frei, und andererseits suchte man sich der Umgangssprache der gebildeten Kreise soviel als möglich zu nähern. Die Poesie sollte wiederum ein Spiegel des Lebens werden und nicht mehr ein blosses Wortgeflunker voll eitler Gedanken sein. Am Hofe freilich musste sie manchmal zur unterthänigen Dienerin der jeweiligen poetischen Bedürfnisse des Monarchen und anderer hoher Herren sich erniedrigen. Allein dieser Umstand konnte auf die damaligen Poeten, welche ja die parasitartigen Humanistendichter Italiens vor Augen hatten, und ausserhalb der Hofgesellschaft auf keinen festen Leserkreis rechnen konnten, nicht eben besonders abschreckend wirken. Zudem finden sich am Hofe Leute, die der neuen Kunstrichtung nicht nur ein flüchtiges Interesse schenken, sondern geradezu humanistische Neigungen und Gesinnung verraten, wie z. B. Margaretha, die Schwester Franz' I.

Die Nachahmung italienischer Sonettendichter wird von Marot versucht; die noch in Fabri's Zeiten gebräuchlichen Gattungen, wie *Virelais*, *Balladen* und *Chants royaux*, verschwinden allmählich, dagegen erfreuen sich die *Epistel*, die *Elegie*, die *Ekloge* sowie das *Epigramm* einer allseitigen Pflege. Ausser den lateinischen Dichtern Vergil, Horaz und Martial werden auch bereits die Neulateiner, wie Philipp Beroald, zu Mustern erkoren. Dabei macht sich in der Poesie eine freiere, religiöser Engherzigkeit ab- und vergnügtem Lebensgenuss zugeneigte Auffassung geltend. Es ist diese Periode von 1530—1560 die blühendste Epoche des französischen Humanismus. Um Lehrer wie Budé, Danes,

[1]) Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 109.

Parvus scharen sich aus allen Ländern lernbegierige Jünglinge, welche in die neue Wissenschaft eingeführt sein wollen. Zahlreiche Gelehrte wetteifern miteinander, das grosse Publikum durch Übersetzungen mit den antiken Autoren bekannt zu machen.[1]) Es würde an Platz fehlen, um die Namen aller Übersetzer aufzuführen, welche damals ein Stück des Altertums um das andere nach Frankreich schafften. Wie gross der Übersetzungseifer gewesen sein muss, geht schon daraus hervor, dass in kaum 25 Jahren die bedeutenderen römischen und griechischen Autoren, zum Teil in mehrfacher Übertragung, einem weiteren Leserkreise zugänglich gemacht wurden.[2]) Und wenn auch bei dem Publikum das stoffliche Interesse noch überwog, so bildeten sich doch neben der Bereicherung mit Ideen auch Geist und Auge für die Erfassung fremder Kunstformen heran.

Auch der poetische Meister jener Zeit, Marot, war vom Renaissancegeiste beseelt und hatte von den Alten gar manches gelernt. Er verdankt ihnen zunächst die Lehre, dass man sein eigenes poetisches Vermögen richtig abzuschätzen lernen müsse. Ferner hatte er aus den horazischen Werken die ihm kongenialen Züge, wie heiteren Humor, gutmütige Ironie und ungezwungenes Wesen, mit grossem Geschicke herübergenommen. Diese glückliche Mischung nationaler Eigenart mit den aus der Lektüre der Alten erworbenen Eigenschaften verliehen seiner Dichtung einen solchen Reiz der Neuheit, dass er in seinem Streite mit Sagon, dem Verteidiger der gefallenen rhetorischen Schule, den Hof sowie alle Freunde der *belles lettres* auf seiner Seite hatte. Seinen Zeitgenossen war Marot das vollkommenste Muster eines humanistischen Poeten.

Daher kommt es auch, dass der poetische Theoretiker jener Tage, Thomas Sibilet, alle seine Beispiele aus Marot's Dichtungen entnimmt. Auch er steht, wie früher Fabri, am Ende einer Periode (1549), aber gerade deshalb

[1]) Siehe Birch-Hirschfeld, L. I, ch. IV.

[2]) Über die Übersetzungsliteratur jener Zeit, siehe Birch-Hirschfeld, Anmerkungen S. 9, u. Bellanger, *Histoire des traductions.* Paris 1893. 8°.

vermag er die poetischen Doktrinen seiner Zeit am besten zusammenzufassen. Es ist nun eigentümlich, zu beobachten, dass der Humanismus, der damals doch schon, wie wir sahen, eine Geistesmacht war, in Sibilet's Buch noch verhältnismässig wenig an der Oberfläche sich wahrnehmen lässt; zudem ist Sibilet ein guter Kenner der Alten und hat selbst des Euripides *Iphigenie* zuerst ins Französische übersetzt (1550). Zwar erscheint bei ihm zum erstenmal der Titel *Art poétique* anstatt des früher beliebten Wortes *rhetorique*, auch tritt er schon in Erörterungen ein über das Wesen der Poesie und spricht bereits von *invention, disposition* und *élocution;* allein alles dies geschieht in dem offenbaren Bestreben, das neugeschöpfte Wissen womöglich in den überlieferten poetischen Rahmen einzufügen. Das Gefühl für das innere Verhältnis zwischen Form und Inhalt ist in ihm noch nicht völlig erwacht, die Befriedigung der stofflichen Neugierde noch die Hauptsache. Deshalb sieht er die Übersetzung antiker Autoren für eine ebenso grosse schriftstellerische That an wie die Produktion eines originellen Dichterwerkes nach den für ihn noch giltigen Regeln. «*La version au traduction est aujourd'huy le poëme le plus frequent et mieux receu des estimez poëtes et des doctes lecteurs à cause que chascun d'eux estime grand œurre rendre la pure et argentine invention des poëtes dorée et enrichie de nostre langue*» (Art poét. II, 14). Wie sehr damals die Kunst des Übersetzens geschätzt wurde, geht auch daraus hervor, dass man sie sogar vom theoretischen Standpunkte aus ins Auge fasste. Es fand sich nämlich bald ein philologischer Lehrmeister, der seine Zeitgenossen über die Aufgabe und Methode des Übersetzens aufzuklären sich berufen fühlte.[1])

Ja, Antoine Héroet glaubte in der Widmung seiner *Androgyne* bereits frohlockend Franz I. zurufen zu dürfen:

«*Sur ce propos ma langue ne peut taire*
Ce que vous doit nostre langue vulgaire,
Laquelle avez en tels termes reduitte,

[1]) Etienne Dolet, *De la manière de bien traduire.* 1540. Über eine Theorie der Übersetzungskunst bei Dryden, siehe Weselmann, p. 53.

Que par elle est la plus grand part traduitte
De ce qu'on lit de toute discipline
En langue Grecque, Hebraique et Latine.»

Sibilet's *Art poétique* ist sodann ein Beweis dafür, dass sich der poetische Geschmack jener Zeit in einem Übergangsstadium befand, wo man die alte Dichtung vernachlässigte, aber noch unfähig war, eine neue Kunstform zu schaffen. Diese Auffassung wird durch den Inhalt der Schrift vollauf bestätigt. Im ersten Teile seines *Art poétique* setzt Sibilet die Regeln der Versbehandlung nach Fabri's Vorgange fest; allein die von Fabri noch empfohlenen «*rimes fratrisées et concatenées*» und ähnliche Spielereien stellt er an den Schluss des Buches, weil sie bereits ausser Mode gekommen seien. Wenn er auch die neuen Gattungen wie *Elegie* etc. aufzählt, so erwähnt er doch noch alle aus Fabri's Poetik bekannten, nationalen Kunstformen und sucht dieselben mit den neu eindringenden Arten wie z. B. der Ode und der Tragödie zu identifizieren. Bei seinem Bestreben, die traditionelle Poesie fortzusetzen, fühlt er nicht die Unmöglichkeit, den ins Ungemessene angeschwollenen Strom neuer Gedanken in das alte Bett der überlieferten Poesie einzuzwängen.[1])

Neben ihm entwickelte sich nun eine Generation, welche das Bedürfnis neuer Formen empfand, und aus deren Mitte derjenige Mann hervorgehen sollte, welcher das neue Kunstideal zu schaffen im stande war. Dieser Mann war R. Er schöpfte zwar viele Regeln seiner poetischen Technik aus den Werken seiner Vorgänger; allein ihm eigen ist der Gedanke, die moderne Poesie in Frankreich durch die Schaffung neuer Kunstformen zu begründen. Während die früheren Poetikenschreiber den herrschenden Gebrauch einfach verzeichneten, steht die von R. inspirierte «*Illustration*» Du B.'s am Eingange der neuen Periode und R. erweist sich als führender Geist seiner Generation. Umgeben von Männern, die in humanistischen Studien gross geworden sind und jenes urkräftige Behagen an der Gelehrsamkeit haben, das man mit der Eingenommenheit unserer Zeit für soziale Fragen vergleichen könnte, nehmen R. und seine

[1]) Zu Sibilet's *Art poétique*, siehe noch Pellissier, *Préf.* p. XIII.

Freunde entschieden Stellung gegen die leicht tändelnde Hofpoesie Marot's und neigen sich der gedankenreicheren, jedoch dem grossen Haufen ferner liegenden Dichtungsweise der Lyoner Schule zu. Was ernst strebende Gelehrsamkeit aus dem Schachte antiker Kultur gehoben, das wollen sie für die Gebildeten ihrer Zeit im zierlichen Gewande nationalsprachlicher Dichtung zu einer Quelle intellektuellen Vergnügens umgestalten und bei ihnen den Geschmack an der Pflege heimischer Dichtkunst wieder erwecken, nachdem derselbe in der vorausgehenden Epoche allgemein geschwunden war.[1])

Jedoch die Anhänger von Marot's Schule, welche ja gerade den Hofkreisen angehören, räumen nicht ohne weiteres das Feld, wie aus folgenden Worten Dub.'s hervorgeht: «*Mais encore est ce chose plus indigne que ceux qui d'ignorance et toutes espèces de vices font plus grande gloire, se moquent de ceux qui en ce tant louable labeur Poetique employent les heures que les autres consument aux Jeux, Baings, aux Banquez et autres tels menus plaisirs.*»[2]) Allen jenen, welche nach mühelosem Dichterruhme streben und in dem Beifall der Grossen ihre Befriedigung finden, rät Dub. an, sich zurückzuziehen «*au Bugaige ou bien sous les frais umbraiges aux sumptueux Palaiz des grands Seigneurs*»,[3]) nicht aber die junge Dichterschule mit ihrem Gespötte zu verfolgen. Wenn er sich auch bewusst ist, dass das Neue stets mit Vorurteil empfangen werde: «*Je scais que beaucoup me reprendront que j'ay osé le premier des François introduire quasi comme une nouvelle poësie*»,[4]) so beruhe ja doch ihre Neuerung auf dem soliden Grunde der alten Kunst und sei die direkte Fortsetzung der antiken Poesie in französischem Gewande. «*une nouvelle ou plustot ancienne renouvellée poesie.*»[5])

Bei der Ausführung der geplanten Reform schlägt R. mit seinen Freunden in verschiedener Beziehung neue Bahnen ein. Zunächst legt Dub. dar, dass, so löblich die Übertragung antiker Klassiker ins Französische sei, man den-

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[1]) Ebert, *Entwickelungsgesch.* etc., p. 80.
[2]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. V, p. 124.
[3]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. XI, p. 148.
[4]) *Déf.* L. II, ch. I, p. 100.
[5]) Dub. *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*) I, 72.

noch durch blosse Übersetzung nie zu einer eigenen Nationalliteratur gelangen könne.[1])

Hierfür sei unerlässliche Bedingung individuelle Originalität der Poeten, welche, «*immitant les meilleurs auteurs grecz, se transformant en eux, les devorant et après les avoir bien digérez les convertissant en sang et nourriture*»,[2]) eine gewisse Selbständigkeit gegenüber ihrem Muster zeigen müssten. Und in der That glaubten die Zeitgenossen in den Werken der Plejade diese Art von nachschaffender Originalität wahrzunehmen. So sagte z. B. La Mothe von Jodelle «*Il a toujours suivi ses propres inventions, fuyant curieusement les imitations.*»[3]) Ja, sie rühmten sich selbst ihrer relativen Unabhängigkeit von den Alten, wie aus folgenden Worten Jodelle's hervorgeht:

> «*L'invention n'est point d'un vieil Menandre*
> *Rien d'estranger on ne vous fait entendre*
> *Le Style est notre et chacun personnage*
> *Se dit aussi estre de ce langage.*»[4])

Somit stellte sich also die Plejade in Gegensatz zu Sibilet's Theorie, nach welcher die Übersetzung einer Originalleistung gleichkam. Dub.'s Worte: «*Laisse ce labeur de traduire à ceux qui de chose laborieuse et peu profitable . . . voyre pernicieuse à l'Accroissement de leur Langue emportent plus de molestie que de gloyre*»[5]) kennzeichnen die Ansicht seiner Schule über diese Frage. Nichtsdestoweniger erkennen sie den Nutzen, den die Übersetzungsperiode für die Verbreitung des guten Geschmacks geschaffen hat, gerne an, und Peletier sagt geradezu: «*C'est par les traducteurs que la France a commencé à goûter les bonnes choses*».[6]) Ein späterer Freund der R.'schen Theorien, D'Aigaliers, bekämpft ebenfalls die Übersetzungen, aber bereits aus einem anderen Grunde; er befürchtet nämlich, es möchte dadurch das Studium der

[1]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. V, p. 62.
[2]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. VII, p. 69.
[3]) Jodelle, *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*), p. 6.
[4]) Jodelle, *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*), I, 14.
[5]) *Déf.* L. I, ch. VI, p. 68.
[6]) *Art poét.* p. 30.

antiken Originale vernachlässigt werden. Vauquelin endlich zählt zwar die verdienten Übersetzer seines Jahrhunderts auf, hält aber ebenfalls diese Thätigkeit für minder wichtig und sieht darin sogar eine Gefahr für die eigene Sprache, wie aus folgenden Worten zu entnehmen ist:

«Qui veut trop curieux une langue traduire
Veut la langue estrangère et la sienne destruire.» [1])

Wenn nun aber auch die Übersetzungen in dieser Periode weniger beliebt waren, so fand man immerhin noch, wie im vorigen Zeitraume, Geschmack an fremden Literaturerzeugnissen, an ausländischen Stoffen und Formen. Doch wird durch das Manifest Dubellay's die klassische Literatur in den Vordergrund gestellt, und in dieser sind es besonders die Griechen, bei welchen in der ersten Periode der Plejade (1548—1572) R. und Dubellay sich ihre Inspirationen holen. Noch ergriffen von der Erhabenheit der griechischen Literatur, für welche Männer wie Turnèbe und Dorat sie begeistert hatten, machte sich R. an die Übersetzung des aristophanischen *Plutus* und versuchte bald darnach seine Kräfte an pindarischen und sapphischen Oden; Dubellay seinerseits wetteiferte mit R. auf gleichem Gebiete. Es war dies überhaupt die Zeit, wo der Höhepunkt der griechischen Studien im 16. Jahrhundert erreicht wurde. Remi Belleau und H. Estienne übersetzten die anakreontischen Lieder; Grevin führte in seinem *Bref discours pour l'intelligence du théâtre* (1562) als Muster des tragischen Stils an: *«Eschyle Sophocle, Euripide, trésors auxquels tous les bons poëtes tragiques ont pris les richesses pour embellir leurs poëmes.»* [2]) In jener Zeit entstanden Bücher wie der *Thesaurus linguae graecae* und die *Conformité du langage françois avec le grec* (von H. Estienne) sowie die *Dialogues* Périon's (1564), der geradezu behauptete, das Französische stamme vom Griechischen ab durch die Vermittelung des Keltischen. R. selbst, von jugendlichem Dichterdrange noch beseelt, fühlte sich damals zum Idealen und Erhabenen, wie es bei den Griechen

[1]) *Art poét.* I, v. 955 u. 965.
[2]) Siehe Robert, *la poétique de Rac.* p. 27.

und insbesondere bei den Odendichtern und Homer zum Ausdruck kommt, mehr hingezogen als zu der reflektierenden Kunst der Römer. Ja, noch in der *Franciade* offenbart sich sein eifriges Studium Homers, wie Gandar durch Anführung zahlreicher Stellen, die homerisches Gepräge an sich tragen, schlagend nachweist.[1]) Allein in dem Masse, als R. bei der Arbeit an der Vollendung seines Epos alterte, vollzog sich in ihm allmählich ein Umschwung zu Gunsten der Lateiner und insbesondere Vergils, an dem seine ganze Zeit teilnahm und der durch Scaliger's Poetik, die jetzt Berühmtheit erlangte, wesentlich gefördert wurde.[2]) Der Gründe für das Zurücktreten des griechischen Elementes sind es mancherlei. Zunächst fehlte damals die belebende und zündende Thätigkeit grosser Hellenisten, wie Budé und Turnèbe es gewesen waren; sodann fing man an, von dem ursprünglichen Enthusiasmus für das Altertum, der gerade an den Griechen sich entflammt hatte, allmählich zurückzukommen. Dem Anstaunen der Alten folgte das ruhig erwägende Studium, und hierbei erkannte man, wie schwer es sei, den Griechen es gleichzuthun. Dagegen fühlte man sich den Lateinern eher gewachsen, die ja selbst über Alexandria und dessen Literatur hinweg den Pfad nach Athen gewandert waren: bei ihnen konnte man das System der nachschaffenden Originalität besser studieren und ihnen ihre Methode ablauschen. Ausserdem besteht unzweifelhaft zwischen Rom und den romanischen Nationen eine gewisse geistige Verwandtschaft,[3]) deren Wirkungen man bei zunehmendem Studium der lateinischen Muster immer mehr verspürte.

Zur Zeit der Bürgerkriege kam dann auch noch eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit der politischen Verhältnisse in Frankreich und Rom zu der schon an und für sich vorhandenen Vorliebe für römisches Wesen dazu, so dass seit

[1]) Gandar, p. 7—35.

[2]) Lintilhac, *Jules César Scaliger*, in: *La Nouvelle Revue, 1er juin 1890.*

[3]) Siehe hierüber Ebert, *Entwickelungsgesch.* p. 100, 150, 158 etc., sowie Faguet, *La tragédie*, L. I, ch. IV.

1570 ungefähr *la latinisation de la culture française* zur Thatsache wurde und eine bis auf unsere Zeit hereinwirkende Kraft geblieben ist. Bei R. zeigt sich diese Wandlung darin, dass, während er in der ersten Vorrede zur *Franciade* sein Epos *sous le patronage* Homers und Virgils stellt, er in seiner zweiten Vorrede kaum mehr Homers Namen erwähnt: «*J'allègue Virgile plus souvent qu'Homère qui était son maistre . . . mais je l'ai fait tout exprès, sachant que nos Français ont plus de connaissance de Virgile que d'Homère et d'autres auteurs grecs*» (III, 22). Je mehr sich bei den Plejadendichtern die ursprüngliche Begeisterung verlor, desto mehr war man auf eine durch Gelehrsamkeit sich erneuernde Inspiration angewiesen; eine solche Poesie fand aber ihr vollkommenes Vorbild in der lateinischen Literatur des augusteischen Zeitalters, wo „der Ausdruck „*doctus poeta*“ so recht die Auffassung jener Zeit von der Poesie wiederspiegelt“.[1]) In R.'s späterer Dichtung sind nun Horaz, Martial und Properz die Meister, bei welchen er Gedanken und Vorbilder entlehnt. Ja Jodelle, der Tragödienschreiber der Plejade, war überhaupt nur bei Seneca in die Lehre gegangen, und auch Grevin bevorzugte diesen sowie ausserdem noch die Neulateiner. Jedoch neben dieser Vorliebe für das lateinische Altertum wurde im letzten Viertel des Jahrhunderts auch eine gewisse Hinneigung zur spanischen Literatur Mode, so dass hierdurch sogar der italienische Einfluss zurückgedämmt wurde.

Die Politik wirkte eben, wie so häufig, auch damals auf die Literatur ein. Um diese Geschmackswandlung mitzumachen, war R. schon zu alt. Einzelne seiner Nachahmer, wie Dubartas und Du Monnin, welche sich derselben anschlossen, verdarben dadurch ihren Stil und verfielen in eine schwülstige und bombastische Sprache. Deshalb warnte R. vor einer blinden Voreingenommenheit für das Ausländische; allein seine Stimme verhallte ungehört, ebenso wie früher diejenige Dubellay's, der in einem dem Turnèbe nachgebildeten Gedichte «*Moyen de faire son profit de l'étude des*

[1]) Christ, *Griech. Literaturgesch.* p. 400.

lettres»[1]) die Nachäffung der Italiener von Seite der Franzosen scharf gegeisselt hatte.

Ein anderer Zug der ronsardischen Poesie, welcher sich namentlich in dem letzten Dezennium von R.'s Leben sehr fühlbar machte, ist die starke Betonung des christlichen Geistes in der Literatur. Wir haben hiervon schon weiter oben ausführlicher gesprochen (Seite 30 f.). Wie nun gegen Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts das Interesse für Epos und Lyrik — Gattungen, welche damals vorzugsweise weltlich-heidnischen Charakter an sich trugen — stetig abnahm, und dagegen das Drama in den Vordergrund trat, so kam auch der christliche Geist, welcher in der französischen, klassischen Tragödie von Anfang an schon vorhanden war, in der Literatur überhaupt immer mehr zur Geltung. Vauquelin's *Art poétique* die seit 1575 ungefähr im Entstehen begriffen war, liefert hiervon genügend Beweise, wie wir schon oben gesehen haben.

Mit zunehmendem Alter befestigte sich in R. überhaupt die Erkenntnis, dass nur durch Beobachtung fester Kunstregeln und durch gesetzmässiges Schaffen die frz. Literatur zur Vollkommenheit gelangen könne. Deshalb beschäftigte er sich auch in seinen späteren Jahren gerne mit der Theorie der Dichtkunst und verfasste damals die sogenannte zweite Vorrede zur *Franciade*. Wie man in politischer Beziehung sich nach Ordnung und Ruhe sehnte, so hatte man auch auf literarischem Gebiete das Bedürfnis nach Gesetzmässigkeit und einer festgefügten Methode, das Verlangen nach einer scharfen Kritik, welche der literarischen Produktion den Weg weisen und das Ziel bestimmen sollte. Der alte R. war hierzu nicht mehr fähig; allein durch die Ausübung des Zensuramtes an seinen Schülern und Nachahmern wie Desportes bis in sein hohes Alter bereitete er das Erscheinen Malherbe's vor und bahnte letzterem den Weg. Freilich hatte der literarische Reformator des angehenden 17. Jahrhunderts nicht die poetische Begabung R.'s, um dessen Werk in gleichem Sinne fortführen zu können.

[1]) Dubellay, *Œuvres* (*ed. Marty-Laveaux*), I. 468.

Infolge seines beengten Gesichtskreises kritisierte Malherbe vorzugsweise das sprachliche Gebiet, das rein äusserliche Element der Poesie, und hat dabei manche allerdings der Ausrottung werten Auswüchse der ronsardischen Schule beseitigt, zugleich aber auch den lebendig sprudelnden Quell dichterischer Wortschaffung für lange Zeit untergraben. Schon Du Perron klagt wieder über die prosaische Diktion der Poeten seiner Zeit in folgenden Worten: «*Les poëtes sont comme les enfants perdus des auteurs prosaiques, en ce qui est de l'invention, hardiesse et innoration des mots.*» [1]) Malherbe's Reform hatte zur Folge, dass die Poesie flacher, und wenn man so sagen will, im schlimmeren Sinne, realer wurde; das persönliche Moment, die individuelle Originalität, welche der Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts ihren eigentümlichen Reiz verleiht, wurde von nun an in der Literatur zurückgedrängt. Der Unterschied zwischen Form und Inhalt in der Poesie entgeht Malherbe, denn er wendet auf beide die gleichen Regeln an.[2]) Dadurch läuft man Gefahr, allmählich wieder in eine versifizierte Prosa zurückzufallen, die nur durch ihre grössere Nüchternheit sich von dem Stile der ehemaligen rhetorischen Schule unterscheidet. Malherbe's reformatorische Thätigkeit war bloss negativer Art, sie bestand nur darin, unter den Materialien, welche R. und seine Zeitgenossen aufgehäuft hatten, mit richtigem Blicke die für seine Epoche passende Auswahl zu treffen. Allein wie jede Reaktion, so schoss auch sie über das Ziel hinaus, so dass sie die Folge hatte «*de substituer aux qualités intérieures de sensibilité, de fantaisie, d'imagination qui faisaient l'essence de la poésie selon R. et ses disciples, les qualités extérieures ou formelles d'ordre, de clarté, de logique.*» [3]) Falsch wäre es, zu glauben, dass Malherbe irgend welche neue Bahnen in der Poesie einzuschlagen gelehrt hätte. Von R. an ist die Dichtung der Franzosen den nämlichen Mustern treu geblieben; ja sogar die Kunst-

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[1]) Perroniana, p. 252.

[2]) Brunot, p. 177, Anm.: «*Dans l'idée du réformateur la forme et le fond ne se séparent guère; les mêmes règles s'appliquent aux deux choses.*»

[3]) Brunetière, *L'évolut.* p. 64.

lehre selber, die Theorie der Poetik, war von R. und seinen Schülern schon völlig ausgebaut, und Boileau brauchte später nur deren Sprache zu modernisieren, um den literarischen Kodex für seine Zeit und das kommende Jahrhundert festzustellen. Somit ist also auch Boileau der Erbe R.'s; denn trotz der Verschiedenheit im Detail ist die literarische Doktrin die gleiche geblieben. Dieser Zusammenhang in der Entwickelung der poetischen Theorien in Frankreich wird auch nicht etwa dadurch zerrissen, dass Malherbe sich als Gegner von R.'s Dichtung gebärdet, und Boileau an letzterem bittere Satire übt. Um dies zu begreifen, brauchen wir uns nur daran erinnern, dass »*ceux qui font les révolutions sont dédaignés par ceux qui en profitent.*« Wie R. seiner Zeit Marot bekämpfte, so musste eben auch er wieder Ambos sein unter den Schlägen Malherbe's und Boileau's.

b. Der Theoretiker R. im Urteile seiner Zeitgenossen und der Nachwelt.

Wenn man auch von vornherein behaupten darf, dass R. auf seine Zeitgenossen weit mehr durch Beispiel und mündliche Lehre einwirkte, als durch seine theoretische Schriften, so haben doch auch diese damals allgemeine Beachtung gefunden; insonderheit bei solchen, welche aus einem kurzen Handbuche die Elemente der poetischen Technik kennen lernen wollten, und für welche die Werke eines Scaliger und Vituperan zu gelehrten Anstrich hatten.

Wie dies selbstverständlich ist, fiel auf den Theoretiker R. etwas von dem Glorienscheine des Dichters. Einen äusseren Beweis dieser Anerkennung seines *Art poétique* dürfen wir wohl darin erblicken, dass dieser (abgesehen von den Gesamtausgaben der R.'schen Werke) zweimal (1565 und 1585) eines besonderen Abdruckes gewürdigt wurde.[1]) Wir erfahren ferner, dass einzelne seiner Zeitgenossen seine theoretische Leistung in Versen besangen, und andere wieder

[1]) Goujet, *Biblioth. fr.* V, 18.

seine Schrift ausschrieben oder nachdruckten.[1]) Zu dieser letzten Klasse gehört z. B. Robert Corbin, der einen jetzt nicht mehr auffindbaren *Traité de la poésie* (1575) schrieb und ihn sogar R. widmete; sodann La Porte, dessen Buch *les Épithètes (un dictionnaire d'adjectifs pompeux destinés à relever un substantif vulgaire)*[2]) ebenfalls in der Einleitung eine Art Poetik enthält (1582).[3]) endlich Pierre de Laudun d'Aigaliers, dessen *Art poétique* (1598) ein Beispiel dafür bietet, wie in der Provinz bisweilen das Alte neben dem Neuen fortlebt. Dieser Poetikenschreiber hat es nämlich glücklich fertig gebracht, Elemente der ehemaligen rhetorischen Schule mit Lehrmeinungen der Plejadenkritiker und sogar solchen Malherbe's in eine poetische Theorie zusammenzubrauen.[4]) Da R. seine Poetik nicht als eine wissenschaftliche Leistung angesehen wissen wollte, haben sich auch die eigentlichen Gelehrten des 16. Jahrhunderts wie Sainte-Marthe, Pasquier, Rapin, Du Perron und de Thou wenig damit befasst. Daraus dürfen wir aber keineswegs schliessen, dass sie mit seinen Theorien nicht einverstanden gewesen seien.

Dies wäre ein völliger Trugschluss; denn sie alle zollen seinen Werken Lob. Freilich die Theorie der Poetik studierten sie in den Werken eines Scaliger und anderer Humanisten. Auch kümmerte man sich, solange R.'s Schule herrschte, in diesen Kreisen überhaupt nicht soviel um deren Theorien. Erst als eine Geschmackswandlung im Anzuge war, hatte man das Bedürfnis, den bisherigen Gebrauch näher zu fixieren. Der Mann, welcher diese Aufgabe erfüllte, war Vauquelin de la Fresnaye. Er arbeitete zwar schon seit 1574 an seinem *Art poétique*, aber vollendet wurde er erst gegen 1589 und veröffentlicht 1605. Diese Poetik bedeutet den völligen Ausbau der literarischen Theorien der Plejade, ergänzt die Lehren des Meisters (didaktisches Genus) und

[1]) Goujet, *Biblioth. fr.* III, 104 u. 112.
[2]) Siehe Zschalig, p. 7, u. Viollet le Duc, p. 14 15.
[3]) Brunetière, p. 156.
[4]) Pellissier, *Préf.* p. 31.

fasst einzelne Punkte schärfer (christliches Moment). Auch macht Vauquelin bereits den Versuch zu einer pragmatischen Geschichte der französischen Literatur und der einzelnen Gattungen. Zu diesem Zwecke knüpft er den historischen Zusammenhang mit der alten nationalen Poesie wieder an und schliesst auch das Mittelalter in seine Betrachtung ein. Wie früher Sibilet der Marot'schen und R.'schen Schule zugleich angehört hatte, so steht auch Vauquelin schon mit einem Fusse im Lager Malherbe's.[1]) Doch ist dieses Bild für die Zeit von 1585—1610 kaum zulässig. Der Gegensatz zwischen der neuen Geschmacksrichtung und der Doktrin der Plejade war eben nicht so beträchtlich;[2]) auch gab es diesmal auf der Seite der Jungen keinen fehdebereiten Kämpen wie Dubellay. Im schnelllebigen Paris war R. bereits vergessen und Desportes das offizielle poetische Tagesgestirn geworden, als Malherbe 1607 daselbst aus der Provence ankam.[3])

Dieser Reformator kümmerte sich um die Aufstellung eines geschlossenen Systems seiner Vorschriften noch weniger als R.; er hat sie nie schriftlich zusammengestellt oder gar veröffentlicht. Als *docteur en négative*, wie Mᵉˡˡᵉ de Gournay, die eifrigste Verteidigerin R.'s, ihn nennt, zog er es vor, bei den regelmässigen literarischen Zusammenkünften mit seinen Freunden Racan, Colomby, Maynard und Dumoustier die Werke der früheren Dichterschule — insbesondere diejenigen von Desportes — einer schulmeisterlichen Korrektur zu unterziehen und im Anschlusse hieran seine eigenen poetischen Ansichten vorzutragen;[4]) ein Verfahren, das späterhin auch von Chapelain und der Akademie dem *Cid* Corneille's gegenüber eingeschlagen wurde. Auch R.'s Werk hat Malherbe in dieser Weise, mit dem Rotstifte in der Hand, durchgesehen; ob er auch an seiner Poetik Kritik geübt hat, ist mir unbekannt.

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[1]) Siehe Brunot, p. 530.

[2]) Siehe hierüber Allais, *la poésie fr., passim.*

[3]) Brunot, p. 556.

[4]) Siehe Brunot, l. c, p. 106 ff.; Gröbedinkel, *der Versbau bei Ph. Desportes u. Fr. de Malherbe*, in: Franz. Studien I, 41—127.

Trotz dieser anscheinend geringen Propaganda gewinnt Malherbe's Anschauung von der Notwendigkeit einer mehr grammatisch zugeschnittenen Poesie immer zahlreichere Freunde. Deimier's *Académie de l'Art poétique* (1610) ist die erste theoretische Leistung der neuen Schule und dokumentiert zuerst den Umschwung im Geschmack. Bei aller Achtung vor R.'s Werken fordert er doch eine sorgfältigere Behandlung der Sprache und weist einige seiner sprachlichen Vorschriften als falsch zurück.[1])

Zwischen dem Nachruhme, den ein grosser Mann geniesst und dem Einflusse, den er auf das öffentliche Leben ausübt, ist eben ein grosser Unterschied. Zur Zeit als Régnier und nach ihm Melle de Gournay in leidenschaftlicher Weise R.'s Ehre und Doktrin verteidigten, hatte sich die öffentliche Meinung schon für die neue Richtung in Poesie und Sprache entschieden. Trotzdem prangten noch lange R.'s Werke als Paradestücke in dem Bücherschranke der Gebildeten und einzelne seiner Poesien fanden immer noch Abdruck in den *Recueils de poésies* jener Zeit.[2]) Auch die Theoretiker der Provinz bleiben R.'s Doktrin noch lange treu. So fusst die Poetik, welche Esprit Aubert seinen *Marguerites Poétiques* (1613) vorausschickt, auf den Theorien der Plejade;[3]) ebenso die von einem unbekannten Verfasser herrührende *Introduction à la Poésie* (1620) und endlich der *Art poétique* des in Douay lebenden Professors Du Gardin (1630).[4]) Im zweiten Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts aber sind die Verteidiger der R.'schen Schule schon viel seltener.

Unter den Kritikern, die sich um Chapelain scharten, wie La Mesnardière (*Poétique*, 1639), Aubignac (*la Pratique du théâtre*, 1657) war der Theoretiker R., wenn auch nicht vergessen, so doch absichtlich vernachlässigt. Sarrazin (*Discours sur le théâtre*, 1639) behauptet geradezu, R. habe keine genügende Kenntnis der Poetik besessen, obwohl er bei ihm

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[1]) Siehe Rucktäschel, p. 36, u. Brunot, p. 179 u. 250.
[2]) Viollet le Duc, *Biblioth.* p. 27—35.
[3]) Ibid., p. 6.
[4]) Ibid., p. 7.

die Regel von der Einheit der Zeit schon hätte finden können;[1]) das abfällige Urteil Balzac's haben wir schon früher erwähnt.[2]) Gleichwohl findet sich selbst zur Zeit Corneille's noch ein später Verehrer R.'s; es ist dies Guillaume Colletet, der in seiner Geschichte der Gattungen (1658) R.'s Dichtungen ausführlich behandelt[3]) und an seinem *Art poétique* nur dessen Kürze zu tadeln hat, wie aus folgenden Worten hervorgeht: «*Son abrégé n'a que le seul défaut sinon qu'il eust été plus utile, s'il eust été plus étendu, mais il ne fait qu'effleurer les matières et n'en approfondit pas une . . . luy qui était si capable de les traiter dignement.*»[4]) Nach diesem Bewunderer der Poesie der Vergangenheit sieht sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts niemand mehr zum Lobe R.'s und seiner Zeit veranlasst. Denn schon naht Boileau, dessen herbes Urteil[5]) R.'s Namen für lange Zeit der Lächerlichkeit preisgeben sollte, obwohl sogar dieser Spötter zugeben musste, dass R.'s Fall nicht sowohl von seinem poetischen Unvermögen als von der Unzulänglichkeit der ihm zu Gebote stehenden Sprache herrührte.[6])

Unter solchen Umständen ist es kein Wunder, wenn die Literarhistoriker jener Zeit, wie Huet, Ménage und Bayle den Theoretiker R. nicht mehr kennen und nur noch den Dichter einer zudem oberflächlichen Würdigung unterziehen. Einer der wenigen Gelehrten, die damals noch R.'s theoretische Schriften studierten, ist der Jesuit Rapin. Er zählt R. unter den früheren Poetikenschreibern auf und erörtert auch dessen Verbot der *Inversion* in der Poesie.[7]) Den ästhetischen Schriftstellern des 18. Jahrhunderts ist R. als Dichter und Theoretiker gleichermassen unbekannt; weder

[1]) Siehe Arnaud, *les théories dram.* p. 114.

[2]) Siehe oben p. 17, nach Balzac, *Diss.* XX, *Œuvr.* II, 661.

[3]) Siehe Brunot, l. c., p. 558.

[4]) Colletet, *Histoire des poètes fr.*, in: *Œuvres inédites de R.* (*ed. Blanchemain*), p. 99.

[5]) *Art poét.* I, v. 123 ff.:

«*R., qui le suivit, par une autre méthode*
Réglant tout, brouilla tout, fit un art à sa mode.»

[6]) Boileau, *Œuvr.*, IIIe *réflexion critiq.*

[7]) Rapin, *Réflexions*, II, 213.

Duclos noch Batteux oder Marmontel erwähnen seinen Namen in ihren Werken. Aus den Gedichtsammlungen jener Tage wird die Poesie des 16. Jahrhunderts absichtlich ausgeschlossen.[1]) Auch bei Baillet (1722) sucht man vergebens nach einer Notiz über die theoretischen Schriften unseres Autors.[2])

Erst Goujet durchblätterte wieder R.'s *Art poétique*, ohne jedoch sonderlichen Geschmack daran zu finden. In seiner *Bibliothèque française* (1740—56) sagt er darüber: *Son abregé de l'Art poétique si vanté ne contient que quelques réflexions fort communes et dont aucune n'est approfondie.*[3]) Im Revolutionszeitalter hatte man selbstverständlich keine Zeit für das Studium der nationalen Vergangenheit übrig; gleichwohl waren die Schulerinnerungen an das klassische Altertum auf das politische Treiben jener Zeit nicht ohne Einfluss, wie wir aus den Reden Mirabeau's und anderer noch jetzt ersehen können. Beim Übergange vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert begegnet uns der Name R.'s zuerst wieder in den Werken der Romantiker. Sie glaubten irrtümlicherweise, dass, wenn sie auf R. zurückgingen, sie bereits wieder an die echt nationalen Überlieferungen des Mittelalters angeknüpft hätten. So kam es, dass R.'s Name zum zweitenmale als Parole in einer literarischen Fehde dienen musste. Bei seiner Polemik gegen die Romantiker kommt auch Laharpe, der verspätete Theoretiker des Pseudoklassizismus, auf R. zu sprechen; allein er hat für den Vater der klassischen Theorie in Frankreich nur Hohn und Verachtung.[4]) Derjenige Gelehrte, welchem das Verdienst zukommt, zuerst wieder auf R. hingewiesen zu haben, ist Viollet le Duc. Dieser unermüdliche Erforscher der älteren französischen Poesie sprach zuerst von R. in einer *Histoire de la Satyre en France*, die seiner Ausgabe von Régnier's Werken (1822) als Einleitung vorhergeht. Aber er dachte nicht daran «*que R. allait devenir le chef ou plutôt*

[1]) Viollet le Duc, *Bibliothèque* p. 41.
[2]) Baillet, *Jugements des Sav.* (*art.* 1335).
[3]) Goujet, *Biblioth. fr.*, III, 112.
[4]) Laharpe, *Lycée* IV, 113.

le signe de ralliement, le drapeau d'une nouvelle école. [1]) Gleichwohl hatte diese Hereinziehung R.'s in den Streit der Anhänger des Klassizismus und des Romanticismus die günstige Wirkung, seinen Namen der Vergessenheit zu entreissen und das Vorurteil gegen die Dichtung des 16. Jahrhunderts zu mindern. Das Hauptverdienst hieran gebührt bekanntlich Sainte-Beuve, der in seinem *Tableau de la poésie française au 16e siècle* (1828) durch eine verständnis- und gefühlvolle Analyse die Poesie jener Tage den modernen Lesern wieder nahezubringen wusste. Von dieser Zeit an datiert der Wendepunkt in der Beurteilung der Literatur der französischen Renaissanceperiode. Der polemischen Kritik des 17., der satirisch spottenden des 18. folgt nun die objektiv-historische Betrachtung des 19. Jahrhunderts; über die Arbeiten, welche dieser Periode angehören, von Darmesteter's Buch bis zu Allais' Studie, haben wir schon oben berichtet.[2])

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[1] Viollet le Duc. *Biblioth.* p. 277.

[2] S. 4 ff.

Schlusswort.

Wir stehen am Ende unserer Arbeit. Lang ist der Weg, den wir zu durchlaufen hatten, und oftmals führte er uns durch ein wirres Gestrüppe von Einzelheiten. Deshalb dürfte es nicht unangebracht sein, in wenigen Worten den Gang unserer Untersuchung zu rekapitulieren und deren Ergebnisse zusammenzufassen.

Die poetischen Theorien der Plejade sind zum Teil aus den Schriften der Alten geschöpft, hauptsächlich jedoch aus den ästhetischen Studien der Humanisten. Diesen überlieferten Stoff haben R. und seine Schüler sodann mit ihrem Geiste belebt und befruchtet.

Wir erkannten ferner, dass die R.'sche Reform für uns zwar den Anschein einer Revolution hat, nichtsdestoweniger aber das natürliche Endglied einer sich langsam vorbereitenden Wandlung des französischen Geisteslebens ist. Freilich hatte diese Geschmacksveränderung zur Folge, dass manche von den alten Kunstformen samt dem ihnen eigentümlichen Inhalte in Vergessenheit gerieten. Allein was abstarb, verdiente auch dieses Schicksal, und der Vorwurf, dass R. die französische Literatur entnationalisiert habe, kann nur von einem oberflächlichen oder parteiischen Kritiker erhoben werden. Dieser Meinung sind auch einsichtsvolle französische Literarhistoriker. So sagt z. B. Brunetière: *«Rien n'est plus naïf ou plus vain que de s'en lamenter, puisque aussi bien cette tradition était épuisée depuis longtemps,*

puisqu'il n'en pouvait plus rien sortir, puisqu'elle était morte etc. [1]) Entgegen der bis jetzt allgemein üblichen Anschauung, als ob die R.'sche Reform eine völlige Selbstverleugnung und ein bedingungsloses Versenken des französischen Geistes in das Altertum bedeute, hatten wir wiederholt Gelegenheit darauf hinzuweisen, dass sie gerade im Gegenteil die erste Etappe auf dem Wege zur Befreiung von fremden Einflüssen darstelle: dass sie dem Hyperhumanismus gegenüber eine Reaktionserscheinung sei und bereits ein Erstarken des Nationalgeistes bekunde, der ihm zusagende Elemente durch Assimilation sich eigen macht, andere dagegen von sich abstösst. Was bei der Auswahl fremder Dichtungsformen und antiker Kunstgesetze dem oberflächlichen Beobachter als Laune des Zufalls oder als gelehrter Pedantismus erscheinen könnte, stellte sich uns als eine Affinitätswirkung dar, die in gleicher Denk- und Gefühlsweise ihren Grund hatte. Darin suchen wir auch die Erklärung für die scheinbar grundlose Unterwerfung der französischen Literatur unter die Herrschaft der aristotelischen Regeln. Von alters her liebten die Franzosen über sich eine starke Hand, die sie auch aus der Ferne willkommen heissen, wenn sie bei ihnen nicht gefunden wird. Dies gilt in der Politik wie in der Literatur. Wenn Aristoteles, dessen Regeln in Italien und England ebenso gut bekannt waren wie in Frankreich, gerade hier zum Tyrannen werden konnte, so liegen Gründe vor, die im Volkscharakter wurzeln;[2]) nimmermehr aber vermag ein literarischer Diktator, — und wenn er auch so einflussreich wäre wie Scaliger und Ronsard — auf ganze Jahrhunderte hinaus eine solche Tyrannei auszuüben.

Auch der Vorwurf serviler Nachahmung der Alten in Bezug auf den Gedankeninhalt ist den Plejadendichtern gegenüber, wie wir sahen, nicht am Platz. Was R. und seine

[1]) *L'évolution de la critique* (1890), p. 47.

[2]) Arnaud, l. c., p. 123: *C'est que ce petit livre répondait à la fois aux espérances nouvelles et aux habitudes anciennes de l'esprit français: espérances d'égaler les anciens, habitude d'être élevé à la formule.*

Freunde unter Nachahmung verstanden, das sollte später der Hellenist Chénier folgendermassen ausdrücken:

«*Pour peindre notre idée, empruntons leurs couleurs,*
— — — — — — — — — — — — — —
Sur des pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques.»

Sie waren sich alle jenes horazischen Wortes bewusst, dass nur das *intemptatum audere* [1]) wahren Dichterruhm verleiht. Deshalb war auch ihnen allen ein ehrliches Streben nach individueller Originalität und Verwirklichung des geistig geschauten Ideals eigen. Von den Alten wie von den Humanisten wissen sie sich zu trennen, wo es heisst, national und modern zu sein. Sie bethätigen bereits den Grundsatz, den Vauquelin später also aussprach:

«*Des siecles le retour et les saisons changées*
Souvent sous d'autres lois ont les Muses rangées.» [2])

Auch die weiteren Vorwürfe, welche man gegen R.'s theoretisches Werk speziell vorbringen könnte, wie Mangel an Klarheit, Systemlosigkeit und sonstige stilistische Ungenauigkeiten, alles dies kommt nicht in Betracht gegenüber der Thatsache, dass R. die literarischen Bestrebungen seiner Zeit vollkommen zum Ausdruck brachte, das geistige Leben der Nation auf allen Gebieten förderte und durch seine Reform in die Bahnen lenkte, auf denen man später wirklich zu einer klassischen Literatur gelangen sollte. R., der Begründer des Klassizismus in Frankreich —, das war in der That das Ziel, dem wir mit unserer Studie zusteuern wollten; die Einheit der klassischen Doktrin im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, das Mittel, diese Behauptung zu beweisen. Hierzu war aber vor allem nötig, R.'s theoretische Schriften, welche vergessen und wenig beachtet waren, wieder ans Licht zu ziehen. Dass man ihre Bedeutung allmählich auch in Frankreich besser

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[1]) Horaz, *Ars poet.* v. 285.
[2]) Vauquelin, *Art poét.* III, v. 903,904.

zu würdigen beginnt, geht aus folgenden Worten eines jüngeren französischen Kritikers hervor:

«Certaines pages de son Art poétique suffisent pour montrer dans le chef de la Pléiade une hauteur de vues, une noblesse de sentiment, une dignité morale inconnues jusqu'à lui ... laissons de côté les menus préceptes; c'est cette majesté de conception, ce profond amour du beau, cette idée si haute et si généreuse de la poésie, et en même temps cette simplicité d'accent si noble et éloquente qui font d'un aussi court ouvrage le monument le plus significatif de la régénération littéraire dont avait Ronsard lui-même donné le signal.» [1])

Möchte meine Arbeit dazu beitragen, die Wahrheit obigen Urteils darzuthun und ihm allgemeine Anerkennung zu verschaffen, damit nach der Ehrenrettung des Dichters am Anfange, endlich einmal am Schlusse des Jahrhunderts auch diejenige des Theoretikers R. zur Thatsache werden möge.

[1]) Pellissier, *Préface*, p. 29.

Lippert & Co (G Pätz'sche Buchdr.), Naumburg a. S.

MÜNCHENER BEITRÄGE

ZUR

ROMANISCHEN UND ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE.

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

H. BREYMANN UND E. KOEPPEL.

XI.

QUELLEN-STUDIEN ZU DEN DRAMEN BEN JONSON'S, JOHN MARSTON'S UND BEAUMONT'S UND FLETCHER'S.

ERLANGEN & LEIPZIG.
A. DEICHERT'SCHE VERLAGSBUCHH. NACHF. (GEORG BÖHME).
1895.

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Vorwort.

Der Zweck dieser Studien ist, eine aus eigener Forschung ergänzte Zusammenfassung alles dessen zu liefern, was wir über die Quellen der auf dem Titelblatt genannten Dramatiker wissen. Weitaus am meisten neues konnte für die Dramen Beaumont's und Fletcher's ermittelt werden, namentlich die italienische Novellistik, deren Einfluss auf diese Dichter bisher unterschätzt worden ist, hat manche Aufklärung geboten. Immerhin bleiben noch viele Quellen zu suchen, und wer nach mir dieses lockende Gebiet durchwandern wird, möge vor allen Dingen erwägen, dass die spanischen Dramatiker von mir nur in beschränktem Masse berücksichtigt worden sind. Im allgemeinen bin zwar auch ich der schon öfters ausgesprochenen Ansicht,[1]) dass die englischen Dramatiker viel lieber und häufiger aus fremdländischen Novellen, als Dramen schöpften, weil ihnen die italienischen und spanischen Prosa-Novellen durch französische und englische Übersetzungen schneller und leichter zugänglich wurden; aber für Fletcher sollen doch bereits spanische Dramen als Muster erkannt worden sein,[2]) und es ist jedenfalls zu hoffen, dass

[1]) Cf. Dyce, *Account of the Lives and Writings of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. LXVIII q; Ward vol. II p. 240.

[2]) Cf. A. L. Stiefel in der Festschrift für Konrad Hofmann, Erlangen 1890 (Rom. Forschungen V), p. 195: „Einige von den letzten Werken des 1625 verstorbenen John Fletcher [haben] nicht nur, wie schon frühere, spanisches Kolorit, sondern sind, wie mir zu finden gelungen ist, bestimmten spanischen Dramen nachgebildet.“ Hoffentlich findet Stiefel bald die Zeit, uns die Ergebnisse seiner Forschung mitzuteilen, ich möchte ihm nicht gerne vorgreifen.

auf manchen jetzt noch dunklen Punkt von dieser Seite her Licht fallen wird.

Meine Angaben über die Einträge in die Listen der Stationers' Company und über die vermutlichen Entstehungs- und Aufführungs-Termine der einzelnen Dramen beruhen auf Fleay's „Chronicle". Die in diesem Zweige der Forschung herrschende Unsicherheit hat viele Fragezeichen nötig gemacht.

Durch die folgenden Untersuchungen ist mein für die Quellenforschung des Stuart-Dramas gesammeltes Material nicht erschöpft. Aber gerade die Menge des Stoffes hat es mir rätlich erscheinen lassen, vorläufig abzuschliessen und geneigten Kritikern möglichst bald Gelegenheit zu geben, die erheblichen Lücken meiner Forschung mit den Früchten ihrer Belesenheit auszufüllen.

München, Juli 1895.

Emil Koeppel.

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Ben Jonson.

The Case is Altered. — Dass dieses Stück[1]) als einer der ersten, wenn nicht der erste dramatische Versuch Ben Jonson's anzusehen ist, wird auch dadurch wahrscheinlich gemacht, dass es in weit höherem Grade als irgend ein anderes Werk des Dichters nach berühmten dramatischen Mustern komponiert ist. Der Mailänder Graf Ferneze hat den jüngeren seiner beiden Söhne, Camillo, im zarten Alter verloren bei der Erstürmung Vincenzas durch die Franzosen: er hält ihn für tot. Ungefähr 19 Jahre später wird sein älterer Sohn, Paulo, von den Franzosen gefangen genommen, doch fügt es sich günstig, dass auch dem Grafen ein vornehmer Franzose als Gefangener ausgeliefert wird, Chamont, der gegen Paulo ausgetauscht werden soll. Sofort wird ein Begleiter Chamont's abgesandt, um den Austausch zu vermitteln; zur grossen Erbitterung des Grafen stellt es sich heraus, dass dieser auf freien Fuss gesetzte Vermittler der echte Chamont ist, während er nur einen Freund desselben in Händen behalten hat. Die glatte Lösung des Knotens wird bewerkstelligt, indem Chamont mit Paulo zurückkehrt und dessen Stellvertreter sich als der tot geglaubte Sohn Ferneze's entpuppt. Der Verlust des einen Sohnes, die Gefangennahme des anderen, der Rollentausch, die Erkennung des Verlorenen — die ganze Intrigue stammt aus den „Captivi" des Plautus (Hegio — Count Ferneze, Philopolemus — Paulo Ferneze, Tyndarus — Camillo Ferneze, Philocrates — Chamont).[2])

[1]) Entstanden gegen Ende des Jahres 1598; gedruckt 1609.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine p. 298; Gifford vol. VI p. 397; Reinhardstöttner p. 346 ff.

Ben Jonson's Drama zeigt uns aber ausserdem noch einen sich arm stellenden Geizhals, Jaques, den Besitzer einer schönen Tochter und eines Goldschatzes, welchen er wie seinen Augapfel behütet. Die schöne Rachel zieht viele Freier an, in jedem dieser Werber vermutet Jaques, der nur an seinen Schatz denkt, einen Dieb und schliesslich wird er auch wirklich bestohlen. Der Charakter des Geizhalses, sein Benehmen gegen die Freier der Tochter, die Art und Weise, wie er bestohlen wird — alles ist der fragmentarisch überlieferten „Aulularia" des Plautus entlehnt (Euclio — Jaques; der alte Megadorus, der Phædra ohne Mitgift heiraten will — Count Ferneze; der Dieb Strobilus — Onion).[1])

Der bestohlene Jaques wird in seiner Verzweiflung zum Verräter an sich selbst, er muss gestehen, dass er selbst das Mädchen und das Gold seinem ehemaligen Herrn, dem alten Lord Chamont, geraubt habe. Da stossen wir nun wieder auf ein Motiv der „Captivi" — Jaques hat dieselbe Sünde auf dem Gewissen, wie der Sklave Stalagmus, der das Söhnchen seines Herrn geraubt hat.

Die beiden von dem englischen Nachahmer geschickt verschlungenen Fäden sind schliesslich dadurch verknüpft, dass Paulo Ferneze Rachel heiratet. Bei der flüchtigen Skizzierung des Verhältnisses zwischen Rachel und ihrem vermeintlichen Vater, bei der Flucht des Mädchens zu ihrem Geliebten (Act V sc. 1), und besonders bei den Worten des in einem Atem den Verlust seines Goldes und seiner Tochter beklagenden Jaques (Act V sc. 1), wird Ben Jonson wohl an zwei erst vor kurzem auf der Londoner Bühne erschienene Gestalten gedacht haben — an Shylock und Jessica.[2])

Every Man in his Humour. — In der ersten Form dieses Lustspiels[3]) (Act V sc. 1; cf. vol. I p. 158 Anm.) beklagt

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[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 298; Gifford l. c. pp. 348f., 367, 372, 389f.; Reinhardstöttner p. 346ff.

[2]) Cf. Ward vol. I p. 190 Anm., p. 558 Anm. 1.

[3]) Eingetragen in das S[tationers'] R[egister] am 14. August 1600; ältester uns erhaltener Druck die Quarto von 1601.

Ben Jonson, dass die Poesie in den Werken vieler Dichterlinge ärmlich und lahm erscheine, mit Überresten und alten, abgetragenen Lumpen ausgeflickt und halb verhungert mangels der ihr nötigen Nahrung, der heiligen Erfindung: *Half starv'd for want of her peculiar food, Sacred invention!* Mit den schärfsten Worten werden den Zeitgenossen ihre literarischen Diebstähle, *their stolen wares*, vorgeworfen. Der Text der Folio-Ausgabe 1616 weist diese Stelle nicht mehr auf, was wir ihrer dichterischen Schönheit wegen bedauern, aber kaum befremdlich finden werden, wenn wir erwägen, dass Ben Jonson's Werke selbst von Entlehnungen aller Art wimmeln, dass auch in „Every Man in his Humour" der gelehrte Leser auf Schritt und Tritt an Horaz, Juvenal und andere Klassiker erinnert wird.

Gleichwohl wird man dem Verfasser das Recht zugestehen müssen, gerade in dieser Komödie das Verdienst der freien Erfindung stark zu betonen. Nicht als ob deren Handlung eine besonders kunstvoll verschlungene, an überraschenden Wendungen reiche wäre — aber so wie sie ist, ist sie Ben Jonson's Schöpfung, es hat sich für den Plan von „Every Man in his Humour" keine unmittelbare Vorlage nachweisen lassen. Motive der klassischen Komödie sind reichlich verwendet,[1]) die Gruppierung derselben zu einem neuen Ganzen jedoch ist des Dichters eigenes Werk.

Every Man out of his Humour. — Auch in dieser satirischen Komödie[2]) (im Vorspiel; cf. vol. II p. 15) schmäht Ben Jonson seine Zeit, in der sich jeder knechtisch nachahmende Geist, *every servile imitating spirit*, als Dichter aufspielen dürfe. Er lässt sein eigenes Werk der Vetus Comoedia vergleichen (Vorspiel p. 22) und gedenkt spöttisch der verwickelten, mit Possen vermischten Liebesintriguen der zeitgenössischen Komödie (Act III sc. 1, p. 113). Leider hat er selbst über der Einführung und Charakterisierung seiner zahlreichen Figuren die Handlung gänzlich vernach-

[1]) Cf. Reinhardstöttner p. 675 ff.
[2]) SR. 8. April 1600; gedruckt 1600.

lässigt; der höchst unklare Plan seines Spieles bietet der Quellenforschung keine Anhaltspunkte. Originalität muss man dem Dichter auch in diesem Falle zugestehen, doch ist es eine Art von Originalität, gegen welche man mit einer von Scene zu Scene sich erhöhenden Stimme zu protestieren geneigt ist.

Cynthia's Revels; or, The Fountain of Self-Love. — Die uns nun bis zum Überdruss bekannten Töne werden auch in der *Induction* dieses für den Hof bestimmten Stückes[1]) wieder angeschlagen: aufs neue wird die *servile imitation* der Dramatiker gebrandmarkt, aufs neue werden die Dichter verhöhnt, welche ihre Scenen mit dem Material alter Bücher stopften und stets von den Tellern anderer Leute ässen (vol. II p. 226f.). Man empfindet die Wiederholung dieser selbstgefälligen, die eigene Ware anpreisenden Spöttereien um so unangenehmer, weil Ben Jonson's Unfähigkeit, aus eigenen Mitteln eine spannende Handlung zu gewinnen, sich in „Cynthia's Revels" noch weit peinlicher verrät, als in „Every Man out of his Humour". Ein Plan für den Bau des ganzen Stückes lässt sich nicht erkennen, und in den locker aneinander gereihten Scenen sehen wir den Dichter bereits gezwungen sich selbst zu kopieren: die Scene, in welcher der Tölpel Asotus von Amorphus instruiert wird, wie er sich den Damen des Hofes gegenüber zu benehmen habe (Act III sc. 3, p. 285ff.), ist eine breite Ausführung des Gespräches, von Macilente und Sogliardo in „Every Man out of his Humour" (Act V sc. 1, p. 170f.).

Überaus interessant als satirisches Zerrbild des Lebens und Treibens am Hofe der alten Elisabeth, und reich an fesselnden Einzelheiten, wie jedes Werk Ben Jonson's, zeigt uns dieses höfische Spiel sein Geschick als *playwright* auf dem niedrigsten Punkte. Jeder Sinn für die Forderungen, die Ökonomie der Bühne scheint ihm verloren gegangen zu sein.

The Poetaster; or, His Arraignment. — Für dieses Gelegenheitsstück[2]) war dem Verfasser glücklicherweise ein

[1]) SR. 23. Mai 1601; gedruckt 1601.
[2]) SR. 21. Dezember 1601; gedruckt 1602.

bestimmtes Ziel der dramatischen Aktion gesetzt: sie musste in der Bestrafung des Dichterlings Crispinus und seines Genossen Demetrius gipfeln. Das Mittel, diese Katastrophe drastisch zu gestalten, fand Ben Jonson nicht in seiner Phantasie, sondern in seinem Gedächtnis: Lucian's „Lexiphanes" diente ihm als Muster. Genau so wie der Arzt Sopolis auf Veranlassung des Lykinos dem Lexiphanes ein Brechmittel eingibt, um ihn von seinen gesucht altertümelnden Redensarten zu befreien,[1]) lässt Horaz-Ben Jonson den Crispinus-Marston Pillen schlucken, welche eine grössere Anzahl auffälliger Worte und Phrasen an das Tageslicht befördern.[2]) Es gehörte Ben's ästhetische Rücksichtslosigkeit dazu, diese Scene aus einem Dialog auf die Bühne zu verpflanzen.

Auch auf dem langen, nicht immer lohnenden Weg, der zu dieser merkwürdigen Katharsis führt, finden wir manches längst erkannte, fremde Gut. Der sich kostbar machende Sänger Hermogenes (Act II sc. 1, p. 424 ff.) stammt aus Horaz (Serm. Lib. I, 3: *Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus*); die berühmte 9. Satire des 1. Buches (*Ibam forte via sacra*) füllt in breiter Dramatisierung den Anfang des 3. Aktes (p. 430ff.); den Schluss desselben Aktes bildet in der Ausgabe letzter Hand eine Übersetzung der 1. Satire des 2. Buches (*Sunt quibus in satira*), eine vollkommen überflüssige Hemmung des an und für sich schleppenden Ganges der Handlung, deren sich der Dichter in der editio princeps noch nicht schuldig gemacht hatte.[3]) Die in der Studierstube des Dichters, fern der Bühne, redigierte Folio des Jahres 1616 bietet viele dieser lästigen Verbreiterungen.

Mitten in dieser dramatischen Satire sehen wir den verbannten Ovid seufzend vor dem Palast seiner Geliebten, der Kaisertochter Julia, stehen (Act IV sc. 7, p. 493ff.). Julia

[1]) Cf. Lucianus ab J. Bekkero recogn. Lipsiae 1853; vol. II p. 339 ff.

[2]) Act. V sc. 1: vol. II p. 524 ff. Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 73f., gibt eine Liste der gebrochenen Worte mit Verweisen auf Marston, soweit er sie in dessen Werken gefunden hat.

[3]) Cf. Gifford vol. II p. 464 f. und den Text dieser Übersetzung p. 534 ff.

erscheint oben an ihrem Fenster, die Liebenden klagen sich ihr Leid, Ovid will gehen, wird von Julia zurückgehalten, Julia will sich zurückziehen, Ovid beschwört sie, noch zu bleiben — Romeo und Juliet in antikem Kostüm.[1]) So wenig diese sentimentale Scene in das derbe Spiel passt, so ist sie doch des herrlichen Vorbildes nicht ganz unwürdig, sie enthält viele schöne Verse und eines der feinsten Gleichnisse der ganzen Dichtung Ben Jonson's.[2])

Ausserdem hat der Dichter, wie bereits für „Cynthia's Revels", auch für den „Poetaster" Anleihen bei sich selbst gemacht. Die nach höfischen Manieren und Festen trachtende römische Bürgersfrau Chloe, die ihren Gatten Albius so schlecht behandelt, ist eine Wiederholung der Fallace in „Every Man out of his Humour", von deren Launen ihr Gatte Deliro so viel zu leiden hat.[3]) Pantilius Tucca schwört hoch und teuer, dass er den Horaz beim nächsten Zusammentreffen prügeln werde, und begrüsst den plötzlich erscheinenden Horaz auf das freundlichste (Act IV sc. 5. p. 490 f.) — eine Feigheit, mit welcher sich schon Bobadill in „E. M. in his H." (Act IV sc. 5; cf. vol. I p. 123 f.) einen Lacherfolg gesichert hatte.

Dass Ben Jonson bei der Schöpfung dieser dramatischen Satire oft des Strafgerichtes gedacht hat, welches Aristophanes in seinen „Fröschen" über die griechischen Dramatiker abhielt,[4]) ist bei seiner genauen Kenntnis der Klassiker nicht zu bezweifeln. Wie Aristophanes zahlreiche Stellen zeitgenössischer Dramen parodiert, gibt auch der Engländer

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[1]) Cf. Rapp p. 224.

[2]) Julia spricht:

> Ay me, that virtue, whose brave eagle's wings
> With every stroke blow stars in burning heaven,
> Should, like a swallow, preying towards storms.
> Fly close to earth, and with an eager plume
> Pursue those objects which none else can see,
> But seem to all the world the empty air! (p. 495).

[3]) Cf. Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 367.

[4]) Cf. Gifford vol. II p. 550: *The chief object of his imitation was the ‚Frogs' of Aristophanes.*

satirische Proben aus einigen Bühnenwerken seiner Zeit, Proben von *king Darius' doleful strain*, von Kyd's, Peele's und anderer dramatischem Stile (Act III sc. 1, p. 455ff.). Freilich braucht er die Anregung zu dieser Art der Satire nicht dem Griechen zu verdanken: im Zeitalter der Elisabeth wurde es bald Sitte, dass sich die gedrängt stehenden Dramatiker gegenseitig durch Parodien neckten. Das älteste mir bekannte Beispiel ist Basilisco's Nachäffung der Worte des sterbenden Tamburlaine:[1]) Shakespeare's Pistol hat diese kritische Methode mit besonderer Virtuosität geübt und vielen Späteren als leuchtendes Vorbild gedient. Dem Plane der „Frösche" hat Ben Jonson nichts entlehnt; auf seinen Humor kann man auch für den „Poetaster" das ihm oft gespendete Beiwort „aristophanisch" anwenden, nachdem man den üblichen Abzug für die dem Engländer gänzlich mangelnde kecke und freche Anmut des Griechen gemacht hat.

Sejanus his Fall. — Begreiflicherweise hatten es die von Ben Jonson so oft und so schonungslos als Nachahmer geschmähten Autoren nicht unterlassen, ihm seine eigenen zahllosen Entlehnungen aus den Klassikern vorzuwerfen[2]) — eine Kühnheit, wofür sie von dem scharfzungigen Dichter als mit ihren Rüsseln den Garten der Musen aufwühlende und entwurzelnde Schweine und der Tugend feindliche Maulwürfe bezeichnet wurden.[3]) Um ihrem Tadel, in welchem der Vorwurf des Plagiats lag, seinen Stachel zu nehmen, hat Jonson sein nächstes Werk, seine erste Römer-Tragödie „Sejanus his Fall",[4]) mit einem fortlaufenden Kommentar versehen, mit

[1]) Cf. E[nglische] St[udien] vol. XVIII p. 126.

[2]) Über diese — sehr berechtigten — Vorwürfe hatte Ben Jonson schon im „Poetaster" quittiert, indem er den Demetrius sagen liess:

> And, but that I would not be thought a prater
> I could tell you he were a translator.
> I know the authors from whence he has stole,
> And could trace him too, but that I understand them not full
> and whole (Act V sc. 1, vol. II p. 521).

[3]) In der Epistel *To the Reader* vor der editio princeps des Sejanus.

[4]) SR. 2. November 1604; gedruckt 1605.

reichlichen Verweisen auf die von ihm benutzten Quellenwerke. Für seine zwei wichtigsten Gewährsmänner, für Tacitus und Dion Cassius Cocceianus hat der philologisch geschulte Dichter sogar die Ausgaben genannt, deren er sich bediente — der Quellenforscher kann somit die Hände in den Schoss legen und sich ruhig und bewundernd den mächtigen Bau betrachten, welchen Ben Jonson mit kunstvoller Verwendung dieser Steine errichtet hat.

Volpone; or, The Fox. — Die Haupthandlung dieses Schauspiels [1]) ist aus einer Episode des satirischen Schelmenromans des Petronius Arbiter herausgewachsen. [2]) Dem sich krank stellenden Eumolpus und seinen spitzbübischen Genossen entspricht Volpone mit seinem Gesinde; die den Eumolpus mit Geschenken überhäufenden Erbschleicher, die *corvi* der Stadt Croton vertritt bei Ben das würdige venetianische Kleeblatt Voltore, Corbaccio und Corvino, zu welchen sich die Engländerin Lady Would-be gesellt.

Auch einen der zur Schürzung des dramatischen Knotens nötigen Fäden verdankt Ben Jonson dem uns zerrissen überlieferten Gespinste des Römers — die ihre Tochter der Lust des Eumolpus opfernde Matrone Philomela stand offenbar Modell für den zur Prostituierung seiner Gattin bereiten Corvino. Um auch diesen Teil der Handlung durch die Haupttriebfeder des ganzen Stückes, die blinde Habgier und gegenseitige Eifersucht der Erbschleicher, in Bewegung setzen zu lassen, hat sich Ben Jonson aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach des alttestamentlichen Berichtes über die letzten Tage des Königs David (Könige I, 1, 1ff.) erinnert [3]) — die schöne Celia soll die Rolle der Abisag von Sunem spielen.

Viel weniger geschickt ist die von Jonson frei geschaffene Parallel-Figur der Celia eingeführt — Bonario, der Sohn des Corbaccio. Dieser alte Sünder hat sich auf Anstiften des Mosca bereit erklärt, ein Testament zu gunsten Volpone's

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[1]) Gedruckt 1607 8.
[2]) Cf. Gifford vol. III pp. 174, 182; Holthausen, Anglia XII 519 ff.
[3]) Cf. Holthausen, l. c., p. 522 f.

zu machen, mit Enterbung seines eigenen Sohnes. Ohne jeden ersichtlichen Grund, aus purer Bosheit, will Mosca den Sohn als unsichtbaren Zeugen dieses Aktes haben. Er versteckt Bonario in Volpone's Haus, Corvino bringt seine Gattin vor der Zeit, und Bonario kann auf diese Weise Celia's Retter werden. Das Resultat ist eine effektvolle Scene, welche auf der Bühne den schweren Schaden des Planes verdeckt; bei aufmerksamem Lesen der Komödie hingegen muss uns der absolute Mangel jeder inneren Begründung der Bonario-Episode sehr unangenehm berühren. Der Dichter bedurfte dieser Gestalt und er hat sie trefflich verwendet, aber er hat sich nicht die Mühe genommen, ihr erstes Auftreten auch uns notwendig erscheinen zu lassen. Mosca's Interessen sind bis zu einem gewissen Grade identisch mit Volpone's Bereicherung — wie konnte er, der raffinierte Schelm, ihr lichtscheues Treiben der Gefahr einer vorzeitigen Blossstellung durch den enterbten Sohn aussetzen?

Das mit der Haupthandlung nur sehr locker verknüpfte, komische Zwischenspiel des Wichtigthuers Sir Politick Would-be und seiner geschwätzigen Gattin ist eine gelungene, satirische Zugabe Ben Jonson's.

Epicoene; or, The Silent Woman. — Im Jahre 1606 wurde in Paris eine Ausgabe der Werke des Sophisten Libanius[1]) gedruckt, in welcher der griechische Text von einer lateinischen Interpretation begleitet war.[2]) Eines der unterhaltlichsten rhetorischen Kunststücke des Griechen erscheint in dem lateinischen Text dieser Folio als *Declamatio sexta*, betitelt: *Morosus qui uxorem loquacem duxerat, seipsum accusat.*[3]) Morosus fleht die Richter an, ihm den Schierlingsbecher, den Todestrunk, zu bewilligen, weil er die Geschwätzigkeit seiner Frau nicht mehr vertragen könne. Von Natur

[1]) Geboren 314 nach Christus, gestorben 390 ?; cf. „Das Leben des Libanius" von G. R. Sievers, Berlin 1868.

[2]) Libanii Sophistae Praeludia Oratoria etc. Federicus Morellus Regius Interpres. Parisiis 1606.

[3]) Cf. l. c. p. 300 ff.: *Μελέτη πραγματική. Δύσκολος γήμας κάλον γυναῖκα, ἑαυτὸν προσαγγέλλει.*

schweigsam und zurückhaltend, habe er ein friedliches Leben geführt, bis er sich von einem Freunde bereden liess, zu heiraten. Schon der Lärm der Hochzeit sei ihm sehr peinlich gewesen, nach der Hochzeit aber sei es noch viel schlimmer geworden, denn die junge Frau habe, trotz der gegenteiligen Versicherungen und Versprechungen des kuppelnden Freundes, eine nicht zu unterdrückende Beredsamkeit und eine nicht zu stillende Wissbegierde entwickelt. Sehr lebendig ist geschildert, wie sich die rastlose Zunge der Gattin bethätigt; sehr humoristisch missglückt sein Versuch, die Frau mit einem Dichterworte niederzudonnern, mit einem Verse eines alten Dichters: *Est foeminis ornatui silentium.*[1]) Kaum hat Morosus nämlich den alten Dichter erwähnt, als ihn seine Frau mit Fragen bestürmt, wer denn dieser Dichter gewesen sei, wer sein Vater, welchem Geschlechte er angehört habe, wann er zu lehren begonnen und wie er sein Leben beschlossen habe. So hat auch die Berufung auf den Dichter seine Qual nur vergrössert, er beschliesst zu sterben und bittet vorher noch die Götter, seiner Gattin ein recht langes Leben zu schenken, damit ihm für alle Fälle in der Unterwelt eine Ruhezeit gesichert sei.

Es ist sehr leicht möglich, dass Jonson's Aufmerksamkeit durch die Pariser Ausgabe auf diese gelungene rhetorische Übung des Sophisten gelenkt wurde; gewiss ist, dass er den Morosus des lateinischen Textes mit all seinen Eigentümlichkeiten und Erlebnissen und mit seinem Namen zum Protagonisten eines in den nächsten Jahren komponierten Lustspiels gemacht hat, der 1609 oder 1610 aufgeführten Komödie „Epicoene; or, The Silent Woman".[2]) Auch Ben Jonson's Morose hasst jedes Geräusch, auch er heiratet ein ihm als besonders schweigsam empfohlenes Wesen, auch er wird von dem Lärm der Hochzeitsgäste und noch mehr von der Zunge der Neuvermählten gemartert. Nicht selten lassen sich sogar wörtliche Anklänge konstatieren.[3])

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[1]) Cf. l. c. p. 310: *Γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει.*

[2]) SR. 20. September 1610; gedruckt 1612.

[3]) Cf. Gifford vol. III pp. 351 f., 363, 410, 420 f., 440. 442, 445, 467, 479 f., 492 f., 499 f.

Die Verbindung dieser Hauptgestalt mit den übrigen *dramatis personae* ist überaus geschickt, ohne jede auffällige Naht, hergestellt. Morose heiratet in böser Absicht, er geht die ihm immer bedenkliche Ehe nur deshalb ein, um sich einen Erben zu zeugen und auf diese Weise seinen verhassten Neffen enterben zu können. Der Neffe gräbt aber eine Gegenmine: er ist es, der dem Sonderling die schweigsame Gattin empfehlen und zuführen lässt. Nach der Hochzeit nähert er sich mitleidig dem betäubten Morose und verspricht, ihn von dieser Furie zu befreien, wenn er ihn zu seinem Erben einsetzen wolle. Morose willigt ein; der Neffe annulliert die Ehe durch die Enthüllung, dass die vermeintliche Braut männlichen Geschlechtes sei. Wortlos verschwindet Morose unter dem Hohngelächter seiner Gegner.

Dass auch diese Bestrafung des Morose von Ben Jonson nach einem klassischen Muster in Scene gesetzt wurde, lässt sich nicht bezweifeln.[1]) In der „Casina" des Plautus wird der verliebte alte Stalino von seiner Gattin und ihren Helfershelfern dadurch gefoppt, dass der junge Chalinus die Rolle des Mädchens spielt. Er lässt sich dem von Stalino als Strohmann vorgeschobenen Sklaven vermählen, so dass schliesslich die beiden Tröpfe, der verliebte Alte und sein Spiessgeselle, mit Hohn und Spott überschüttet werden können.[2])

Unter den vielen, witz- und lärmreichen Zwischenspielen des englischen Stückes findet sich eine Scene, die unsere Gedanken sofort zu Shakespeare führt. Den beiden *gulls* Sir John Daw und Sir Amorous La-Foole wird vorgespiegelt, dass sich der eine von dem anderen tödlich beleidigt fühle und auf blutige Rache sinne. Um dieser Rache zu entgehen, unterwerfen sich die Feiglinge jeder Demütigung[3]): sie fürchten sich vor einander, wie sich in Shakespeare's „Twelfth Night" Sir Andrew Aguecheek und Viola vor einander fürchten.[4]) Dass Ben Jonson über diese beiden höchst unfreiwilligen Duellanten gelacht hatte und in der Erinnerung

[1]) Cf. Rapp, p. 228; Reinhardstöttner p. 390.

[2]) Cf. T. Macci Plauti Casina. Rec. Fr. Schoell. Lipsiae 1890.

[3]) Act IV sc. 2; cf. vol. III p. 449 ff.

[4]) Act III sc. 4.

an sie dieses dankbare Possenmotiv wiederholte, ist höchst wahrscheinlich; dass seine derbe, mit schmerzlichen *practical jokes* überladene Wiederholung des bei allem Übermut massvollen Humors der Viola-Scene ermangelt, wird wohl die Mehrzahl der Leser empfinden. Aber an eine absichtliche Parodie der Situation von „Twelfth Night", an eine übelmeinende Karrikatur des Shakespeare'schen Intermezzos ist selbstverständlich durchaus nicht zu denken.[1])

The Alchemist.[2]) — Der Londoner Bürger Lovewit hat aus Furcht vor der Pest sein Haus und die Stadt verlassen. In das leer stehende Haus hat der als Wächter aufgestellte Diener Face ein Schwindlerpaar aufgenommen: den Goldmacher Subtle und die Dirne Dol Common. Gemeinschaftlich brandschatzt das nichtsnutzige Kleeblatt die von dem Dichter kräftig verkörperte Dummheit und Habgier der Menschen. Lovewit kehrt unerwartet zurück, die Nachbarn teilen ihm mit, welch tolles Leben und Treiben während seiner Abwesenheit in seinem Hause stattgefunden habe — Face aber tritt ihm keck entgegen und behauptet, das Haus sei als pestverdächtig die ganze Zeit abgeschlossen gewesen. Sein Lügen kann die Katastrophe jedoch nur verzögern, nicht abwenden; der Goldmacher und die Dirne müssen fliehen, der Hauptsünder aber, der treulose Diener Face, bleibt ungestraft.

In der ersten Scene der „Mostellaria" des Plautus hören wir, dass der Athener Theuropides seit drei Jahren auf Reisen sei, und dass sein Sohn in dem Hause des sparsamen Alten ein lustiges, verliebtes Leben führe, begünstigt von dem Sklaven Tranio, den der Vater als Hausverwalter eingesetzt hatte. Unvermutet kehrt der Alte zurück, der Sohn ist ratlos, Tranio tritt dem unerwünschten Kömmling entgegen und beschwört ihn, das Haus nicht zu betreten: es sei von einer Blutschuld belastet, der Geist eines Ermordeten spuke in ihm. Auch in der klassischen Komödie wird der Lügner

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[1]) Cf. Gifford vol. III p. 452 f.; Rapp p. 230.

[2]) SR. 3. Oktober 1610; gedruckt 1612.

schliesslich blossgestellt, auch in ihr entrinnt er, der ungetreue Sklave, der wohlverdienten Strafe.

Unzweifelhaft hat Ben Jonson den Plan seines Stückes nach diesem plautinischen Muster entworfen.[1]) Auch den flotten Anfang der „Mostellaria", den uns *in medias res* versetzenden Streit der beiden Sklaven Grumio und Tranio hat sich Jonson zu eigen gemacht: der „Alchemist" beginnt mit einem uns alles Nötige enthüllenden Streite der beiden Schelme Subtle und Face.

Auch in einer der vielen komischen Beigaben dieses inhaltsreichen Dramas Ben Jonson's lässt sich wohl eine plautinische Reminiscenz erkennen. Der als Spanier verkleidete und spanisch sprechende Surly wird von Face und Subtle, die des Spanischen unkundig sind und bei ihm Unkenntnis des Englischen voraussetzen, mit in höflichem Tone vorgetragenen Spöttereien und Verunglimpfungen seiner vermeintlichen Nationalität überschüttet, wobei sich die beiden Gauner verraten.[2]) In dem „Poenulus" des Plautus spielt sich der des Punischen unkundige Milphio als Dolmetsch auf zwischen dem Punier Hanno und Agorastocles und tischt als Übersetzung des Punischen allerlei tolles Zeug auf, bis er von dem des lateinisch mächtigen Hanno als Lügner entlarvt wird. Das Ziehen einer Verbindungslinie zwischen diesen beiden Scenen[3]) scheint mir berechtigt.

Sehr ansprechend ist die ausserhalb des Kreises der literarischen Quellenforschung liegende Vermutung, dass Ben Jonson bei der Schöpfung des Trios Face, Subtle und Dol ein zeitgenössisches Schwindler-Trifolium vor Augen hatte: den im „Alchemist" erwähnten Goldmacher Edward Kelly[4]) und seine Verbündeten Dee und Laski, einen jungen Polen, dem bei ihren Betrügereien oft die Rolle des Engels zuge-

[1]) Cf. Gifford vol. IV pp. 158f., 166. Bei Reinhardstöttner's Bemerkung: „Eine Nachahmung der Mostellaria ist [der Alchemist] nicht" (p. 489) kommt es darauf an, welche Ausdehnung er in diesem Falle dem Begriffe ‚Nachahmung' geben wollte.

[2]) Act IV sc. 1; cf. vol. IV p. 132ff.

[3]) Cf. Gifford vol. IV p. 136f.

[4]) Act IV sc. 1; cf. vol. IV p. 122.

fallen sein soll, wie Dol Common als Feen-Königin zu agieren hat.[1])

Catiline his Conspiracy. — Cicero's catilinarische Reden und die Erstlingsschrift des Sallustius „De conjuratione Catilinae" waren Ben Jonson's Hauptquellen für dieses sein zweites Römerdrama.[2]) In Einzelheiten lässt sich ausserdem die Benutzung anderer Historiker erkennen; die genaue Bestimmung und Abgrenzung dieser Einflüsse wird einem seine Aufgabe erschöpfenden Kommentator des Dramas zufallen, der sich bis jetzt noch nicht gefunden hat.

Nicht ohne Überraschung bemerken wir, dass Ben Jonson diese von dem Lichte der authentischen Geschichte durchströmte Handlung in den von den englischen Dramatikern längst aufgegebenen Rahmen des Seneca-Dramas gefügt hat. Wie in Seneca's „Agamemnon" und „Thyestes", erscheint auch vor dem englischen „Catiline" ein unheilverkündender Geist, der Geist des Diktators Sulla;[3]) wie zumeist bei Seneca, tritt auch bei Ben Jonson am Schlusse der ersten 4 Akte ein Chor auf, welcher die sich aus den Ereignissen ergebenden politischen und ethischen Lehren zusammenfasst. Auch das Innere des „Catiline" gibt in Wort und Gedanken wiederholt Zeugnis von einem intensiven Studium des römischen Dramatikers.[4])

Bartholomew Fair. — Ein Griff der Dichterhand ins volle Menschenleben, Sittenbilder, welche der Künstler nach der ihn umgebenden Wirklichkeit entwarf. Auch der Faden, welcher die einzelnen Blätter dieses Skizzenbuches zusammenhält, ist von Ben Jonson selbst geliefert. Weder für die ganze Handlung, noch für einzelne Scenen dieses Stückes[5]) lassen sich literarische Beeinflussungen nachweisen.

The Devil is an Ass. — Dass Pug, der unerlaubt dumme

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[1]) Cf. Gifford, l. c., p. 123.
[2]) Gedruckt 1611.
[3]) Cf. Gifford vol. IV p. 199.
[4]) Cf. Langbaine p. 288; Gifford, l. c., pp. 254. 277.
[5]) Aufgeführt 31. Oktober 1614; gedruckt 1631.

Teufel dieses Stückes,[1]) ein Nachkomme des Machiavelli'schen Belfagor ist,[2]) dass Ben Jonson's Teufel ohne den italienischen Teufel nicht aufgetaucht sein würde, ist kaum zu bezweifeln. Beide Teufel sind für ihren Ausflug auf die Menschenerde mit einer schönen Gestalt ausgerüstet, beide sind den ihnen entgegentretenden Menschen an Schlauheit und Schlechtigkeit nicht gewachsen, beide müssen schliesslich gedemütigt zur Hölle fahren. Im übrigen sind ihre Erlebnisse durchaus verschieden, Pug ist in noch weit höherem Grade zu einer leidenden Rolle verurteilt als Belfagor.

Um in den Besitz eines prächtigen Mantels zu gelangen, gestattet Fabian Fitzdottrel, Pug's Dienstherr, dem jungen Weltmanne Wittipol eine viertelstündige Unterredung mit Mrs. Fitzdottrel. Die Unterredung hat in seiner, des Gatten, Gegenwart stattzufinden, und er verbietet überdies insgeheim seiner Frau jedes Wort der Erwiderung. Wittipol erklärt seine Liebe; wie die schöne Frau stumm bleibt, antwortet er sich selbst in ihrem Namen, Gegenliebe verheissend. Das Ergebnis seines Monologes ist, dass sich ihr Herz dem Gatten ab-, und dem Werber zuwendet. Dass diese ganze Scene einer Novelle des Boccaccio (Dec. III 5) entlehnt ist, wurde längst festgestellt[3]) — wörtliche Übereinstimmungen[4]) beweisen, dass Ben Jonson bei seiner Dramatisierung das Original vor sich liegen hatte. Eine um so bemerkenswertere Verschiedenheit zwischen Vorbild und Nachahmung ist, dass die Erbärmlichkeit des Gatten, welche Zima mit Schweigen übergeht, von Wittipol in scharfen Worten gebrandmarkt wird. Dieser moralischen Tendenz des englischen Dichters entspricht es, dass, während sich die Italienerin dem Liebes-

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[1]) Aufgeführt 1616; gedruckt 1631.

[2]) Cf. Baudissin, „Ben Jonson und seine Schule", Leipzig 1836; vol. I p. 435. Über eine 1581 gedruckte englische Prosa-Übersetzung der Novelle Machiavelli's cf. „Studien" p. 49.

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p. 289.

[4]) Genau entsprechen sich z. B. Zima's Bemerkung: *Voi avete comperato il pallafreno, et io non l'ho venduto,* und Wittipol's Schlussworte: *It may fall out, That you have bought it dear, though I've not sold it* (Act I sc. 3; cf. vol. V p. 37).

rausche hingibt, bei Mrs. Fitzdottrel bald eine tugendhafte Ernüchterung eintritt, sie bleibt ihrem Gatten treu.

Auch einige andere Motive des Stückes, die Zusammenkunft an den Fenstern und „die Partie, wo der Galan als Spanierin auftritt", sind als italienische Novellenstoffe bezeichnet worden,[1]) leider ganz ohne Beweis. Ich selbst kann nur noch für eine der Listen, welchen der dumme Teufel zum Opfer fällt, ein italienisches Vorbild wahrscheinlich machen. In Boccaccio's Decameron (III 3) bedient sich eine Frau ihres Beichtvaters, um sich mit dem von ihr begehrten Manne in Verbindung zu setzen: was dieser thun soll, trägt sie dem Mönche als ihr zugefügte Kränkung vor, mit der Bitte, den ihm bekannten, aufdringlichen Werber zurechtzuweisen. Schliesslich klagt sie, der Bösewicht sei auf einen Baum ihres Gartens geklettert und habe versucht, durch das Fenster in ihr Zimmer zu dringen: entrüstet hält der Mönch dem jungen Manne diese neue Sünde vor und vermittelt auf diese Weise die erste Zusammenkunft der Verliebten. Nach derselben Methode lässt Mrs. Fitzdottrel ihrem Verehrer Wittipol durch Pug sagen, er solle unterlassen, sie von seinem Fenster aus zu belästigen, sie würde sich sonst an ihren Gatten wenden. Pug richtet diese Botschaft arglos aus, und verhilft dadurch, sehr gegen seinen Willen, dem Paare zu einem Stelldichein (Act II sc. 1 und 2; cf. vol. V p. 52 ff.).

Für die hässliche Schlussscene, in welcher Fitzdottrel die Rolle eines vom Teufel Besessenen spielt, sollen zeitgenössische Berichte über ähnliche Betrügereien stark benützt sein.[2])

The Staple of News. — Der die Rolle eines vom Teufel Besessenen spielende Fitzdottrel versteht in allerlei Sprachen zu reden: griechische, spanische, italienische, französische Brocken stösst er heraus. Sein griechisches Citat ist dem „Plutos" des Aristophanes entlehnt.[3]) Ben Jonson's nächstes, ungefähr zehn Jahre später verfasstes Drama „The Staple of News" verdankt seinen satirischen Grundgedanken dieser

[1]) Von Rapp p. 232.
[2]) Cf. Gifford vol. V p. 152f.
[3]) Cf. Gifford ib. p. 154.

klassischen Komödie: in verschiedener Weise, aber ebenso grell, wird auch von dem Engländer die Allmacht des Reichtums beleuchtet. Plutos, der Gott des Reichtums, der aus einem ganz anderen Grunde als Hans Sachsens Frau Wahrheit seinen Namen nicht zu nennen wagt, um dessen Gunst sich die ganze Welt bewirbt, wird in dem englischen Stücke [1]) vertreten durch die schöne *Mistress Pecunia Do-all*, die allgefeierte *Infanta of the Mines*. Aristophanische Gedanken sind hin und wieder verwertet, [2]) die Umgebung der beiden allegorischen Gestalten jedoch zeigt keine Ähnlichkeit. Ben Jonson's satirisches Bild ist viel figurenreicher, aber auch lange nicht so übersichtlich gruppiert, wie die klassische Vorlage.

Aus Schmerz über das Verschwinden der Lady Pecunia ist der alte Geizhalz und Wucherer Pennyboy wahnsinnig geworden; er nimmt seine beiden Hunde ins Verhör, ob sie die Dame gekränkt und zum Fortgehen veranlasst hätten (Act V sc. 2; cf. vol. V p. 301 ff.). Auch diese tolle Scene ist aristophanisches Gut, sie ist eine Nachahmung des Hunde-Prozesses in den „Wespen" (sc. 3). [3])

Das Redaktionsbureau des „Staple of News" wird dem *House of Fame* verglichen (Act III sc. 1; cf. l. c. p. 241), es hat jedoch mehr Ähnlichkeit mit dem im dritten Buche (v. 830 ff.) der Chaucer'schen Dichtung beschriebenen *Domus Daedali*, dem Hause der Gerüchte, wo oft Lüge und Wahrheit zu einem untrennbaren Ganzen verwachsen.

Den Vater Pennyboy, der sich tot sagen lässt und sich verkleidet, als Diener, seinem Sohne anschliesst, um dessen Lebensweise kennen zu lernen, den herzlosen, verschwenderischen jungen Erben — diese Gestalten kann Ben Jonson einem älteren Stücke entlehnt haben, dem 1605 gedruckten „London Prodigal". Der alte Flowerdale sagt sich tot und tritt verkleidet in seines Sohnes Dienst, wodurch er Gelegenheit erhält, sich selbst von dessen Herzlosigkeit und Verworfen-

[1]) SR. 14. April 1626; gedruckt 1631.
[2]) Cf. Gifford, l. c., pp. 202, 276.
[3]) Cf. Gifford, l. c., p. 311.

heit zu überzeugen. Bei dieser auffälligen Übereinstimmung ist es bemerkenswert, dass wir noch in einem anderen der letzten Dramen Ben Jonson's einem Motiv des „London Prodigal" begegnen werden (cf. unten).

The New Inn: or, The Light Heart.[1] — **The Magnetic Lady: or, Humours Reconciled.**[2] — **A Tale of a Tub.**[3] — Die mühselige Lektüre dieser Alterswerke bleibt für den Quellenforscher ebenso resultatlos, wie für den Leser, welcher ästhetische Befriedigung sucht. Was von Handlung in ihnen zu finden ist, scheint Ben Jonson's eigene Mache zu sein. Eine Episode des „New Inn" ist vielleicht der Middleton zugeschriebenen Komödie „The Widow" entlehnt.[4] Lord Beaufort vermählt sich mit dem als Mädchen verkleideten Wirtssohn Frank, der schliesslich in der That ein Mädchen ist; in dem Middleton'schen Stücke vermählt sich Francisco mit Martia, die vorher in Männerkleidung aufgetreten war und von einigen Personen für einen verkleideten Mann gehalten wird (cf. p. 64 f.). Liegt wirklich eine Nachbildung vor, so ist Ben Jonson's Wiederholung dieses gewagten Manövers gewiss nicht als verbesserte Auflage zu betrachten. — In „A Tale of a Tub" (Act II sc. 1) werden wir einmal an den „London Prodigal" (Act III sc. 3) erinnert (cf. oben), durch den Einfall, den Bräutigam am Hochzeitstage verhaften zu lassen; die Nebenumstände sind jedoch ganz verschieden.

Auch das schöne Fragment **The Sad Shepherd**[5] lässt in seinem Plane keine fremden Einflüsse erkennen. Von dem nach dem Schema der Seneca-Tragödien mit Chören am Schlusse der ersten vier Akte entworfenen, historischen Trauerspiel **The Fall of Mortimer** ist nur ein Bruchstück der ersten Scene[6] überliefert.

[1] Aufgeführt 19. Jan. 1629; gedruckt 1631.

[2] SR. 12. Okt. 1632; gedruckt 1641.

[3] SR. 7. Mai 1633; gedruckt 1640.

[4] Cf. Gifford vol. V p. 433; Dyce „Beaumont and Fletcher" vol. IV p. 381.

[5] Gedruckt 1641.

[6] Gedruckt 1640.

Unter den siebzehn uns überlieferten Dramen Ben Jonson's — das Pastoral-Fragment mitinbegriffen — finden wir nicht weniger als acht,[1]) deren Handlung von dem Dichter selbst ersonnen ist — eine in damaliger Zeit doppelt auffällige Bethätigung der starken, selbstvertrauenden Persönlichkeit des Mannes. Die Anerkennung dieses ehrenvollen Strebens nach Unabhängigkeit darf uns aber nicht abhalten, festzustellen, dass nur zwei dieser acht Dramen — „Every Man in his Humour" und „Bartholomew Fair" — sich auf der Bühne behaupten konnten, dass die dürftige oder wirre Handlung der übrigen weder den zeitgenössischen Zuschauer noch den späteren Leser zu fesseln vermochte.

Die neun Dramen, in welchen sich fremde Handlungs-Elemente erkennen lassen, zeigen sehr verschiedene Abstufungen der Quellenbenutzung. Einmal, vermutlich in seinem dramatischen Erstling — „The Case is Altered" —, steht Ben Jonson ganz auf den Schultern des lateinischen Meisters Plautus, hat er es sich genügen lassen, zwei plautinische Komödien zu einem neuen Ganzen zu verschmelzen. In den übrigen sechs *Comedies* ist eigenes und fremdes Gut gemischt, und es entsteht die Frage, welches Element dieser Mischung das herrschende ist, ob der Keim der Dichtung in dem fremden Stoffe, oder in des Dichters eigener Gedankenwelt zu suchen ist. Rein literarische Inspiration ist gewiss für seine beiden bühnenwirksamsten Dramen anzunehmen, für „Volpone" und „Epicoene"; auch für den Erdenlauf des dummen Teufels und für die Allegorie von der Gewalt des Geldes wird der erste, zündende Funke unserem Dichter beim Lesen in die Seele gefallen sein. Im Dienste eines eigenen schöpferischen Gedankens Ben Jonson's hingegen stehen die fremden Elemente in dem „Poetaster" und dem Alchimisten.

Charaktere, Ereignisse, Gedanken, Worte entlehnte der Dichter seinen Quellen für seine beiden Römer-Tragödien,

[1]) Every Man in his Humour, Every Man out of his Humour, Cynthia's Revels, Bartholomew Fair, New Inn, Magnetic Lady, Tale of a Tub, Sad Shepherd.

Sejanus und Catilina, und bei diesem engen Anschluss an seine Gewährsmänner hat er den Höhepunkt seines dichterischen Könnens erreicht. Von jeder Sorge um den Gang der Handlung befreit, vertiefte sich ihm die Erkenntnis des inneren Organismus seiner Gestalten, gewann er die Musse, uns fesselnde, überraschende Einblicke in ihr Seelenleben zu gewähren. An vielen Stellen der Römer-Tragödien ist die sonstige Starrheit seiner Zeichnung gelöst, das harte Licht seiner dramatischen Gemälde wohlthuend gedämpft.

Im Überblick der Bühnendichtung Ben Jonson's müsste die Frage, ob es dem Dramatiker zum Vorteil gereicht, seine Pläne frei zu erfinden, entschieden verneint werden. In seinem dramatischen Lebenswerke freuen wir uns der fremden Elemente, denn seiner aus sich selbst schöpfenden Phantasie gelingt nur selten ein wohlgeformtes, lebensfähiges Gebild. Viel störender als die Erkenntnis der literarischen Einflüsse in seinen Stoffen ist uns die Unsicherheit, mit welcher wir jedem auffälligen Gedanken des Dialogs gegenüberstehen. Unwillkürlich sucht unser Auge die Anmerkung des Herausgebers, und in hundert und aber hundert Fällen finden wir unten den griechischen oder lateinischen Urtext der betreffenden Stelle. Diese Art der Nachahmung hemmt die Freiheit des Dichters auf Schritt und Tritt, während die dramatische Neuschöpfung einer alten Fabel seiner Eigenart und seiner Kunst die ungehindertste Entwickelung gestattet.

John Marston.

Antonio and Mellida. — Ein Jugendwerk,[1] in welchem wir an manches berühmte Muster erinnert werden: der Gesamtplan des Stückes scheint jedoch Marston's freie Erfindung zu sein. Bei dem grotesken Einfall, seinen Antonio als Amazone verkleidet auftreten zu lassen, kann Marston an einen der Prinzen der „Arcadia" Sir Philip Sidney's gedacht haben, an Pyrocles, welcher sich der Prinzessin Philoclea in Amazonentracht nähert. Antonio ist geneigt schwermütige Betrachtungen anzustellen, über Tod und Leben (Act III; cf. vol. I p. 41), über das Verhältnis von Seele und Körper (Act IV, p. 44 f.), und entreisst sich dieser letzteren, unter den dramatischen Umständen allerdings höchst unzeitgemässen Träumerei mit den Worten: *O, this is naught, but speckling melancholie.* Es ist mir sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er diesen auffälligen, melancholischen Zug einer der effektvollsten Gestalten der damaligen Bühne verdankt, dem Kyd'schen Hamlet, dessen Charakter wohl bereits eine Beimischung der von Shakespeare's Hamlet an sich selbst gerügten *weakness and melancholy* (Act II sc. 2, v. 630) besass.[2]

[1] Aufgeführt 1600 (?); SR. 24. Okt. 1601; gedruckt 1602.

[2] Wie bereits Sarrazin „Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis", Berlin 1892, p. 119 vermutet hat. Antonio's Melancholie ist, die Richtigkeit meiner Annahme vorausgesetzt, eine starke Stütze dieses Teiles der Sarrazin'schen Rekonstruktion des Kyd'schen Hamlet.

Eines der possenhaften Intermezzi des Dramas ist gewiss mit Recht als Parodie einer Scene der „Spanish Tragedy" Kyd's aufgefasst worden, der Scene zwischen den beiden durch Mord ihrer Söhne beraubten Väter, zwischen Hieronimo und dem Maler.[1]) Hieronimo fragt in ihr den Maler, ob er ein Stöhnen oder einen Seufzer, und später, ob er einen Schmerzensschrei malen könne.[2]) Über diese in ihrem Grundtone tief tragische Scene hat sich der junge Autor lustig gemacht, indem er ein gänzlich überflüssiges Gespräch zwischen dem thörichten Höfling Balurdo und einem Maler einfügte und Balurdo fragen liess, ob ihm der Maler ein närrisches Taumellied malen könne, mit Verwendung des Wortes *Uh*, d. h. eines Rülpses.[3])

An Shakespeare denken wir bei der Prüfung des Hauptmotives der Handlung: Antonio und Mellida, die Kinder feindlicher Fürsten, lieben sich wie Romeo und Juliet. Dass die Marston'sche Rossaline, die Nichte des Dogen von Venedig, eine schwächliche Kopie der Nichte Leonato's, der Beatrice Shakespeare's, ist,[4]) kann nicht bezweifelt werden. In der Scene, in welcher Rossaline ihrem Oheim gegenüber ihre Abneigung gegen das Heiraten scherzhaft motiviert (Act V, p. 60 f.), ist die Nachahmung eine sehr auffällige (cf. Much Ado Act II sc. 1).

Von diesen mehr oder minder wahrscheinlichen literarischen Reminiscenzen abgesehen, scheint Marston seine tollen Sprünge, die ihn durch Tragik und Posse zu einem vergnügten Ende brachten, aus eigener Kraft gemacht zu haben.

Antonio's Revenge. The Second Part of the Historie of Antonio and Mellida. — In diesem zweiten Teile[5]) seines

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[1]) Cf. Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 75. Fleay behauptet, dass diese Scene eine der Ben Jonson'schen *Additions* sei.

[2]) Cf. Dodsley-Hazlitt vol. V p. 119 f.: *Canst paint a doleful cry?*

[3]) Cf. Act V, p. 55 f.: Bal. *Can you paint me a driveling reeling song, and let the word be, Uh.* Paint. *A belch.* Bal. *O. no, no: Uh, paint me uh, or nothing . . .*

[4]) Cf. Ward vol. II p. 57.

[5]) Aufgeführt 1600 (?); vgl. im übrigen p. 21 Anm. 1.

Doppelspieles hat Marston die Gräuel der ihm vorbildlichen Kyd'schen Tragödien zusammengefasst, gehäuft.[1]) Der Einfluss des Kyd'schen Hamlet dominiert: die Rache eines Sohnes an dem Mörder seines Vaters ist die Haupttriebfeder der Handlung. Wie im Hamlet, wird Antonio's Vater vergiftet, von dem falschen Dogen von Venedig, seinem alten Feinde Piero; wie im Hamlet, bewirbt sich der Mörder mit Erfolg um die Witwe seines Opfers; wie im Hamlet, wird Antonio von dem Geiste seines Vaters von der Vergiftung in Kenntnis gesetzt und zur Rache angespornt. Mit dieser Sohnesrache verschmolz Marston das Hauptmotiv der „Spanish Tragedy", die Rache des Vaters an den Mördern seines Sohnes. Der grausame Piero ersticht Feliche, dessen Vater Pandulfo sich mit Antonio gegen den Wüterich verbindet. An die blutigen Einzelheiten der „Spanish Tragedy" kann uns das Ausschneiden der Zunge Piero's erinnern — Hieronimo beisst sich selbst die Zunge ab —, und besonders die Art und Weise, wie sich die Mörder ihrer unbequemen Helfershelfer entledigen. Lorenzo bestimmt den Meuchelmörder Pedringano, sich ohne Geständnis und ohne Furcht zum Galgen führen zu lassen, da im letzten Augenblick die Rettung erfolgen werde, und lässt ihn ruhig aufknüpfen. Piero veranlasst den von ihm gedungenen falschen Zeugen Strotzo zu öffentlicher Selbstanklage, unter Zusicherung vollkommener Straflosigkeit und reichster Belohnung, und benutzt den Augenblick dieser Selbstanklage dazu, ihn auf der Stelle zu erdrosseln. In beiden Fällen übersteigt die Leichtgläubigkeit der betrogenen Betrüger das Mass des Glaubhaften. Als wörtlicher Anklang an die „Spanish Tragedy" fällt uns ein Vers Alberto's auf: *There is a thing call'd scourging Nemesis* (Act IV sc. 3, p. 125) — verglichen mit Hieronimo's Worten in dem von Ben Jonson eingefügten Monologe: *And there is Nemesis and furies, And things call'd whips.*[2])

[1]) Cf. Ward vol. II p. 55. Seine Vermutung betreffs der Herkunft der ganzen Antonio und Mellida-Geschichte: *The story may have itself been taken direct from some Italian source*, vermag ich nicht zu stützen.

[2]) Cf. Dodsley-Hazlitt, l. c., p. 105. Das zeitliche Verhältnis der

The Wonder of Women: or, The Tragedy of Sophonisba. — „*Know, that I have not laboured in this Poeme,*[1]) *to tye my selfe to relate any thing as an historian, but to inlarge every thing as a poet*“, sagt Marston in seiner kurzen Apostrophe *To the General Reader*. Nicht ohne Grund: die ergreifende alte Historie mit ihrer Liebesleidenschaft und Todesfreudigkeit ist von ihm durch allerlei effekthaschendes Beiwerk *inlarged*, aber nicht verschönert, sondern verdorben worden.

Seine auffälligsten Zugaben dieser Art sind die Beschwörung der Hexe Erictho und die Erscheinung von Asdruball's Geist (Act IV; V sc. 1). Im Mittelpunkte dieser beiden übernatürlichen Intermezzi steht Syphax: er beschwört die Hexe, damit ihm ihre Zauberkunst die widerstrebende Sophonisba willig mache; ihm erscheint der über sich selbst jammernde Geist. Dass Marston's Hexe eine Kopie der Erichtho Lucan's ist[2]), wird schon durch die Namensgleichheit wahrscheinlich, durch viele Übereinstimmungen der Schilderung der Hexe zur Gewissheit. Weniger sicher ist meine, für mich selbst sehr bestechende, Vermutung, dass dieser ganze, höchst überflüssige, vollkommen aus dem Plan des Dramas hinausführende Exkurs in das Gebiet des Übernatürlichen der Reflex eines starken Bühneneindrucks ist, welchen Marston kurz vorher erhalten hatte. Macbeth's Besuch bei den *weird sisters* (Act IV sc. 1) schwebte m. E. Marston vor Augen: dieser in das Shakespearesche Drama fest eingefügten, höchst bühnenwirksamen Scene hat sich Marston sofort bemächtigt, sie hat er in seinem nächsten Werke nachgeahmt, plump und geschmacklos, ohne jede Rücksicht auf die Symmetrie seines eigenen dramatischen Baues. Wie Macbeth von den Hexen, wird auch Syphax von der klassischen Unholdin betrogen, in gemeiner Ausführung erfahren wir, dass Erictho selbst die Gestalt der Sophonisba annimmt und den liebestollen Bramarbas vampirähnlich aussaugt.

Jonson'schen *Additions* zur „Sp. Tr.“ und dieses zweiten Teiles des Marston'schen Dramas ist allerdings ein fragliches.

[1]) Aufgeführt 1602/3 (??). SR. 17. März 1606: gedruckt 1606.

[2]) Cf. eine A. W. W[ard] gezeichnete Anmerkung bei Herford „Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century“, Cambridge 1886; p. 231.

Diese Annahme einer Beeinflussung durch Macbeth wird gestützt durch gewisse Übereinstimmungen der Schilderungen, welche im ersten Akte der Shakespeare'schen Tragödie von Macbeth's Kämpfen und im ersten Akte der Sophonisba von dem Nahen der römischen Flotte und dem ersten Zusammenstoss der Römer und Punier gegeben werden. Carthalo berichtet dem Massinissa: *Three hundred saile | Upon whose tops the Roman eagles stretched | Their large spread wings, which fann'd the evening aire | To us cold breath . . . . Yet doubtful stood the fight* (Act I sc. 2; vol. I p. 157 f.); der verwundete *Sergeant* meldet von der Schlacht: *Doubtful it stood . . .* und Ross kommt: *From Fife, great king: Where the Norweyan banners flout the sky | And fan our people cold* (Act I sc. 2 vv. 7, 48 ff.).[1])

Bei dem Entwurfe seiner Darstellung des Schicksals der Sophonisba scheint Marston eklektisch verfahren zu sein und verschiedene Versionen der berühmten Geschichte berücksichtigt, manche Änderung wohl auch selbständig vorgenommen zu haben. Ihrer jüngsten englischen Fassung, der Painter'schen Übersetzung (II 7) der Novelle Bandello's (I 41),[2]) verdankt Marston stofflich nichts.[3])

[1]) Ein Aufsatz der Zeitschrift Poet Lore (II, 1890 No. 6) über *Marston's Shakespearianisms* ist mir leider nicht zugänglich, ebensowenig die Bullen'sche Ausgabe (3 vols., London 1887). Es ist deshalb möglich, dass die von mir erwähnten Macbeth-Anklänge bereits hervorgehoben worden sind. Thomas Tyler's Aufsatz: *Shakespeare and Marston in 1598* (Academy 1889 p. 306 f.) bespricht eine vermutliche Marston-Reminiscenz eines Shakespeare'schen Sonetts. Marston scheint auch mit Montaigne vertraut gewesen zu sein. Sophonisba's Worte: *What evil | Is there in life to him that knows life's loss | To be no evil* (ib. p. 168) decken sich vollkommen mit Montaigne's Sentenz: *Il n'y a rien de mal en la vie, pour celuy qui a bien compris, que la privation de la vie n'est pas mal* (Essais, Livre I chap. 19: *Que Philosopher, c'est apprendre à mourir*; citiert nach Pierre Coste's Ausgabe, Paris 1725, vol. I p. 59 ff.). Zwei Verse später sagt Sophonisba: *Opposed trees make tempests shew their power* — ein Gleichnis Lucan's (Phars. III 362 f.), dessen Verse auch Montaigne (L. I, ch. 4, p. 18), citiert hat.

[2]) Cf. Studien p. 7.

[3]) Etwas näher, aber nicht erschöpfend, hat sich mit dem Verhältnis der Marston'sche Tragödie zu den früheren Versionen der Geschichte beschäftigt A. Andrae in seiner Abhandlung: „Sophonisbe in

What you will.[1]) — Celia, die schnell getröstete Witwe des bei einem Schiffbruch verunglückten Albano, ist im Begriff, sich einem zweiten Gatten zu vermählen. Die beiden Brüder Albano's und ein verschmähter Freier der Celia suchen diese Heirat dadurch zu verzögern, dass sie einen dem Verunglückten sehr ähnlichen Mann als den plötzlich heimgekehrten Gatten auftreten lassen. Inzwischen ist aber der Totgeglaubte wirklich wohlbehalten eingetroffen, so dass sich in einer derb komischen Scene die zwei Gatten, der echte und der falsche, gegenüberstehen. Ein Muttermal verhilft dem Albano schliesslich zu seinem Recht und zu seiner herzlosen Gattin. Es ist wohl möglich, dass Marston bei dem Entwurfe dieser Komödie der Irrungen an die berühmte lateinische Komödie gedacht hat, in welcher der rechtmässige Gatte auch von einem Doppelgänger genarrt wird, aber in einer viel bedenklicheren Weise — an den „Amphitruo" des Plautus.[2]) Im übrigen besteht jedoch keine Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Wirrungen der beiden Stücke.

Für die ziemlich unbestimmt ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass die Handlung des Marston'schen Dramas einem italienischen Spiele entlehnt sei,[3]) konnte ich bis jetzt keine Bestätigung finden. Ein komisches Intermezzo Marston's zeigt uns einen Schulmeister, welcher seine Schüler aus der lateinischen Grammatik examiniert (Act II sc. 1; cf. vol. I p. 245 ff.), vielleicht eine Reminiscenz an das Examen aus derselben Materie, welchem der kleine William Page von Sir Hugh Evans unterworfen wird, in den „Merry Wives of Windsor" (Act IV sc. 1).[4]) Beide Scenen haben jedenfalls die Ähnlichkeit, dass sie gänzlich ausserhalb der Handlung der Stücke liegen.

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der französischen Tragödie mit Berücksichtigung der Sophonisbebearbeitungen in anderen Litteraturen" Oppeln und Leipzig 1891, p. 86 ff. Painter ist nicht erwähnt. Mehrere beachtenswerte Übereinstimmungen mit Marston's Plan fand Andrae in einem spanischen Drama „Los Amantes de Cartago", dessen Priorität jedoch sehr fraglich ist (p. 69).

[1]) Entstanden 1601 (?); SR. 6. August 1607; gedruckt 1607.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine p. 351.

[3]) Cf. Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 77: *The plot is founded on an Italian play: so Mr. Daniel tells me.*

[4]) Cf. Rapp p. 40.

Marston's Celia lässt ihre Freier von ihrer Schwester Meletza kritisch durchhecheln (Act IV sc. 1, p. 271 f.), ganz ähnlich, wie Shakespeare's Julia die ihrigen von Lucetta, in den „Two Gentlemen of Verona" (Act I sc. 2).

Parasitaster: or, The Fawn. [1]) — Tiberio, der Sohn des Herzogs von Ferrara, wird an den Hof des Herzogs von Urbino gesandt, um für seinen Vater die Hand der Prinzessin Dulcimel zu begehren. Diese findet jedoch mehr Gefallen an dem Sohne als an dem Vater; um Tiberio, der ehrenhaft in den Grenzen seiner Sendung bleibt, von ihrer Liebe zu verständigen, klagt sie ihrem Vater, dass Tiberio sie mit Anträgen verfolge, ihr Geschenke schicke, ja schliesslich sogar von einem Baume aus in ihr Zimmer zu dringen versucht habe. Der Vater wirft dem überraschten Prinzen diese Sünden vor, Tiberio fängt Feuer und so wird der Vater von der losen Tochter als Kuppler benutzt. Diese ganze, von ihm geschickt verwendete Intrigue hat Marston Boccaccio's Decameron (III 3) entlehnt. [2])

Neben diesem italienischen Faden läuft ein anderer, der unsere Gedanken auf Umwegen nach Deutschland führt. Das *Ship of Fools* wird öfters erwähnt [3]) und in *Don Cupid's Parliament*, welches den letzten Akt beschliesst, werden die Sünder und Thoren des Stückes zur Strafe auf das Narrenschiff gesandt — eine lustige Erfindung, wie es denn überhaupt in diesem Lustspiel viel zu lachen gibt.

Der Herzog von Ferrara, Tiberio's Vater, ist seinem Sohne verkleidet nach Urbino gefolgt, erscheint ziemlich häufig als Schmeichler und Spassmacher und Vertreter des

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[1]) Aufgeführt 1604 (?); SR. 12. März 1606; gedruckt 1606.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine p. 351. Rapp's Bemerkung: „Der Gedanke beruht auf Terenz' Adelphi u. s. w." (p. 41) ist irrtümlich; er hat an Molière's „École des Maris" gedacht, wo Motive des Terenz und der fraglichen Novelle Boccaccio's verwendet sind. Marston verdankt Terenz in diesem Stücke nichts.

[3]) Cf. vol. II pp. 14, 50, 70 f., 82. 89 f., 97 ff. Dass Marston der deutschen Herkunft des Narrenschiffes wohl bewusst war, kann uns eine Bemerkung des verkleideten Herzogs beweisen: *Nay, tis a pure foole! I can tell yee he was bred up in Germany* (II 1, p. 36).

Chorus, mit welchem er den Mangel jeden Einflusses auf die Handlung gemein hat, verkündet die Urteilssprüche Cupido's betreffs der Besatzung des Narrenschiffes und verhilft schliesslich dem Stücke zu einem fröhlichen Ende durch seine Billigung der von ihm begünstigten Verbindung des jungen Paares. Es ist wohl möglich, dass Marston diesen an und für sich gänzlich überflüssigen, verkleideten Herzog und den Gedanken der abschliessenden Gerichtssitzung dem Shakespeare-Drama „Measure for Measure" entlehnt hat. [1])

Auch bei sich selbst hat Marston für diese Komödie eine Anleihe gemacht. In seiner 1599 veröffentlichten Satiren-Sammlung „The Scourge of Villanie" hatte er von einem jungen Lebemann gesprochen: *Who, to obtaine intemperate luxury, | Cuckolds his elder brother, gets an heire, | By which his hope is turned to despaire* (vol. III p. 298). Diese Verse enthalten die Substanz der Frappatore-Episode des Marstonschen Stückes[2]) — und zugleich, wenn wir für den älteren Bruder einen entfernteren, älteren Verwandten einsetzen, einer der Novellen in Gottfried Keller's „Leuten von Seldwyla", der Geschichte von John Kabys, dem Schmiede seines Glückes! Alles schon dagewesen . . .

Einer längst richtig erkannten klassischen Reminiscenz, einer Charakterskizze Ovid's, [3]) verdankt der junge Nymphadoro seine schranken- und wahllose Bewunderung des ganzen schönen Geschlechtes.

The Dutch Courtezan. [4]) — Zwei Handlungen, eine ernste und eine komische, locker, aber mit guter Bühnenwirkung, zu einem Ganzen verschmolzen. Die Quelle der komischen Episoden ist bekannt: der Schelm Cocledemoy,

[1]) Cf. Fleay, Chronicle, vol. II p. 79. Mit gewohnter Bestimmtheit sagt Fleay: *The whole plot reminds us of Measure for Measure, which this play was meant to rival.*

[2]) Cf. l. c. p. 80: *The Frappatore story is taken from 'The Scourge' X, and undoubtedly refers to some personal scandal of the time.*

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p. 351: *Nymphadoro's Humour of Loving the whole Sex, Act 3. Sc. 1. is copy'd from Ovid's Amor. Lib. 2. Eleg. 4.*

[4]) Aufgeführt 1601 (?); SR. 26. Juni 1605; gedruckt 1605.

welcher den Weinhändler Maister Mulligrub verfolgt, seines kostbaren Pokals beraubt und schliesslich bis hart an den Galgen führt — Cocledemoy hat einen grossen Teil seiner Schlauheit, nicht aber seinen spitzbübischen Witz, von den beiden Tagedieben geerbt, welche dem englischen Publikum 1566, in dem ersten Bande von Painter's „Palace of Pleasure" vorgestellt worden waren, in der sechsundsechzigsten und letzten Novelle dieses Bandes [1]), betitelt: *A Doctor of the Lawes boughte a cup, who by the subtiltie of two false varlets, lost both his money and the cuppe.* [2])

In dem Bekanntenkreise des Schwindlers Cocledemoy begegnen wir der holländischen Curtisane Francischina, der Geliebten des jungen Freevill. Malheureux, Freevill's ernster Freund, tadelt dieses Verhältnis, verliebt sich jedoch bei einem in höchst moralischer Absicht abgestatteten Besuch — *The sight of vice augments the hate of sinne* (Act I sc. 2; cf. vol. II p. 116) — selbst leidenschaftlich in die Dirne. Freevill hat sich mit einem vornehmen Mädchen verlobt und ist ganz bereit, auf Francischina zu verzichten. Wütend verlangt diese den Tod des Treulosen, erst nach seiner Ermordung will sie Malheureux angehören. Malheureux geht scheinbar auf ihren Plan ein, verständigt sich jedoch mit seinem Freunde, so dass schliesslich die Anstifterin dem Gesetz verfällt.

Auch diese Mordgeschichte hat Marston m. E. dem „Palace of Pleasure" entnommen, der aus Bandello stammenden vierundzwanzigsten Novelle des zweiten Bandes. Die Countess of Celant, die berüchtigte Bianca Maria, versucht zuerst, ihren Geliebten Roberto Sanseverino, earl of Gaiazzo, zu bestimmen, ihren früheren Buhlen Ardizzino Valperga, count of Massino, zu töten; nach dem Misslingen dieses Versuches wirft sie aufs neue ihre Netze nach Ardizzino aus, und beschwört nun diesen, Roberto, ihren Feind, zu ermorden. Ardizzino stellt sich, als ob er ihr williges Werkzeug sein wolle; die befreundeten jungen Männer verständigen sich jedoch, so dass die böse Absicht der Buhlerin wieder vereitelt wird.

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[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 348.

[2]) Cf. Jacobs' Neudruck vol. II p. 142 ff.

Die Übereinstimmung des Marston'schen *plot* mit diesem Teile der Novelle ist eine sehr auffällige; wir werden uns überdies gleich überzeugen können, dass Marston die schauerliche Lebensgeschichte der Gräfin mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit gelesen hatte.

The Insatiate Countess. [1]) — Wieder zwei Handlungen, die aber ganz ohne Verbindung neben einander herlaufen; es fehlt jeder Versuch einer Verschmelzung der sich abstossenden Elemente. Die tragische Haupthandlung beruht auf derselben Novelle, welcher Marston bereits für die „Dutch Courtezan" wichtige Motive entlehnt hatte: seine Isabella, Countess of Swevia, ist identisch mit der Bianca Maria, deren Sünden Painter erzählte, nach Belleforest's Version der Novelle Bandello's (I 4), im zweiten Bande seiner Sammlung, als vierundzwanzigste Novelle, betitelt: *The disordered Lyfe of the Countesse of Celant, and how shee (causinge the County of Masino to be murdered) was beheaded at Milan.*[2]) Marston hat sich der Novelle eng angeschlossen, keines der schmählichen Liebesabenteuer der Gräfin bleibt uns erspart, die Furie ist in das grellste Bühnenlicht gestellt. Seine bedeutendste Änderung ist, dass er den zweiten Gatten der unersättlichen Gräfin in ein Kloster gehen und auf dem Schafott verzeihend neben Isabella erscheinen lässt, wodurch er für das hässliche Finale einen wohlthätigen Moll-Akkord gewinnt.

Die Nebenhandlung zeigt uns zwei befreundete Frauen, welche die ehebrecherischen Gelüste ihrer Gatten unschädlich machen, indem sie die Rollen tauschen, und einen vornehmen Jüngling, der, um die Ehre seiner Dame zu retten, sich für einen Dieb erklärt. Auch diese Geschichte hatte Marston in Painter's „Palace" gelesen, als sechsundzwanzigste Novelle des zweiten Bandes, betitelt: *Two gentlemen of Venice were*

[1]) Aufgeführt 1610 (?); SR. 1613; gedruckt 1613. Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 81 denkt an 1604 als Entstehungsjahr. Langbaine (p. 349) spricht von einer Quarto des Jahres 1603, von der sonst nichts bekannt ist.

[2]) Cf. Jacobs vol. III p. 44 ff. Schon Langbaine hat l. c. die Quelle (Bandello-Belleforest) richtig bestimmt, Painter's Übersetzung erwähnt er nicht. Cf. Studien p. 89.

honourably deceived of their Wyres etc.,[1]) die Übersetzung einer Novelle Bandello's (I 15). Die Dramatisierung dieser Novelle ist eine sehr flüchtige und unvollkommene, nach der Hinrichtung der Gräfin hatte Marston selbst, wie heute noch der Leser, kein Interesse mehr für seine Arbeit: wir erhalten von ihm keinen Aufschluss über das Schicksal des selbstanklägerischen Diebes.[2])

The Malcontent.[3]) — **Eastward Hoe.**[4]) — Für keines dieser beiden, nur zum Teil von Marston verfassten Dramen hat sich bis jetzt ein Quellen-Nachweis liefern lassen. Der einfache Plan des letzteren Stückes, mit seinen wirkungsvollen Kontrastgestalten, wird von den vereinten Dichtern wohl frei

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[1]) Cf. Jacobs vol. III. p. 125 ff. Haslewood scheint der erste gewesen zu sein, der die Quelle des *underplot* erkannte (cf ib. vol. I p. LXXXIX).

[2]) Fleay's Bemerkung (Chronicle vol. II p. 80): *The play, which bears Barksted's name in some copies, seems to have been condensed by him from two others, one a Tragedy, the other a Comedy*, sein Versuch *this curious union of two complete plays* mit einem anonymen Stücke zu identifizieren, sind m. E. ganz verfehlt. Seine Behauptung (ib. p. 81): *The tragic plot is from an Italian play* entbehrt jeder Stütze, und über die Quelle der Nebenhandlung scheint er vollkommen im Unklaren zu sein, sonst würde er, im Anschluss an eine von ihm wohl richtig kommentierte satirische Anspielung in diesem Teile des Dramas doch nicht gesagt haben: *That the whole comic plot is personally satirical I am certain.* Die Beziehungen Barksted's zu der „Ins. Countess" erklärt sich A. H. B[ullen] in dem Dict. of Nat. Biogr. in seinem Marston-Artikel damit, *that Marston, when he entered the church left his work unfinished, and that it was afterwards taken in hand by Barksteed.* M. E. wird es einer genauen Untersuchung ein Leichtes sein, an allen Ecken und Enden des Dramas die Marston'sche Mache festzustellen, in Worten, Bildern, Anspielungen (wie auf das Narrenschiff, Act. II; cf. vol. III p. 135) und in der Menge der Shakespeare-Reminiscenzen. Sehr wahrscheinlich hat Barksted an das grosse Marston'sche Fragment nur den unbefriedigenden, nicht alle Knoten lösenden Schluss angeflickt: er scheint die Quelle der Nebenhandlung nicht gekannt und deshalb nicht gewusst zu haben, welches Ende er dem Abenteuer des Lord Mendosa geben sollte.

[3]) Entstanden gegen Ende 1601 (?); SR. 5. Juli 1604; gedruckt 1604.

[4]) Aufgeführt 1604/5 (?); SR. 4. September 1605; gedruckt 1605.

entworfen worden sein;[1]) der mörderische Usurpator Mendoza des „Malcontent" hingegen könnte novellistischer Herkunft sein.

Ein geschmeidiges Talent, stets bereit, sich der Tagesmode anzuschmiegen. Die Grossen, Marlowe und Shakespeare, hatten von Hero und Leander, von Venus und Adonis gesungen: in schwächlicher und ungesunder Nachahmung dieser lüsternen Erotik sang Marston von Pygmalion und seiner Statue, mit einem hässlichen Verweilen bei des Künstlers Leidenschaft für das unbeseelte Werk.[2]) Ein starker Impuls von anderer Seite versetzte den Dichter in das Gebiet der satirischen Dichtung: der Pornograph verwandelt sich in den Moralisten. Aber nur scheinbar, denn dieser Moralist schildert die Laster seiner Zeit so genau, dass seine Satiren auch dem blasiertesten Lebemann eine pikante Lektüre sein konnten. Und wie die Bühne mehr und mehr das Zentrum der literarischen Welt wird, stellt auch Marston Erotik und Satire[3]) in den Dienst einer nicht zu verachtenden dramatischen Begabung. Schluss: Pater peccavi, Eintritt in die Staatskirche, gänzlicher Verzicht auf literarische Produktion.

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[1]) Fleay, Chronicle vol. II p. 82 verweist auf Athenaeum, 13. Oktober 1883, No. 2920, wo Charles Edmonds in dem Artikel *The Original of the Hero in the Comedy of Eastward Hoe* den 1598 hingerichteten Strassenräuber Luke Hutton mit dem lasterhaften, aber schliesslich reuigen Lehrling Quicksilver in Verbindung bringt. Auch Hutton soll in Versen Busse gethan haben.

[2]) Dass Marston mit dieser Schilderung bewusst, in satirischer Absicht das Werben der Shakespeare'schen Venus um Adonis parodieren wollte, wie der Verfasser des Marston-Artikels in der neunten Ausgabe der „Encyclopædia Britannica", vol. XI p. 575, meint, ist m. E. vollkommen ausgeschlossen.

[3]) Marston hat für seine Dramen öfters Anleihen bei seinen Satiren gemacht, vergl. oben p. 28 Anm. 2, sowie in Sat. III (vol. III p. 225) die satirische Skizze des mit erlogenen vornehmen Liebschaften prahlenden Duceus und die Scenen, in welchen Castilio (Antonio and Mellida III; cf. vol. I p. 36 f.) und Herod (Parasitaster IV; cf. vol. II p. 68 f.) derselben Schwindelei überführt werden. Auch die abgeschmackte Herkules-Anekdote ist aus Sat. V (cf. l. c., p. 233) in den „Malcontent" (IV 5; cf. vol. II p. 268) übergegangen.

Als Dramatiker ist Marston aufs stärkste und nachhaltigste von Kyd und Shakespeare beeinflusst. Dem letzteren hat er, von unzähligen Einzel-Anklängen nicht zu reden, für den Bau seiner Dramen den Kunstgriff abgesehen, zwei verschiedene Handlungen zu einem Ganzen zu verschmelzen. Gern schöpft er seine Stoffe aus Novellen: als sein hauptsächlichstes Quellen-Werk erscheint Painter's „Palace of Pleasure". Marston versteht sich gut darauf, die Prosa-Erzählung in eine spannende dramatische Handlung umzusetzen, aber die Fähigkeit, die Gestalten der Novelle in echte Menschen zu verwandeln, besass er nicht. Oft ist von Shakespeare rühmend gesagt worden, dass die Berührung seiner Hand den Rohstoff zu Gold werden liess — Marston's Hand hinterlässt eine schmutzige Spur. Rein tritt uns aus der Überlieferung die Gestalt der Sophonisba entgegen; Marston setzt sie den brutalsten Angriffen aus, verdirbt die ernste alte Historie durch den überflüssigsten und unsittlichsten Zauberspuk. Ein geschickter Bühnentechniker, kein nach Wahrheit strebender Künstler. [1])

[1]) Vergl. über Marston neuerdings Ph. Aronstein, ESt. XX 377 ff., eine Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Forschung; Fortsetzung folgt.

Beaumont and Fletcher.

The Woman-Hater.[1]) — Der Weiberhasser Gondarino, die sich ihm in neckischer Absicht, aber jedenfalls höchst unweiblich aufdrängende Oriana, seine brutale Rache, welche den guten Ruf des Mädchens zu vernichten sucht, die durch eine das Gebiet der Tragödie streifende, widerliche Scene bewerkstelligte Rechtfertigung der Oriana, Gondarino's possenhafte Bestrafung — für diese Gestalten und Ereignisse hat sich bis jetzt keine Quelle finden lassen. Die Herkunft des Feinschmeckers Lazarillo hingegen, der durch alle fünf Akte des Stückes einem Leckerbissen nachjagt, einem Fischkopf, und schliesslich sogar eine Dirne ehelicht, um seinem Gaumen diesen Genuss zu sichern — die Herkunft dieses Sonderlings ist längst aufgehellt worden[2]): er stammt aus einer Anekdote des Paulus Jovius, erzählt in dessen Schrift „De Romanis Piscibus" cap. V.[3])

[1]) SR. 20. Mai 1607; gedruckt 1607. Dyce (I, III): *Fletcher;* Oliphant (ESt. XIV, 77): *Beaumont and Fletcher;* Fleay (Chron. I 177): *Beaumont*. Bei Oliphant ist auch die frühere Forschung über die Verfasserfrage berücksichtigt. In erster Linie verdienen R. Boyle's Arbeiten Beachtung, in ESt. V 74, VII 66, VIII 39, IX 209, X 383, und neuerdings pro und contra Oliphant ib. XVII 171, XVIII 292; vergl. ausserdem Boyle's *Massinger*-Artikel im Dict. of Nat. Biogr.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. I p. III sq.

[3]) Cf. Pauli Jovii Novocomensis Medici de Romanis Piscibus Libellus. Antuerpiae 1528. *De Umbrina.* Caput V.

Die Verknüpfung der beiden Fäden ist eine sehr stümperhafte, das ganze Drama ein oberflächliches Machwerk.

Dass in diesem Stücke einige Worte Hamlet's parodistisch verwendet sind, ist längst hervorgehoben worden.[1]) Ausserdem finde ich noch zwei an Hamlet erinnernde Stellen beachtenswert, deren eine m. E. ebenfalls beweist, dass sich der Verfasser der überwältigenden Eindrücke der grossen Tragödie durch Spott erwehren will. Auf des Herzogs Frage nach seinem Alter antwortet der hungrige Lazarillo: *. . . And eight and twenty times hath Phoebus' car | Run out his yearly course since* — wozu der Höfling Lucio bemerkt: *How like an ignorant poet he talks!* (Act II sc. 1. p. 34). Ich halte es für sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Kritik an Shakespeare's Adresse gerichtet ist, der seinen *Player-King* beginnen liess: *Full thirty times hath Phoebus' cart gone round | Neptune's salt wash . . . . Since . . . .* (Act III sc. 2. 165 ff.). Ausserdem erinnert noch Gondarino's Ausruf beim Nahen der Oriana: *It comes again! . . . Stand and recall thyself* (Act III sc. 1. p. 41) an Hamlet (Act I sc. 1. 126 f.): *Lo, where it comes again! . . . Stay, illusion!*

Thierry and Theodoret. — Für die historischen Ereignisse dieser Tragödie[2]) flossen den Verfassern viele Quellen,[3]) eine genaue Vergleichung des Dramas mit diesen verschiedenen Berichten fehlt uns noch. Sie wäre schon deshalb sehr wünschenswert, weil neuerdings das ganze Stück

[1]) Cf. Dyce, l. c., Act II sc. 1. p. 37.

[2]) Entstanden 1617 (?); lic und gedruckt 1621. Dyce (I 103): *Beaumont and Fletcher;* Oliphant (ESt. XV. 352): *Originally written (perhaps about 1607 or 1608) by Fletcher and Beaumont, or Beaumont alone; revised in 1617 by Massinger, or Massinger and Fletcher;* Fleay (Chron. I 205): *Fletcher, Massinger and Field.*

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p 215: *See the French Chronicles in the Reign of Clotaire the Second. See Fredegarius Scholasticus, Aimoinus Monachus Floriacensis, De Serres, Mezeray, Crispin, etc.* Eine sorgfältige Prüfung des Verhältnisses der pseudo-historischen Dramen Beaumont's und Fletcher's zu den historischen Quellenschriften, wie sie uns für „Bonduca" bereits geliefert wurde (vergl. p. 68), ist von anderer Seite in Angriff genommen worden.

als eine Satire auf den französischen Hof unter Maria von Medici gedeutet worden ist.[1]) Freilich ist auch die Möglichkeit nicht ausser acht zu lassen, dass das uns überlieferte Trauerspiel nur eine Neubearbeitung eines älteren, 1597 erwähnten, verlorenen Dramas „Brunhowlte" ist.[2])

Für die rührende Gestalt der jungen Königin Ordella, die so rein durch ihre lasterhafte Umgebung schreitet, werden die Chroniken den Dramatikern schwerlich Anhaltungspunkte geliefert haben. Dem verblendeten Thierry wird von einem betrügerischen Astrologen Kindersegen verheissen, falls er die erste ihm aus dem Diana-Tempel entgegentretende Frau töten würde, Ordella selbst soll nach der Absicht ihrer Feindin Brunhalt dieses Opfer sein. In der erschütternden ersten Scene des vierten Aktes stehen sich der König und seine Gattin gegenüber wie der Gileaditer Jephthah und seine Tochter (Richter Kap. XI), und Ordella hat mit der Jüdin die Opferwilligkeit, den Todesmut gemein. Vielleicht besteht eine innere Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden, gleich ergreifenden Situationen.

Philaster: or, Love lies a-bleeding. — Die Handlung dieses Dramas[3]) hat den grossen Vorzug der Einheitlichkeit: jede Scene steht in Beziehung zu dem Schicksal des Protagonisten, des Titelhelden, und der beiden ihn liebenden Frauen, der Prinzessin Arethusa und der als Page verkleideten Euphrasia, genannt Bellario. Eine die ganze, sehr romantische Geschichte dieser Liebenden bietende Quelle ist noch nicht

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[1]) Cf. Fleay, Chron. vol. I p. 205: *The astrology of Lacure and the name De Vitry distinctly point to the condemnation of Concini in 1617 for treason and sorcery. The whole play is a satire on the French Court under Marie de Medici. Vitri arrested the Maréchal d'Ancre, and on his resistance killed him. The placing the scene in the reign of Clotaire 2 is one of Massinger's political adaptations.*

[2]) Cf. Fleay, l. c., p. 205, vol. II p. 306. Woher Fleay übrigens mit Sicherheit weiss, dass dieses ältere Stück *really historical* war, ist mir nicht bekannt.

[3]) Aufgeführt vor 8. Okt. 1610; gedruckt 1620. Dyce (I 199). Oliphant (ESt. XIV 90), Fleay (Chron. I 189): *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

ermittelt, für einzelne Motive hingegen auf verschiedene Vorbilder hingewiesen worden. In erster Linie hat man von alter Zeit her den Einfluss Shakespeare's auf die Komposition dieses Dramas stark betont: Philaster, der verdrängte Sohn des rechtmässigen Königs von Sizilien, steht dem herrschenden Usurpator ähnlich gegenüber, wie Hamlet seinem Oheim, dem König Claudius — eine Situations-Ähnlichkeit, die durch bedeutsame Übereinstimmungen in der Ausdrucksweise der beiden Usurpatoren noch auffälliger wird; die Prinzessin Arethusa, die, mit einer grossen Liebe für Philaster im Herzen, den prahlerischen Wüstling Pharamond heiraten soll, kann an Imogen erinnern, welche, von Posthumus getrennt, sich dem Tölpel Cloten vermählen soll;[1]) Euphrasia, welche im Pagengewande zwischen den Liebenden vermittelt, obwohl sie selbst Philaster liebt, hat einige Züge der Viola. Der Dialog des Dramas ist reich an Shakespeare-Reminiscenzen — die Annahme, dass die Verfasser sich auch bei der Skizzierung ihres Planes und ihrer Charaktere oft von Shakespeare beeinflussen liessen, hat die Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Sich diesem mächtigen Einfluss ganz zu entziehen, war für die jüngeren Dramatiker jener Zeit ebenso schwierig, wie es für die jüngeren modernen Tondichter ist, ihre Werke von dem Echo der Wagner'schen Harmonieen frei zu halten.

Als Vorgängerin der in Pagentracht auftretenden, ebenso treu wie hoffnungslos liebenden Euphrasia ist auch die Felismena in Jorge de Montemayor's „Diana" genannt worden,[2]) dieselbe Felismena, welche Shakespeare für seine Julia in den „Two Gentlemen of Verona" als Vorbild im Auge hatte. Aber Euphrasia ist nicht die schnöde verlassene Geliebte Philaster's, und für die sonstigen Ähnlichkeiten der Situation

[1]) Cf. B. Leonhardt „Über Beziehungen von Beaumont und Fletcher's Philaster . . . zu Shakespeare's Hamlet und Cymbeline" Anglia VIII 424 ff. In den Einzelheiten kann ich dem Verfasser nicht immer beipflichten, er vergleicht zu viel. An Macbeth's berühmte Frage (Act V sc. 3, 40ff.) erinnern Philaster's Worte: *Nature too unkind, That made no medecine for a troubled mind* (Act III sc. 1, p. 257), vergl. aber auch ESt. XVIII 133.

[2]) Cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 353 ff.

brauchten die jungen Dramatiker jedenfalls nicht aus dem spanischen Schäferroman oder dessen englischer Übersetzung geschöpft zu haben, die ihrem treulosen Geliebten als Page folgende Julia Shakespeare's stand ihnen näher.

Felismena und Julia werden übrigens schliesslich doch noch mit ihren Flüchtlingen vereinigt — mehr Ähnlichkeit als mit diesen glücklicheren Schwestern hat Euphrasia mit der unglücklichen Prinzessin Zelmane, der Tochter des Königs Plexirtus, deren leidvolle Geschichte Pyrocles seiner Philoclea erzählt, im zweiten Buche von Sir Philip Sidney's „Arcadia".[1]) Zelmane verliert ihr Herz an Pyrocles, ohne dass dieser ihre Liebe ahnt, sie folgt ihm und dient ihm treu in Männerkleidung, Daïphantus genannt, und bleibt unerkannt bis zu ihrer frühen Todesstunde. Ihre pathetische Gestalt scheint mir das grösste Anrecht zu besitzen, als Vorbild der Euphrasia betrachtet zu werden, und man möchte in der That bedauern, dass die jungen Dramatiker ihre liebliche Heldin nicht auch durch den Tod befreit, sondern zu einem kalten, mit dem Gelübde der Ehelosigkeit belasteten Leben verurteilt haben.[2])

The Maid's Tragedy. — Auch in dieser Tragödie[3]) ist die Einheit der Handlung zu rühmen. Die stolze Evadne, der es schmeichelt, des Königs Geliebte zu sein, bis sie durch die Erkenntnis ihrer Schmach zur Ermordung ihres Verführers getrieben wird, der schwache Amintor, der auf den Wunsch des Königs seiner Verlobten das Wort bricht und ahnungslos Evadne heiratet, Aspatia, das verlassene Mädchen, welches schliesslich den geliebten Treulosen in Männerkleidung zum Kampfe herausfordert, um von ihm getötet zu werden, Melantius, Evadne's Bruder, dessen starkes Wort ihr die Seele zerschmettert — fest sind die Schicksale dieser Gestalten verwoben und dieses feste Gewebe scheint von den jungen Dramatikern selbst gefertigt zu sein: bis jetzt hat

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[1]) Cf. Works, London 1724 5, 3 vols.; vol. I p. 323 ff.

[2]) Cf. Ward, vol. II p. 177.

[3]) Aufgeführt vor 31. Oktober 1611; gedruckt 1619. Dyce (I 313), Oliphant (ESt. XIV 92), Fleay (Chron. I 192 f.): *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

sich keine Quelle finden lassen. Den Kampf der Aspatia mit Amintor hat man mit einer Episode im dritten Buche der Arcadia verglichen,[1]) mit dem Zweikampf zwischen der in Ritter-Rüstung auftretenden Parthenia und Amphialus. Die Ähnlichkeit ist eine äusserliche, die Beweggründe der beiden Frauen sind durchaus verschiedene: Parthenia kämpft und stirbt in dem Bestreben, ihren von Amphialus erschlagenen Gatten Argalus zu rächen.[2])

The Faithful Shepherdess. — Von Fletcher's Pastoral-Drama[3]) wendet sich unser vergleichender Blick vor allem zurück zu den berühmten italienischen Schäferspielen des 16. Jahrhunderts, zu Tasso's „Aminta" und Guarini's „Pastor Fido". Dem „Aminta" verdankt der Engländer für den Plan seiner Pastorale nichts, dem „Pastor Fido" mehr, als bis jetzt hervorgehoben worden ist. Guarini's verliebte Corisca, deren Intriguenspiel das Liebespaar Amarilli und Mirtillo zu trennen versucht, hat in dem englischen Stücke zwei Spiegelungen: ihre Männertollheit hat Fletcher's Cloe geerbt,[4]) ihre Hinterlist m. E. die englische Amarillis, welche die Liebe der Amoret und des Perigot zu stören trachtet. Beide Sünderinnen, Corisca und Amarillis, bereuen und erhalten Verzeihung.

Die Art und Weise aber, wie Corisca und Amarillis den Lauf der treuen Liebe zu unterbrechen bemüht sind, ist eine ganz verschiedene. Bei den Ränken der Amarillis werden wir einmal an eine Episode der „Fairy Queen" erinnert. Amarillis lässt sich in einen Zauberbrunnen tauchen, wodurch sie die Gestalt ihrer glücklicheren Nebenbuhlerin Amoret erhält. Diese falsche Amoret, welche sich versuchend, buhlerisch dem erstaunten Perigot aufdrängt und von ihm

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[1]) Cf. Dyce, l. c.

[2]) Cf. Sidney's Works, vol. II p. 507 ff.

[3]) Cf. Dyce, vol. II p. 1 ff. Aufgeführt 1608 (?); gedruckt 1609 (?). Die älteste Quarto ist nicht datiert. Trotz der Menge der Zeugnisse für Fletcher's Autorschaft, nimmt Fleay (Chron. vol. I p. 178) aus metrischen Gründen Beaumont's Mitarbeiterschaft an. Er steht mit dieser Ansicht wohl allein.

[4]) Cf. Dyce, l. c. pp. 36, 120.

energisch zurückgewiesen wird, ist vielleicht eine Nachbildung der falschen Una, der Schöpfung Archimago's (Book 1 canto I str. 45ff.). Auch diese falsche Una versucht den überraschten *Red Cross Knight*, auch sie buhlt vergebens. Spenser, der gefeierte Dorus der Fletcher'schen Pastorale (Act 5 sc. 5), lässt in seinem Epos nochmals eine solche Truggestalt erscheinen: neben der keuschen Florimell treibt die falsche, von einer Hexe aus Schnee gebildete, Florimell ihr Unwesen (Book III canto VIII ff.). In Spenser's Florimell-Gesängen ist als weitere Heldin und Märtyrerin der *chastity* auch die holde Amoret zu finden, mit welcher Fletcher's Schäferin in Namen und Tugend übereinstimmt.

Im Mittelpunkte des Fletcher'schen Schäferspieles steht die ernste und reine Gestalt der ihren toten Geliebten betrauernden Jungfrau Clorin: ihr dient der Satyr, der alle ihm bei Tasso und — wesentlich gemindert — auch noch bei Guarini anhaftenden übelen Eigenschaften abgestreift hat und als ein freundlicher, dienstwilliger, in anmutigsten Versen sprechender Waldgeist erscheint. Sein ehrfurchtsvolles Verhältnis zu Clorin ist mit einer der berühmtesten Stellen der „Fairy Queen" verglichen worden [1]) — damit wird wohl die Episode des *Sarage* gemeint sein, des Waldmenschen, der die hilflose Serena begleitet und beschützt (Book VI canto V).

Der Hintergrund, der nachtdunkle Wald, welchen die Fletcher'schen Schäfer und Schäferinnen durchirren, ähnelt dem Elfenwalde des „Midsummernight's Dream".[2]) und aus der Ähnlichkeit der Scenerie ergeben sich einige Übereinstimmungen der Schilderung. Fletcher's Seele ist von Shakespeare-Erinnerungen gefüllt, es drängt ihn, Motive des grossen Dramatikers, welche ihm selbst einen tiefen Eindruck hinterlassen hatten, in seinen eigenen Dichtungen zu verwerten.

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[1]) Cf. Ward II 171: *The relation between the Satyr and Clorin* [nicht Clorinda] *may have been to some extent suggested by one of the most famous passages in the „Faerie Queene".*

[2]) Rapp's Bemerkung: „Das Schlimmste ist, dass das Gedicht daneben eine plumpe Nachäffung des MSND. ist und alles, was darin erträglich lautet, dorther gestohlen ist" (p. 68), ist eine seiner zahlreichen Übertreibungen.

Merkwürdig berührt uns in dieser Schäferdichtung ein, wie mir scheint, noch nicht beachteter Macbeth-Reflex. Die nachtwandelnde, über den Blutflecken an ihrer Hand klagende Lady — Perigot, der seine Amoret verwundet hat, getötet zu haben glaubt und in einem Monologe klagt, dass ihm kein Wasser die blutbefleckte Hand reinigen kann (Act V sc. 4) — ich bezweifle nicht, dass zwischen diesen beiden Scenen eine Verbindungslinie zu ziehen ist. Die Feuerprobe, welche im letzten Akte der „F. Sh." die Schafe von den Böcken, die Keuschen von den Unkeuschen sondert, war schon an Falstaff vorgenommen worden, in der letzten Scene der „Merry Wives of Windsor"[1] (v. 88 f.).

The Knight of the Burning Pestle. — Unter den Gestalten in Ben Jonson's „Every Man out of his Humour" fällt uns als bemerkenswerter Vorgänger des Don Quixote der grillenhafte Puntarvolo auf, der sich von der Dienerin seiner Gattin und von dieser selbst als fahrender Ritter begrüssen lässt, mit dem in Ritter-Romanen üblichen Zeremoniell (Act II sc. 1) — ein ironischer Hinweis auf die Anziehungskraft, welche diese aus dem Französischen und Spanischen übersetzten Romane für weite Leserkreise besassen. 1605 trat der edle Ritter von der traurigen Gestalt selbst seinen Triumphzug durch die Welt-Literatur an und schon wenige Jahre später, noch vor der 1612 publizierten englischen Übersetzung, erschien die dramatische Satire von dem Ritter mit der brennenden Mörserkeule,[2] deren Inspirationsquelle in erster Linie die spanische Prosa-Dichtung war. Ralph, der Lehrling eines ehrsamen Londoner Krämers, wird durch das Lesen der Romane von Palmerin und von Rosicleer, dem Hauptheldeu in dem „Mirrour of Knighthood", so begeistert, dass er in ritterlicher Rüstung abenteuersuchend in die Welt hinauszieht, wie Don Quixote.

[1]) Cf. Dyce, l. c., p. 103.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1610 (?); gedruckt 1613. Dyce (II 126): *Beaumont and Fletcher* (?); Oliphant (ESt. XIV 88 f.): *Wholly, or almost wholly, Beaumont's;* Fleay (Chron. I 184): *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

Und wie Don Quixote, sieht auch Ralph die ganze Welt durch seine romantische Brille, wird auch ihm das Wirtshaus zum Schloss, der Wirt zum gastfreien Ritter, dem er nichts bezahlen will — Ralph's Benehmen in dem Bell-Inn zu Waltham (Act II sc. 6, Act III sc. 2) ist Don Quixote's Auftreten in den Schenken (Parte I cap. 2 und 17) abgesehen. Ralph's siegreicher Kampf mit dem Riesen Barbarossa, d. h. mit dem Barbier und Chirurgen von Waltham, und seine Befreiung der Kunden und Patienten desselben, welche männiglich eine kurze Leidensgeschichte zum besten geben, ist wohl als eine freie Verschmelzung zweier sich unmittelbar folgender Abenteuer Don Quixote's anzusehen, seines Angriffes auf einen nichts ahnenden Barbier, welchem er als Beute sein Rasierbecken abnimmt, und seiner Befreiung der Galeeren-Sträflinge, von welchen auch ein jeder eine kurze Biographie zu liefern hat[1]) (P. I cap. 21 f.).

Mit ihrer nach Cervantes' Vorbild in Scene gesetzten Verspottung der bürgerlichen Romanleser haben die befreundeten Dramatiker noch manchen satirischen Streifzug gegen von der City begünstigte Bühnendichter und Gebräuche eingefügt: ihr witziges Werk ist heute noch dem Literar- wie dem Kulturhistoriker gleich willkommen und wertvoll.

Die dramatische Handlung, welche zur Beschwichtigung der gekränkten Eitelkeit der Londoner Lehrlinge eingefügt wurde — eine verlorene Liebesmühe, das Stück wurde ausgezischt —, die Geschichte von dem schlauen Kaufmannslehrling Jasper Merrythought, der das Glück hat und die schöne und reiche Braut heimführt, die Tochter seines Prinzipals, enthält zwei Motive, die mir sehr bekannt sind, ohne dass ich sie unter Dach und Fach zu bringen wüsste. Jasper's thörichter und brutaler Einfall, die Liebe seiner

[1]) Cf. B. Leonhardt „Über Beaumont und Fletcher's Knight of the Burning Pestle", Annaberg 1885 (Progr.-No. 499); p. 31 ff. Leonhardt meint (p. 30 f.), dass der stets fidele, singlustige Vater Merrythought „eine, wenn auch nur schwache Kopie" von Shakespeare's Silence in King Henry IV B. Act V sc. 3 sei. Ausser dass der bezechte Silence auch singt, finde ich nicht die mindeste Ähnlichkeit. Jago singt ebenfalls (Act II sc. 3).

Luce dadurch nochmals einer Probe zu unterwerfen, dass er sich stellt, als wolle er sie aus Groll gegen ihren Vater ermorden (Act III sc. 1) sowohl, wie seine Kriegslist, sich für tot auszugeben und in einem Sarge zu der von ihrem Vater eingesperrten Luce tragen zu lassen (Act IV sc. 4), werden wohl auf literarische Reminiscenzen der Freunde zurückzuführen, nicht frei erfunden sein. Für Jasper's List ist an den letzten Akt von Marston's „Antonio und Mellida" (First Part) erinnert worden[1]): nachdem Mellida, welche ihrem Geliebten gefolgt war, von ihrem Vater, dem Dogen Piero von Venedig, wieder gefangen genommen worden ist — wie Luce in Waltham-Forest von ihrem Vater dem Jasper wieder entrissen wird —, lässt sich auch Antonio in einem Sarg an den venetianischen Hof tragen, wo Mellida weilt. Trotz der grossen Verschiedenheit der Nebenumstände, scheint auch mir diese Übereinstimmung beachtenswert.

Zu den bekannten parodistischen Anspielungen dieses Stückes auf Shakespeare'sche Schöpfungen möchte ich noch zwei Stellen rechnen, welche m. E. derselben Tendenz des Verfassers dienen. In der Gartenscene spielen in Juliet's Reden die Worte *Good night* eine grosse Rolle. Nachdem sie den Wunsch viermal ausgesprochen hat (Act II sc. 2. 120, 123, 142), wiederholt sie: *A thousand times good night!* (v. 155), und ihre letzten Worte sind: *Good night, good night! parting is such sweet sorrow, That I shall say good night till it be morrow* (v. 185 f). In witzloser Parodie dieser Liebesgrüsse lässt der Epigone den Tölpel Humphrey, Jasper's Nebenbuhler, die erste Scene des zweiten Aktes (p. 156) schliessen mit den Versen:

> Good night, twenty good nights, and twenty more,
> And twenty more good nights, — that makes threescore!

Noch ärgerlicher wäre die folgende Persiflage, die allerdings weniger sicher, mir selbst aber doch recht wahrscheinlich ist.

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[1]) Von dem anonymen Verfasser der Schrift: „Shakespeare and Jonson. Dramatic, versus Wit-Combats", London 1864, cf. Leonhardt ESt. XII 309 f.

Die letzten Worte des verbannten Romeo lauten: *Dry sorrow drinks our blood. Adieu, adieu!* (Act III sc. 5, 59). Der tolle Merrythought bezeichnet seine Kumpane als *lads of mettle . . . care never drunk their bloods* (Act III sc. 5, p. 194). Man muss bedenken, wie leicht die Schauspieler eine solche Parodie dem Publikum auffällig machen konnten, durch einen plötzlichen Übergang in den tragischen Ton. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass gerade die Stücke, an deren Komposition Beaumont in erster Linie beteiligt gewesen sein soll, reich an solchen Shakespeare-Parodien sind. Ben Jonson hat Drummond gegenüber Beaumont's Selbstbewusstsein betont,[1]) ein solcher Charakter musste Shakespeare's Grösse erdrückend empfinden, und sich immer wieder versucht fühlen, gegen den Herrn und Meister der zeitgenössischen Bühne — ich finde wirklich kein bezeichnenderes Wort — anzuulken.

A King and no King.[2]) — Der König Arbaces wird von einer rasenden Leidenschaft für seine Schwester Panthea erfasst. Er ist aber weder ihr Bruder, noch der rechtmässige König, sondern das unterschobene Kind eines Höflings: durch diese Enthüllung wird ihm die Hand der Königin Panthea und damit aufs neue die Krone gesichert. Eine Quelle dieser bedenklichen, von den Dichtern nicht immer mit dem nötigen künstlerischen Takte dramatisierten Geschichte ist mir nicht bekannt.

Im Gefolge des Königs fallen uns auf den ersten Blick zwei militärische Typen auf: der tapfere, königstreue, aber zu freimütiger Kritik geneigte Feldherr Mardonius, dessen Charakter-Ähnlichkeit mit Shakespeare's Kent im „King Lear" beachtet zu werden verdient, und der feige, jeden Ehrgefühls bare Bessus, der manche der unrühmlichsten Eigenschaften Sir John Falstaff's geerbt hat, des Falstaff, der sich auf dem Schlachtfeld von Shrewsbury herumtreibt (King

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[1]) *Francis Beaumont loved too much himself and his own verses*; cf. Notes of BJ.'s Conversations with Wm. Dr. of Hawthornden, ed. Laing (Shakesp. Soc., London 1842), p. 10.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1611; gedruckt 1619. Dyce (II 233), Oliphant (ESt. XIV 91), Fleay (Chron. I 192): *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

Henry IV A. Act V). Bessus' Monolog: *They talk of fame* (Act III sc. 2), in welchem die ausgesprochenste Abneigung gegen *fame* zur Geltung kommt, erinnert stark an Falstaff's berühmte Analyse des Begriffes der Ehre (l. c. Act V sc. 1), und die jungen Dramatiker haben auch gar keinen Hehl daraus gemacht, dass ihnen Shakespeare's feister Ritter vor Augen stand. Betreffs einer der zahllosen Feigheiten des Bessus wird bemerkt: *It shew'd discretion, the best part of valour* (Act IV sc. 3)[1]) — mit wörtlicher Benützung der Falstaff'schen Erklärung: *The better part of valour is discretion* (Act V sc. 4). Von den *redeeming qualities* Falstaff's ist bei Bessus freilich sehr wenig zu finden, er ist fast ebenso verächtlich wie der miles gloriosus, der wohl sein unmittelbarer Nachfolger — oder Vorgänger? — war, wie Protaldy in „Thierry and Theodoret". Einer der besten Einfälle des Bessus, seine verbindlichen Worte bei der sehr unfreiwilligen Ablieferung seines Schwertes, wird von Protaldy in derselben Notlage wiederholt.[2])

Wer geneigt ist, die Sargepisode im „Knight of the Burning Pestle" als eine Entlehnung aus Marston's „Antonio and Mellida" zu betrachten (cf. p. 43), wird sich von unserer *tragicomedy* gern den seine Annahme stützenden Beweis liefern lassen, dass Beaumont und Fletcher mit Marston's Dramen wohl vertraut waren. In Marston's „Malcontent" klagt der von seiner Gattin betrogene Pietro: *Sooner hard steele will melt with southerne winde, | A seamans whistle calme the ocean . . . | Then women row'd to blushlesse impudence . . . | Will turne* etc. (Act IV sc. 3), und in „What you will" wird die zweite Hyperbel parodierend wiederholt, von dem Lakaien Bydet, mit einem deutlichen Hinweis auf die erste Stelle: *Sooner the whissell of a marriner | Shall sleeke the rough curbes of the ocean back. Now speake I like my selfe* (Act V sc. 1). Desselben auffälligen Bombastes bedient sich Spaconia in ihren sehr ernst gemeinten

[1]) Eine von Dyce nicht bemerkte Shakespeare-Reminiscenz.

[2]) Bessus: *It is a pretty hilt, and if your lordship take an affection to it, with all my heart I present it to you* (Act III sc. 2) — Protaldy: *If wearing it may do you any honour, | I shall be glad to grace you; there it is, sir* (Act II sc. 3).

Vorwürfen dem ungetreuen Tigranes gegenüber: *Sooner shall | The beaten mariner with his shrill whistle | Calm the loud murmurs of the troubled main, | And strike it smooth again, than thy soul fall | To have peace in love with any* (Act IV sc. 2).

Auch dieses Beaumont's Stempel tragende Drama scheint mir eine Shakespeare-Parodie zu enthalten, die Nachäffung einer der vielen unvergesslichen Reden Hamlet's: *'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother, | Nor customary suits of solemn black . . . . . Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief, | That can denote me truly . . . But I have that within which passeth show* (Act I sc. 2, 77 ff.). Durch falsche tragische Accente und Gebärden-Nachahmung konnte der Schauspieler das Publikum schnell an diesen pathetischen Erguss der populärsten Bühnengestalt erinnern bei folgender, die Feigheit als Tugend preisender Rede des *Second Swordsman:*

> For that brave sufferance you speak of, brother,
> Consists not in a beating and away,
> But in a cudgell'd body, from eighteen
> To eight and thirty; in a head rebuk'd
> With pots of all size, daggers, stooles, and bedstaves:
> This shews a valiant man
>
> (Act IV sc. 3, p. 315).

Cupid's Revenge. — Zwei von den Töchtern des Basilius im zweiten Buche von Sir Philip Sidney's „Arcadia" [1]) erzählte Geschichten sind in dieser Tragödie [2]) verschmolzen: die Geschichte der Erona und die des Plangus. Erona, die Tochter eines namenlosen Königs von Lydien, veranlasst ihren Vater, in seinem Reiche alle Statuen Cupido's umstürzen zu lassen. Der zornige Gott flösst ihr eine leidenschaftliche Liebe zu dem niedrig geborenen und niedrig gesinnten Antiphilus ein, der alte König stirbt aus Kummer, Erona vermählt sich dem Geliebten, zu ihrem Verderben. Der um sie

[1]) Cf. Sidney's Works, vol. I pp. 264 ff., 276 ff.; Dyce, vol. II p. 351 ff.

[2]) Aufgeführt 5. Januar 1612; gedruckt 1615. Dyce (II 351): *Beaumont and Fletcher;* Oliphant (ESt. XIV 84): *Beaumont, Fletcher, Field and Massinger;* Fleay (Chron. I 186 ff.): *Beaumont and Fletcher.*

werbende König von Armenien, Tiridates, rächt sich für seine Abweisung durch einen Kriegszug gegen Erona; in seinem Heere befindet sich der edle Plangus, dessen von den Erlebnissen der Erona ganz unabhängige Vorgeschichte ausführlich erzählt wird.

Plangus, der Sohn des Königs von Iberien, hat ein Liebesverhältnis mit einer leichtfertigen Bürgersfrau, wird von seinem Vater bei ihr überrascht, und beteuert, um die Frau zu schützen, deren Unschuld und Tugendhaftigkeit mit so hinreissenden Worten, dass der alte König selbst dieses seltene Weib für sich gewinnen will und sie schliesslich zu seiner Königin erhöht. Die Buhlerin versucht die sträflichen Beziehungen zu ihrem Stiefsohne fortzusetzen, wird von ihm zurückgewiesen und bringt es dann durch ihre Verläumdungen und Ränke so weit, dass Plangus, um sein Leben zu retten, fliehen muss, zu seinem Vetter Tiridates, welchen er auf seinem Rachezug gegen Erona begleitet.

Behufs Verknüpfung dieser beiden, in der „Arcadia" ganz getrennten Geschichten machten die Dramatiker ihre Hidaspes (= Erona) und ihren Leucippus (= Plangus) zu Geschwistern, welche sich gemeinschaftlich gegen Cupido versündigen und auch ihren Vater Leontius, den Herzog von Lykien (= König von Lydien und König von Iberien) in den Kreis dieser Sünde ziehen: des Gottes Rache an Vater und Kindern füllt die Tragödie. Die übele Folge dieser Verschmelzung ist, dass schon im zweiten Akte (sc. 5) eine Katastrophe eintritt: der jähe Tod der mit einer unwürdigen Leidenschaft für einen Zwerg gestraften Hidaspes.[1]) Im

[1]) In der „Arcadia" unterbricht sich Philoclea selbst in ihrer Erzählung von Erona's Leiden (l. c. p. 270), Basilius setzt die Geschichte später fort, ohne sie zu Ende zu führen (l. c. p. 379 ff.), im fünften Buche wird sie nochmals gestreift (vol. II p. 807 ff.) und in Sidney's Schlussworten erwähnt als eine der *strange stories*, welche eine fremde Feder vollenden möge (l. c. p. 881). Bei diesem Bericht von den Schicksalen einer Königstochter, welche einen niedriggeborenen Mann ehelicht und von ihm schlecht behandelt wird, von dem Untergang dieses Unwürdigen und der treuen Liebe eines edlen Mannes für die Dulderin — bei dieser Episode der „Arcadia" hat Sidney m. E. zweifellos eine in England wohlbekannte, von Painter übersetzte,

übrigen ist der Anschluss an die Quelle ein genauer;[1]) die wichtigste, von den Dramatikern neu eingeführte Figur ist eine Wiederholung des Euphrasia-Typus im „Philaster": die Leucippus liebende, ihm in Pagentracht unerkannt folgende und schliesslich für ihn sterbende Urania, die liebenswürdig gedachte, aber in der Ausführung durch eine grobe Geschmacklosigkeit der Verfasser entstellte Tochter der verbrecherischen Königin.

Wie wir beim Lesen der Scene, in welcher die von Cupido's Rache getroffene Hidaspes den missgestalteten Zwerg Zoilus mit Liebkosungen überhäuft (Act I sc. 3), an die von dem Zaubersaft geblendete, Bottom liebevoll hegende und pflegende Titania denken, so werden wohl auch die Komponisten dieser Scene das Werben der Elfenkönigin im Gedächtnis gehabt haben. Von körperlicher Hässlichkeit des Antiphilus ist in der „Arcadia" nicht die Rede, die Forderung der Bühnenwirksamkeit mag diese peinliche Verschärfung des in der Tragödie an und für sich hinreichend abstossenden Konfliktes entschuldigen. Ich halte es übrigens für durchaus möglich, dass Oberon's Rache von einer Erinnerung an Cupido's Rache in der Shakespeare vertrauten „Arcadia" beeinflusst ist.

Four Plays in One.[2]) — Um diese vier selbständigen

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italienische Novelle im Auge gehabt, Giraldi Cinthio's Novelle von der Königstochter Euphimia von Korinth, welche einen Diener ihres Vaters liebt und heiratet und dieselben Schicksale hat (cf. Hecat. VIII 10; Studien p. 98).

[1]) Manchmal lässt sich in den Versen der Tragödie der Wortlaut Sidney's wiedererkennen: *The poor young prince, deceived with that young opinion, that if it be ever lawful to lie, it is for one's lover* (vol. I p. 277) — Leucippus: *It is lawful | To defend her, that only for my love | Lov'd evil* (Act II sc. 2); *All the court and city were full of whisperings . . . He would councel the king to make much of his son, and hold his favour, for that it was too late now to keep him under* (l. c. p. 281) — Timantus: *All the court | Is full of dangerous whispers . . . Rather make more your love, | And hold your favour to him; for 'tis now | Impossible to yoke him* (Act III sc. 4) etc. etc.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1608 (?); gedruckt in der ersten Folio vom Jahre 1647. Dyce (II 473): *Weber concludes that Beaumont furnished the Induction and the two first Triumphs, and that Fletcher was the writer*

Dramen zu verbinden, bedienten sich die jungen Dramatiker eines ähnlichen Rahmens, wie ihn 1894 Hermann Lingg mit feinerer Kunst geschaffen hat, um ausgewählte Fastnachtsspiele Hans Sachsens zu einem Ganzen zusammenzufassen. Im Hofraume eines Nürnberger Patrizierhauses werden die Fastnachtsspiele aufgeführt, zur Belustigung des Hausherrn und seiner Gäste, welche selbst Gedichte des Meisters zum besten geben — anlässlich einer königlichen Hochzeit werden die „Four Plays" aufgeführt, vor den Neuvermählten, welche jedem Stück ein kurzes *Huic fabula docet* anfügen. Auf den Gedanken, ihre Dramen „Triumphs of Honour, of Love" etc. zu nennen, können die Engländer durch Petrarca's allegorische „Trionfi d'Amore [1])" etc. gebracht worden sein.

1) The Triumph of Honour. In einem sehr unpassenden, antiken Kostüm wird uns die von Boccaccio wiederholt [2]) erzählte, romantische Geschichte von der tugendhaften Gattin vorgespielt, welche einem stürmischen Versucher gegenüber ihre Einwilligung an eine unmögliche Bedingung knüpft. Von den elisabethanischen Prosa-Versionen dieser Geschichte [3]) unterscheidet sich die Dramatisierung in sehr bemerkenswerter Weise: Beaumont und Fletcher fussen nicht auf Boccaccio, sondern auf Chaucer.[4]) Aus Chaucer's „Franklin's Tale" stammt der Name der Heldin; wie bei Chaucer, verlangt auch im Drama Dorigen nicht einen Garten im Winter, sondern Beseitigung von Felsen; auch im Drama steht dem verzweifelnden Liebhaber sein Bruder zur Seite. Eine sehr lobenswerte Neuerung der Dramatiker ist, dass die Frau, welche sich bei Boccaccio nach schwachem

of the other two; Dyce selbst glaubt an die Beteiligung beider Dramatiker ohne nähere Bestimmung hinsichtlich der Autorschaft der einzelnen Stücke; Oliphant (ESt. XV 348f.): *Fletcher, Field and Beaumont;* Fleay (Chron. I 179f.): *Beaumont and Fletcher* mit genauer Abgrenzung ihrer Beiträge.

[1]) Cf. Dyce II 173.

[2]) Im Decameron X 5 (cf. Langbaine p. 209) und im Filocolo V 4.

[3]) Cf. Studien pp. 84, 88.

[4]) Für Dunlop-Liebrecht's „wahrscheinlich" (p. 251) und Haslewood-Jacobs' „*perhaps*" (Palace I p. LXXXVI) ist zu setzen: gewiss.

Protest, bei Chaucer ganz ohne Widerrede dem Willen ihres allzu gewissenhaften Gatten fügt, sich im Drama erbittert, mit beissendem Spott gegen den Schwächling wendet (sc. 3), und sich im Augenblick der Entscheidung töten will (sc. 4).

2) The Triumph of Love. Gerrard liebt Violante, die Tochter seines Herren Benvoglio; ihr Verhältnis, das nicht ohne Folgen geblieben ist, wird entdeckt, und das über die Liebenden gefällte Todesurteil erst in der letzten Stunde dadurch abgewendet, dass Gerrard als Sohn des Herzogs von Mailand erkannt wird. Eine Dramatisierung der Katastrophe der siebenten Novelle des fünften Tages in Boccaccio's Decameron.[1]) Um die reiche Handlung der Novelle in einen Akt pressen zu können, haben die Dramatiker wiederholt ihre Zuflucht zu Pantomimen genommen — es wäre wohl besser gewesen, wenn sie auf einige ihrer Zugaben verzichtet hätten. Aus dem Mörder, welchen bei Boccaccio der harte Vater mit der Beseitigung Violantens beauftragt, haben die Engländer einen edelmütigen Nebenbuhler und schliesslichen Zwillingsbruder Gerrard's gemacht; dieser Nebenbuhler und Violante werden in der letzten Scene tot, vergiftet auf die Bühne gebracht, doch stellt es sich heraus, dass die Dienerin, welche auf Benvoglio's Befehl das seiner Tochter bestimmte Gift mischen sollte, nur einen starken Schlaftrunk gemischt hatte — das Stück kann fröhlich enden. Ohne mich zu weiteren Schlüssen veranlasst und berechtigt zu fühlen, möchte ich doch bemerken, dass auch in der Katastrophe des Dekker'schen „Satiromastix" ein solcher Schlaftrunk eine Rolle spielte, auch Dekker liess einen Vater seine Tochter scheinbar vergiften und die Betäubte zu einem fröhlichen Abschluss seines Stückes wieder erwachen.

3) The Triumph of Death. Der Wüstling Lavall verlässt sein junges, ihm heimlich angetrautes Weib, Gabriella, um sich mit einer vornehmen Dame zu vermählen. Gabriella lockt ihn nochmals in ihr Haus und tötet den Treulosen und sich selbst. Auch diese tragische Historie ist einer längst

[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 209, wo für Nov. 8 zu lesen ist Nov. 7. Über eine elisabethanische Prosa-Version dieser Novelle cf. Studien p. 44f.

erkannten italienischen Quelle entlehnt, einer den Elisabethanern bereits in prosaischer und metrischer Form vorliegenden Novelle Bandello's (I 42).[1]) Die liebliche Casta, ihr Bruder und erster Bräutigam Gabriella's, Perolot, der Lavall heimsuchende, sehr überflüssige Geist sind neue Figuren der Dramatiker.

4) The Triumph of Time. Ein allegorisches Spiel: Anthropos, der Vertreter der Menschheit, vergeudet seinen Reichtum und wird schliesslich von seinen falschen Freunden Craft, Vanity, Flattery etc. im Stich gelassen, während sich Poverty als treue Gefährtin zu ihm gesellt. Er fleht zu Jupiter, und der gnädige Gott lässt durch Merkur die Zeit, Time, auffordern, Plutus, den Gott des Reichtums, aus Indien zu Anthropos zurückzuführen. Zu neuem Wohlstand gelangt, verspricht dieser, sich künftighin vor schlechten Genossen zu hüten. Die Quelle dieses vierten Stückes ist neuerdings richtig bestimmt worden[2]): es ist eine nicht besonders geschickte Bearbeitung von Lucian's Dramolett „*Τίμων*" bis zur Auffindung des Schatzes. Auch der freigebige Verschwender Timon sieht sich von seinen Schmeichlern und Schmarotzern gemieden, auch er schreit zum Himmel, freilich viel grimmiger als Anthropos, auch ihm wird auf Jupiter's Geheiss von Merkur der Gott Plutus aufs neue zugeführt,

[1]) Langbaine (p. 209) verweist auf eine Novelle in einer mir nicht zugänglichen Sammlung: „The Fortunate, Deceiv'd and Unfortunate Lovers" Part 3, Nov. 3, ferner auf „Palace of Pleasure" Nov. 40, wofür I 42 zu setzen ist, und auf Belleforest etc. Auf Bandello ist schon bei Dunlop-Liebrecht p. 289 und bei Haslewood-Jacobs I p. LXXV, wo für *second* zu lesen ist *third*, verwiesen. Dyce's aus Weber übernommene, unrichtige Quellennotiz wurde neuerdings von Fleay (Chron. I p. 179 f.) wiederholt. Über die älteren englischen Versionen dieser Novelle Bandello's näheres in Studien p. 91.

[2]) Von Fleay (Chron. I 180): *Founded on Lucian's „Timon, or Misanthropos", in my judgment, although Dyce follows Langbaine in ascribing it to the author's own invention.* Möglicherweise war ein nur aus Henslowe's *Diary* bekanntes, am 13. April 1597 aufgeführtes kurzes Bühnenspiel „The Triumph of Time" die unmittelbare Vorlage unserer Dramatiker; Fleay (l. c. und p. 287) vermutet in diesem verlorenen Stück eine von Thomas Heywood vorgenommene Dramatisierung desselben Lucian'schen Dialogs. Sehr fraglich.

auch Timon findet einen Schatz wie Anthropos die Goldmine. Ein sorgfältiger Kommentator könnte im Detail eine Menge von Übereinstimmungen hervorheben: Lucian's *Πενία*, welche mit ihren Gefährten Arbeit, Unverdrossenheit, Entschlossenheit u. s. w. Timon aufsucht, gibt ihm für seinen prächtigen Mantel einen Ziegenpelz — ebenso nimmt Poverty, deren Genossen Honesty, Simplicity und Humility sind, dem Anthropos seinen kostbaren Mantel und bekleidet ihn dafür mit einem Büssergewand; in beiden Dramen betont Merkur Jupiter gegenüber die reichen Götteropfer des Mannes; in beiden Dramen gehorcht Plutus dem Befehl nur sehr widerwillig und fängt plötzlich an zu hinken u. s. w. u. s. w.

Die auffälligste Neuerung der Dramatiker ist, dass sie Plutus nicht, wie Lucian, von Merkur, sondern von Time zu Anthropos geleiten lassen — eine Neuerung, die nur zur Rechtfertigung des Titels vorgenommen zu sein scheint. Dieser Titel selbst passt zu dem Inhalt des Stückes, wie die Faust aufs Auge: nicht den Triumph der Zeit, sondern den Triumph der von der Armut angespornten redlichen Arbeit zeigt uns das Stück — graben muss Anthropos, unterstützt von Industry, Labour und den Arts, um den Schatz zu gewinnen. Der von den Dramatikern gewählte Titel scheint wirklich nur eine mechanische Nachbildung von Petrarca's „Trionfo del Tempo" zu sein.

The Scornful Lady.[1]) — Zwei Brüder, von welchen der vernünftigere ältere sich in sehr derber Weise mit der spröden und launischen Dame neckt, bis er sie durch eine List zur Heirat bewegt — der tolle jüngere sich coram publico die Hörner abstösst und schliesslich einem alten Wucherer eine reiche junge Witwe vor der Nase wegnimmt. Das wüste Stück ist wiederholt mit den „Adelphi" des Terenz in Verbindung gebracht worden,[2]) doch hat es mit dem Gesamt-

[1]) Aufgeführt 1609 (?); gedruckt 1616. Dyce (III 3): *Beaumont and Fletcher*, aber zum weit grösseren Teil von *Beaumont;* Oliphant (ESt. XIV 82f.), Fleay (Chron. I 181): Zum grösseren Teil von *Fletcher.*

[2]) Cf. Rapp p. 65: „Es ist nach Terenz' Adelphi im Jonson'schen Stil gearbeitet."

plan der lateinischen Komödie nur die zentrale Stellung der Brüder gemein. Von den Nebenumständen ist mit grösserem Recht die plötzliche Sinnesänderung Morecraft's, der von einem Geizhalse zu einem Verschwender wird, verglichen worden mit der Wandlung des Terenzischen Demea.[1]) Die Nachahmung ist aber eine sehr oberflächliche, unerfreuliche: Demea, der seinen nachsichtigen Bruder geliebt, sich selbst aber gefürchtet und gemieden sieht, beleuchtet in einem längeren Monologe diesen triftigen Grund seines veränderten Benehmens (Act V sc. 2) — Morecraft verzichtet in sieben Versen auf sein Wuchern und Scharren, weil er von dem jungen Loveless übertölpelt wurde und diesen mühelos zu neuem Reichtum gelangt sieht (Act V sc. 3).

Der schmarotzende Captain, der Führer der Parasiten des jungen Loveless, ist nicht ohne Grund als eine schwächliche Kopie des Shakespeare'schen Pistol bezeichnet worden[1]) — er schwelgt in hochtrabenden Redensarten.

Loveless senior meldet verkleidet seinen eigenen Tod, um sich zu überzeugen, wie sein Bruder diese Trauerkunde aufnehmen wird. Loveless junior zeigt sich sehr gefasst: *He was too good for us: | And let God keep him* etc. (Act II sc. 2). Vielleicht stammt diese Situation aus dem „London Prodigal", gedruckt 1605, in dessen erster Scene der alte Flowerdale in ähnlicher Absicht seinen eigenen Tod verkündet und bei seinem leichtsinnigen Sohne ebensowenig Teilnahme findet.

The Coxcomb.[2]) — Die schöne Viola verlässt heimlich das Haus ihres Vaters mit einem Teile seines Goldes und seiner Juwelen — eine Vorsicht, welche der Jessica Shakespeare's abgesehen sein könnte, wenn sie nicht aus der noch nicht entdeckten Quelle stammt. Ricardo, ihr Geliebter, vergisst im Rausche das Stelldichein, Viola muss allein in die Welt hinausfliehen und gerät in allerlei Nöten, aus welchen

[1]) Cf. Dyce, l. c.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1610 (?); gedruckt 1647. Dyce (III 117): *Beaumont and Fletcher;* Oliphant (ESt. XIV 85 ff.): *Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, W. Rowley* (?); Fleay (Chron. I 186): *Beaumont and Fletcher, but the main part now extant is Massinger's.*

sie schliesslich von ihrem nachsichtigen Vater befreit wird. — Antonio, der traurige Titelheld, ebnet in unbegreiflicher Verblendung seiner Gattin und seinem Freunde die Wege zum Ehebruch, und wird, nachdem die Katastrophe endlich eingetreten ist, von den beiden leicht in Unkenntniss gehalten.

Die Quellen dieser beiden, höchst locker verbundenen Handlungen sind noch nicht bestimmt worden. Für die Viola-Intrigue vermag auch ich nichts Neues beizubringen; betreffs Antonio zweifle ich nicht, dass er dem Cervantes entlehnt ist, dass der „Coxcomb" identisch ist mit dem *Curioso Impertinente*, dessen Thorheit und selbstverschuldetes Elend der Pfarrer erzählt, im 33., 34. und 35. Kapitel des ersten Teiles des Don Quixote.[1]) Das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Engländer wird sich leicht beweisen lassen. Cervantes berichtet von zwei jungen Florentinern, Anselmo und Lotario, welche durch die innigste Freundschaft verbunden sind. Anselmo heiratet, worauf Lotario aus Zartgefühl ihn seltener besucht. Diese Delikatesse wird jedoch von Anselmo nicht gewürdigt, stürmisch dringt er in den Freund, ebenso häufig wie früher zu ihm zu kommen. Im Drama kommen der verheiratete Antonio und Mercury von einer langen, gemeinschaftlichen Reise zurück; Mercury will in seine eigene Heimat reisen und fühlt sich in dieser Absicht noch bestärkt, nachdem er Antonio's Gattin gesehen hat, deren Schönheit ihn beunruhigt. Trotz seines Widerstrebens wird er jedoch von Antonio zum Bleiben gezwungen. — Anselmo will ohne jeden Grund die Treue seiner Gattin auf die Probe stellen, er beschwört seinen unwilligen Freund, die Rolle des Versuchers zu übernehmen und entfernt sich sogar für acht Tage von Haus und Hof, um der Versuchung freies Spiel zu lassen. Mercury teilt Antonio warnend mit, dass er in seine Gattin verliebt sei, und wird von diesem Thoren berechtigt, um sie zu werben. Noch mehr — Antonio verlässt seine Gattin und lenkt

[1]) Diese Novelle wurde schon 1608 in das Französische übersetzt und separat gedruckt: „Le Curieux Impertinent . . . Traduict d'Espagnol en François par Ni. Baudouin. A Paris 1608." Ein zweisprachlicher Druck, links steht der spanische, rechts der französische Text.

selbst durch gefälschte Briefe ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf Mercury's Liebe. — Nach langen Kämpfen sündigen Lotario und Camila und es fällt ihnen nicht schwer, Anselmo zu täuschen. Auch Mercury und Maria vergehen sich schliesslich, auch ihnen fällt es nicht schwer, Antonio in seiner Verblendung zu erhalten.

Die Übereinstimmung im Grundgedanken und in den Einzelheiten der Ausführung lässt keinen Zweifel über die Quelle bestehen; das tragische Ende der spanischen Novelle, die Sühne der Thorheit und der Schuld, konnten die Engländer für ihre *comedy* nicht verwenden. Ihre Benutzung der Quelle ist übrigens eine höchst ungeschickte; der einzige Beweggrund, der uns des Gatten Thorheit wenigstens begreiflich macht, der Wunsch, die Tugend seiner Gattin zu prüfen, ist im Drama gar nicht betont, der englische Antonio ist von Anfang bis zum Ende noch unbegreiflicher, noch verächtlicher als Cervantes' Anselmo. Antonio's Schlussworte erinnern stark an eine Äusserung eines italienischen Leidensbruders

> But such a wife as thou had never any man,
> And such a friend as he. believe me, wife,
> Shall never be . . . . . .

— diese Worte entsprechen den Empfindungen von Boccaccio's Egano, der, von Gattin und Diener schändlich betrogen, auch der festen Meinung ist *d'avere la più leale donna ed il più fedel servidore, che mai avesse alcun gentiluomo* (Dec. VII 7).[1])

The Captain. — Um zwei Gestalten gruppiert sich die Handlung dieses schändlichen Stückes[2]): um den Captain Jacomo, einen brutalen Soldaten, der für seine alles Mass überschreitenden Roheiten schliesslich mit der Hand der ein-

[1]) Cf. über die älteren englischen Versionen dieser Novelle Studien p. 83. und über ihre Entstehung und Entwickelung im allgemeinen W. H. Schofield „The Source and History of the 7th Novel of the 7th Day in the Decameron" Boston 1893.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1612 3; gedruckt 1647. Dyce (III 219) neigt sich zu der Ansicht, dass *Fletcher* allein der Verfasser sei; Oliphant (ESt. XIV 92 ff.): *The play is Fletcher and Beaumont's, altered by Massinger and W. Rowley;* Fleay (Chron. I 195): Von *Fletcher* zum grössten Teile.

zigen nicht ganz unsympathischen Frauengestalt des Dramas belohnt wird — und um die Hure Lelia, welche für ihren unsagbaren und unsühnbaren Frevel betrügerischerweise, als ehrliche Frau, einem Glücksritter vermählt wird. Die kolossale Verworfenheit dieses Weibes lässt alle anderen Figuren zu vollkommener Unbedeutendheit zusammenschrumpfen: wie Congreve's Lady Touchwood, sprengt Lelia den Rahmen des Schauspiels. ist auch sie eine durchaus tragische Gestalt, die den Vernichtungsblitz der Dichterhand fordert.

Das traurige Verdienst, Jacomo und Lelia geschaffen zu haben, müssen wir, wie es scheint, dem Verfasser, oder den Verfassern zugestehen. Schwerlich wird sich für die dürftige Handlung eine Quelle finden lassen, sie ist zum grössten Teil aus Motiven älterer, erfolgreicher Dramen zusammengeflickt. Shakespeare, Dekker und Marston sind m. E. am meisten gebrandschatzt. Dass Piso's Bemerkung über die Trunksucht der Engländer (Act III sc. 2) an Jago's Worte (Act II sc. 3) erinnert, ist bereits betont worden,[1]) aber die Ähnlichkeit geht viel weiter: die ganze Intrigue Piso's gegen Jacomo ist nach dem Muster der von Jago gegen Cassio angezettelten Verschwörung entworfen. Wie Cassio, soll auch Jacomo betrunken gemacht werden; wie Cassio um die Gunst Othello's, soll Jacomo auf diese Weise um die Gunst der in ihn verliebten Frank gebracht werden. In beiden Dramen führt die Betrunkenheit der beiden Soldaten zu einem Streite mit Gefecht — aber während diese Lärmscene im „Othello" höchst folgenschwer ist, verpufft sie im „Captain" harmlos und zwecklos, da sie auf die Gesinnung des liebeskranken Mädchens gar keinen Einfluss ausübt.

Ebenso unzweifelhaft, wie diese Othello-Reminiscenzen, ist mir die Anleihe bei Dekker: Orlando Friscobaldo, der ehrenwerte Vater der „Honest Whore" Bellafronte, ist das Urbild des Vaters der höchst *dishonest whore* Lelia. Und wie Lelia's ungeheuerliche Sünde sie von Bellafronte scheidet, ist auch ihr Vater in moralischer Hinsicht nicht würdig, in einem Atem mit Friscobaldo genannt zu werden — nach

[1]) Von Reed, cf. Dyce, l. c., p. 267.

pathetischen Ansätzen entpuppt er sich als ein abgefeimter Spitzbube, der seine verbrecherische Tochter auf Kosten zweier Glücksritter verheiratet.

Am auffälligsten verrät sich die Nachahmung eines Marston'schen Motives. In der „Dutch Courtezan" fordert Freevill seinen Freund auf, ihn zu der Dirne Francischina zu begleiten, Malheureux will nicht, lässt sich überreden und wird bei diesem Besuche von einer solchen Leidenschaft ergriffen, dass er zu der Buhlerin zurückkehrt, aus welchem zweiten Besuche die weitere Handlung des Dramas entspringt. In ungeschickter Nachahmung dieser effektvollen Scenen hat der Verfasser des „Captain" ein völlig überflüssiges Freundespaar eingeführt, Julio und Angelo. Julio ist Freevill's Vertreter, er ist der ernüchterte Geliebte Lelia's, der mit ihr brechen, sie zuvor aber noch einmal sehen will. Er dringt in seinen Freund, ihn bei diesem gefährlichen Besuche zu begleiten, Angelo widersetzt sich, lässt sich überreden (Act III sc. 1), und wird von Lelia's Schönheit so bezaubert, dass er sie heimlich nochmals aufsucht. Bei diesem zweiten Besuche ist er ungesehen Zeuge der furchtbaren Scene zwischen Lelia und ihrem Vater und hält schliesslich den Vater ab, die Dirne zu töten. Das schreiende Plagiat hat sich bitter gerächt; Angelo's zweiter Besuch vereitelt den unbedingt nötigen tragischen Schluss dieser Scene und veranlasst die gemeine Intrigue des letzten Aktes, welche uns auch den Vater, und Angelo als Helfershelfer, verachten lehrt. Julio kommt überhaupt nicht mehr zur Geltung, er wird Hals über Kopf verheiratet — ein Manöver, betreffs dessen wir ganz Angelo's Meinung sind: *If a marriage should be thus slubbered up in a play, ere almost any body had taken notice you were in love, the spectators would take it to be but ridiculous* (Act V sc. 5.)

The Honest Man's Fortune. — Der ehrliche Mann, dessen Schicksal sich in diesem Drama[1]) abspielt, Lord

[1]) Aufgeführt 1613; gedruckt 1647. Dyce (III 331): *According to Weber, the greater part of this drama was the work of Beaumont;*

Montague, ist von einem mächtigen Feinde um Hab und Gut gebracht worden. Er muss sich als Diener verdingen in das Haus der reichen Erbin Lamira, die ihn nach kurzer Probezeit zu ihrem Gatten macht. Dieselbe glückliche Hebung der finanziellen Not eines rechtlichen Mannes lesen wir in einer Prosa-Geschichte Thomas Heywoods's [1]) betitelt: *Loosenesse of life first converted, and the conversion rewarded, in a home-bred historie,* [2]) zu finden in der Sammlung „*Γυναικεῖον*: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concerninge Women", überliefert in einem Drucke des Jahres 1624. Der erste Teil dieser Geschichte ist von ehrwürdigem Alter, er bietet, was wohl noch nicht bemerkt worden ist, eine Umformung der Legende „De sancta Thaisi meretrice", berichtet von Jacobus a Voragine in Cap. CLIII der „Legenda Aurea".[3]) Wie Pafuntius von Thaisis, lässt sich auch der Held der englischen Geschichte von der Dirne aus einem Gelass in das andere führen, weil ihm keines verborgen und dunkel genug ist für ihre Sünde; wie in der Legende, knüpft sich an die Bemerkung, dass Gottes Auge auch das Verborgenste sieht, der Bekehrungsversuch, welcher in beiden Fällen von Erfolg gekrönt ist. Die Handlung des Dramas lässt nicht erkennen, dass die Dramatiker mit diesem ersten Teile der Geschichte vertraut waren, wohl aber klingt eine Bemerkung Montague's wie eine Zusammenfassung der Handlungsweise des Helden der Geschichte:

> What an honest work it would be, when we find
> A virgin in her poverty and youth
> Inclining to be tempted, to employ
> As much persuasion and as much expense
> To keep her upright, as men use to do
> Upon her falling! (Act I sc. 1).

Allerdings ist die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass der Verfasser dieser Zeilen die Handlungsweise des jungen

Oliphant (ESt. XV 327 ff.): *Fletcher, Field, Massinger and an unknown author;* Fleay (Chron. I 196): *Fletcher, Daborne, Field, and Massinger.*

[1]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 209.

[2]) Cf. Dyce, l. c., p. 331 ff.

[3]) Rec. Th. Graesse, Dresdae et Lipsiae 1846.

Hippolito im Gedächtnis gehabt haben könnte, seine an die Dirne Bellafronte gerichteten Mahnungen, im ersten Teile von Dekker's „Honest Whore".

Im zweiten Teile der Heywood'schen Geschichte verliert der brave Mann sein Vermögen und gerät in eine Notlage, aus welcher ihn die von ihm der Prostitution entrissene, inzwischen zur reichen Witwe gewordene Frau befreit, indem sie sich ihm vermählt. Die Verarmung des Helden, das Gastmahl der Frau, zu welchem alle ihre Freier geladen sind, ihre plötzliche, überraschende Erklärung zu gunsten des Verarmten — alle diese wichtigen Elemente der Handlung finden sich auch in dem Drama, es kann kein Zweifel bestehen, dass die Dramatiker diesen Teil der Geschichte genau kannten, nach seinem Plane gearbeitet haben. Bringen wir diese offenbaren Übereinstimmungen in Verbindung mit der erwähnten, moralischen Reflexion Montague's, so fühle ich mich doch zu dem Schlusse berechtigt, dass die Dramatiker die Geschichte in derselben zweiteiligen Form vor sich hatten, wie sie von Heywood erzählt worden ist.[1]) Falls der Druck von 1624 wirklich die editio princeps des *Γυναικειον* ist, müssen wir eben an eine unseren Dramatikern und dem unermüdlich schreibenden, nach allen Seiten greifenden Heywood gemeinschaftliche Quelle denken.

Mit dieser Haupthandlung ist ungewöhnlich fest und geschickt die Leidensgeschichte einer edlen, von ihrem Gatten mit blinder Eifersucht gemarterten Frau verflochten. Die Herzogin von Orleans war als Mädchen zuerst von Montague umworben, liess sich jedoch bestimmen, den mächtigen Herzog zu ehelichen. Die Kenntnis dieser Vorgeschichte vergiftet die Seele des Herzogs, er glaubt ohne jeden Grund an ein sträfliches Verhältnis der beiden und dieser Argwohn treibt ihn zur Plünderung Montague's und zur Verstossung seiner

[1]) Von diesem Gesichtspunkte aus verdient nun auch eine an und für sich belanglose Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Drama und dem ersten Teile der Geschichte Beachtung. Wie der redliche Mann die zu rettende Dirne bei einer anständigen Frau unterbringt, sendet Montague die hilflose Herzogin zu Lamira, damit ihre Tugend keinen Versuchungen ausgesetzt sei (Act I sc. 3).

schuldlosen Gattin. Ich halte diesen verblendeten, sein eigenes Glück untergrabenden Herzog für einen Epigonen des Shakespeare'schen Leontes, der ebenso grundlos seinem Freunde und seiner Gattin nach dem Leben trachtet. Ein Abglanz der leuchtenden Gestalt der Hermione fällt auf die Herzogin, die auch verzeihender Liebe voll ist. Und in beiden Dramen bereut der Eifersüchtige, werden die Gatten zu neuem Glück vereint.

The Little French Lawyer. [1]) — Dinant liebt Lamira, welche dem bejahrten und invaliden Seemann Champernel vermählt und treu ergeben ist. Um Dinant's Zudringlichkeit zu bestrafen, bewilligt ihm Lamira ein Stelldichein unter der Bedingung, dass während ihres Zusammenseins ein Freund Dinant's ihre Stelle neben ihrem schlafenden Gemahl einnehmen müsse. Dieser Freund Cleremont glaubt sich jeden Augenblick der Gefahr der Entdeckung ausgesetzt, steht eine Höllenangst aus und muss schliesslich erfahren, dass er diese bange Nacht nicht neben dem alten Champernel, sondern neben einem jungen Mädchen verbracht hat. Auch Lamira hat sich des ungestümen Werbers zu erwehren gewusst, so dass die jungen Männer gefoppt und wütend abziehen müssen.

Dieses gewagte Experiment hatten die Dramatiker in einem wenige Jahre vorher publizierten spanischen Schelmen-Roman gefunden, in dem 1600 veröffentlichten zweiten Teile der von Mateo Aleman erzählten Erlebnisse des Guzman de Alfarache. [2]) Auch die spanische Version ist nicht das Original, bis jetzt ist der Stammbaum dieser Geschichte bis auf Massuccio Salernitano zurückverfolgt worden, auf die einundvierzigste Novelle seines „Novellino". [3]) Die Engländer

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[1]) Entstanden ca. 1620 (?); gedruckt 1647. Dyce (III 459): *Beaumont and Fletcher;* Oliphant (ESt. XVI 186), Fleay (Chron. I 211): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

[2]) Cf. Langbaine. p. 210f.; *Vida y Hechos del Picaro Guzman de Alfarache . . . Por Mateo Aleman. En dos Partes.* Paris 1847: II 1, 4 p. 235ff.

[3]) Cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 268f.

haben aber sicherlich den spanischen Roman vor sich gehabt und sich genau an dessen Bericht gehalten. Ihre wichtigste Abweichung ist, dass Lamira eine ehrbare Frau bleibt, während die Spanierin, die von ihren Verwandten zur Ehe gezwungen worden war, ihren ersten Verehrer mit offenen Armen aufnimmt.

Lamira's Nurse ist eine ordinäre Wiederholung des von Shakespeare geschaffenen Typus. In ihrer Scene mit den beiden Freunden (Act II sc. 3), in welcher sie Dinant zu Lamira bescheidet, wie ihre Vorgängerin Romeo zu Juliet, wird sie von dem Freunde, von Cleremont, ebenso geneckt, zankt sie sich mit ihm in ähnlicher Weise, wie Juliet's Amme mit Mercutio (Act II sc. 4).

Durch eine grobe Naht ist mit diesem Schauspiel-Motiv ein Lustspiel-Motiv verbunden. Um ein Duell zwischen ihrem Bruder und Dinant zu vereiteln, sendet Lamira in der Duellstunde Dinant an das Westthor der Stadt, um dort ihren Ruf gegen jedermann zu verteidigen, 2 Stunden lang, ohne jede nähere Bezeichnung des Gegners (Act I sc. 3) — ein sehr plumpes Manöver der Dramatiker. Cleremont steht infolgedessen allein zwei Gegnern gegenüber, zwingt den vorübergehenden kleinen Advokaten La-Writ zur Beteiligung am Duell, durch einen glücklichen Zufall bleibt La-Writ Sieger — und gebärdet sich von Stunde an wie der blutdürstigste Duellant. Die Komik dieses Nebenspiels gipfelt in einem Zweikampf zwischen La-Writ und einem anderen Advokaten, bei welchem die Sekundanten mit den Kleidern und den Schwertern der Duellanten verschwinden und die Morgenkälte die Kampfeslust der Advokaten schnell abkühlt (Act IV sc. 4). Dass der Komponist dieser Scene an die gefoppten Duellanten der „Merry Wives of Windsor" (Act II sc. 3, III 1) gedacht hat,[1]) an den Pfarrer Sir Hugh Evans und den Doktor Caius, ist auch mir sehr wahrscheinlich.

Wit at Several Weapons. — Die Quintessenz dieses tollen Stückes[2]) liegt in folgenden Worten des jungen Wittypate

[1]) Cf. Rapp p. 70.

[2]) Aufgeführt 1623 (?); gedruckt 1647. Dyce (IV 3): *Beaumont*

Oldcraft: *There's the ambition of my wit, to live upon his professed wit, that has turned me out to live by my wits* (Act I sc. 2). Von seinem intriganten Vater, Sir Perfidious Oldcraft, ohne Mittel in die Welt gesandt, damit er lerne, auf Kosten anderer Leute zu leben, macht der hoffnungsvolle Jüngling den Alten selbst zum Gegenstand seiner Erpressungsversuche, mit bestem Erfolge. Da dieser ausserdem auch noch von einer Nichte, die er um einen grossen Teil ihres Erbgutes zu bringen hofft, glücklich getäuscht wird, so ist er, der alle Schlauheit gepachtet zu haben glaubt, schliesslich in jeder Hinsicht der geprellte. Quellen-Nachweise sind für diesen schlecht geordneten, unerfreulichen Schwank bis jetzt nicht geliefert worden.

Wit without Money. — In diesem Spiele[1]) stehen sich die Figuren in symmetrischer Aufstellung gegenüber: auf der einen Seite zwei verarmte Brüder, auf der anderen zwei reiche Damen, eine Witwe und ihre Schwester; Schlussgruppe: zwei Ehepaare. Für die sehr einfache Handlung wird sich kaum eine literarische Quelle nachweisen lassen; der Hauptreiz des Schauspiels liegt in den Witzgefechten, den Neckereien der beiden Paare. Eine Schrulle des älteren Bruders, der sich zuerst als Weiberfeind gibt, von der Art des „Captain", aber nicht so roh — seine grosse Abneigung gegen Witwen und sein Rat, dass, wenn geheiratet werden müsse, eine Jungfrau zu wählen sei, als das kleinere Übel — *Then choose the tamer evil, take a maid* (Act II sc. 2) — könnten eine Chaucer-Reminiscenz sein. Der alte January will auch nichts von Witwen wissen, nur ein ganz junges Mädchen will er mit seiner Hand beglücken.[2])

The Faithful Friends. — Über die Herkunft und

and Fletcher; Oliphant (ESt. XV 344): *An alteration by Rowley and Middleton of an older drama by Beaumont and Fletcher;* Fleay (Chron. I 218): *Fletcher and Rowley.*

[1]) Aufgeführt 1614; gedruckt 1639. Dyce (IV 101), Oliphant (ESt. XV 359f.), Fleay (Chron. I 197f.): *Fletcher.*

[2]) Cf. Merchant's Tale v. 161ff. und über Chaucer's Quelle Herrig's Archiv LXXXVI 42f.

die Entstehungszeit dieses handschriftlich überlieferten, erst in unserem Jahrhundert gedruckten Dramas [1]) sind wir ganz im Unklaren. Die Quellenfrage ist noch nicht erörtert worden; ich bezweifle, dass für dieses sehr ungleich gearbeitete Stück eine einheitliche Quelle anzunehmen ist. Titus Martius, König von Rom, liebt die Braut seines Günstlings, Marcus Tullius, welchen er plötzlich, noch vor der Brautnacht, in den Krieg sendet. Die jungfräuliche Gattin wird von dem König an seinen Hof gelockt, wie in Dekker's „Satiromastix" der König William Rufus den neuvermählten Sir Walter Terrill zwingt, seine Braut Caelestine an den Hof zu bringen. Die nach allen Umständen unvermeidliche tragische Katastrophe wird gleichwohl vermieden durch die gröbste von allen den zahlreichen Unwahrscheinlichkeiten des Dramas: im letzten Augenblick entpuppt sich der König als ein Biedermann, der nur die Treue der Gattin und die Bosheit der Gegner seines Günstlings prüfen wollte (Act IV sc. 4).

Auffälliger als einige Erinnerungen an „The Maid's Tragedy" ist mir eine Übereinstimmung mit dem fälschlich Shakespeare zugeschriebenen „King Edward III." Der in die Gräfin von Salisbury verliebte König Edward nötigt ihren eigenen Vater, bei der Tochter für den König zu werben (Act II sc. 1); ebenso wird dem treuen Freunde des abwesenden jungen Gatten, dem Armanus, befohlen, Philadelpha für den König zu gewinnen (Act II sc. 2). Begreiflicherweise begegnen sich die beiden widerwilligen Werber in ihren Argumenten, Warwick's schlechter Trost: *The king's great name will temper thy misdeeds*, lautet bei Armanus: *The man but known, the name of baseness fades: | 'Tis for the king* [2]) —

[1]) *Entered SR. 1660. June 29, for Moseley as by Beaumont and Fletcher;* gedruckt 1812. Dyce (IV 199): *This drama ... may have been partly composed by [Beaumont]; but I think it very doubtful. Of Fletcher I can discover nothing;* Oliphant (ESt. XV 331): *Originally written by B. and F. at a very early date (say 1604), it was altered in 1613/4 by Massinger and Field;* Fleay (Chron. I 201): *I think the play is Daborne's (except IV. 5). written 1614.*

[2]) Ähnlich sagt der für den Prinzen Lussurioso werbende Vindice zu Castiza: *'Slid how can you lose your honor | To deale with my Lords*

und beide sind glücklich über den Misserfolg ihrer Bemühungen, über die standhafte Tugend der Frauen. Es ist wohl möglich, dass der Verfasser der „Faithful Friends" sein Grundmotiv, das Liebeswerben eines Königs um die Gattin seines für ihn Krieg führenden Feldherrn, dem älteren Stücke verdankt.

In den Nebenepisoden unseres Dramas finden wir eine in Pagentracht ihrem Geliebten folgende Römerin und einen ruhmredigen Feigling: lauter bekannte Figuren, die zu einem neuen, aber auch nach berühmten Mustern geordneten, Spiele aufgestellt sind.

The Widow. — Ein ungewöhnlich moralisches Lustspiel[1]: Frau Philippa, die sehr zu verliebten Abenteuern aufgelegte, junge Gattin des alten Richters Brandino, muss zwei Enttäuschungen erleben und wird schliesslich mit moralischen Ermahnungen abgespeist. Zwei Novellen Boccaccio's haben die Intriguen ihrer beiden resultatlosen Abenteuer geliefert. Wie die verliebte Florentinerin im Decameron III 3 ihres Beichtvaters, bedient sich Frau Philippa zuerst ihres eigenen Gatten als Postillon d'amour, indem sie eine selbstgeschriebene Aufforderung zu einem Stelldichein dem jungen Francisco entrüstet zurückbringen lässt und ihn auf diese Weise von ihrer Bereitwilligkeit verständigt. In derselben Nacht, in welcher Philippa vergeblich auf Francisco wartet, rettet sich ein von Räubern geplünderter Jüngling in des Richters Haus, wird von ihr freundlichst aufgenommen, bewirtet und mit einem Anzug ihres Gatten beschenkt, ganz wie der ausgeraubte Rinaldo d'Asti von der lockeren Witwe beherbergt wird, welche ebenfalls vergeblich auf ihren Geliebten gewartet hatte (Dec. II 2).[2] Nur ist in dem englischen Lustspiel der

Grace? / Hee'll adde more honour to it by his Title' (Revenger's Tragedy Act II sc. 1, cf. Collins' Ausgabe vol. II p. 49).

[1]) Entstanden um 1625 (?); gedruckt 1652. Dyce (IV 303) lässt die Verfasserfrage offen; Oliphant (XVI 197): *Middleton's hand ... may be traced in every scene;* Fleay (Chron. II 106): *Evidently written by Middleton alone.*

[2]) Cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 222. Painter hat diese Novelle übersetzt, cf. Palace I 33.

gehätschelte Jüngling ein verkleidetes Mädchen, und vermählt sich schliesslich mit dem ungetreuen Francisco, zur grossen Konsternation der Frau Philippa.

Für die ziemlich uninteressanten Erlebnisse der Titelheldin, der von vielen Freiern heimgesuchten Witwe Valeria, kann ich keinen Quellen-Nachweis liefern.

The Custom of the Country.[1]) — Kurz vor seinem Tode, in den ersten Monaten des Jahres 1616, hatte Cervantes einen langatmigen und wirren *roman d'aventure* zum Abschluss gebracht, der im Herbst desselben Jahres gedruckt wurde, betitelt „Historia de los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda". Schon 1619 erschien eine englische Übersetzung, deren anonymer Verfasser auf dem Titelblatt eine französische Version als seine Vorlage nennt: *The first copie beeing written in Spanish; translated afterward into French, and now last into English.*[2]) Ob Fletcher und sein Mitarbeiter aus dieser Übersetzung oder aus dem Original schöpften, wissen wir nicht; gewiss ist, dass ihr um das Jahr 1619 entstandenes Drama „The Custom of the Country" ein Mosaik aus Episoden des spanischen Romans ist.[3])

Im zwölften Kapitel des ersten Buches berichtet der alte Mauricio von einer schändlichen, dem jus primae noctis ähnelnden Sitte seiner Heimat und von der mutigen Tugend seiner Tochter Transila, welche diese Schmach nicht dulden

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[1]) Entstanden um 1619 (?); gedruckt 1647. Dyce (IV 387) wiederholt Weber's Ansicht, dass Beaumont's Beteiligung sehr zweifelhaft sei; Oliphant (ESt. XVI 185), Fleay (Chron. I 210): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

[2]) Cf. Hazlitt's Handbook, p. 80.

[3]) Cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 493 Anm. 351, wo Liebrecht auf Val. Schmidt (Beitr. z. Gesch. d. rom. Poesie, p. 179 ff.) als seinen Gewährsmann verweist; vergl. ausserdem Liebrecht's Anm. 452, p. 511. Neuerdings hat Fleay bemerkt (Chron. I 210): *Both the chief plot and underplot . . . I have found in Cervantes' P. and S.* Mit Recht hebt er hervor, dass die Engländer die Namen ihrer Gestalten dem spanischen Roman entlehnten, nimmt jedoch sehr mit Unrecht die Namen *Charino, Duarte, and Guiomar* aus. Auch sie stammen aus dem Roman.

wollte; im nächsten Kapitel erzählt Transila selbst, wie sie allein entfloh und in die Hände von Seeräubern fiel, die sie freundlich behandelten. — Im sechsten Kapitel des dritten Buches erzählt der Pole Ortel Banedre, dass er in Lissabon das Unglück hatte, bei einem nächtlichen Zusammenstoss einen ihm unbekannten jungen Mann zu erstechen. Er flüchtete sich in ein offenes Haus, wo ihn eine mitleidige Frau aufnahm und verbarg. Aber bald stellte sich heraus, dass der von ihm getötete Jüngling. Don Duarte, der Sohn dieser Frau, der Doña Guiomar de Sosa, war. Nach einem qualvollen Seelenkampf entliess die edle Frau den Mörder ungestraft.[1]) — Im sechsten und in den folgenden Kapiteln des vierten und letzten Buches hören wir von einem sehr merkwürdigen Abenteuer des Titelhelden Persiles, der übrigens im ganzen Roman Periandro heisst, mit der leidenschaftlich in ihn verliebten Hetäre Hipolita la Ferraresa. Sie lässt ihn von dem Juden Zabulon in ihr Haus locken, und wie er vor ihrem ungestümen Liebeswerben, ein zweiter Joseph, mit Hinterlassung seines Mantels flieht, verfolgen und verhaften. Aber sie bereut sofort, und klagt vor dem *Governador* sich selbst an, um Periandro zu befreien. Ihr Zorn wendet sich alsdann gegen die von dem spröden Jüngling verehrte Dame, gegen Sigismunda-Auristela, sie veranlasst eine Hexe, Zabulon's Frau, Auristela durch ihre Zauberkünste erkranken und unrettbar hinsiechen zu lassen. Aber auch dieser Racheversuch wird ihr vereitelt: aus Kummer erkrankt Periandro selbst so schwer, dass Hipolita, um den Geliebten zu retten, den die Nebenbuhlerin verzehrenden Zauber schleunigst aufheben lassen muss.

Diese Episoden des spanischen Romans enthalten die Substanz der Handlung unseres Dramas, in dessen Mittelpunkt zwei Brüder stehen: Arnoldo, der Vertreter des Bräutigams der Transila und des Persiles im Hipolita-Abenteuer, und Rutilio, welcher die Gefahren des Polen zu be-

[1]) Diese ergreifende Geschichte, m. E. die weitaus bedeutendste Episode des ganzen Romans, hat Cervantes dem Giraldi Cinthio (Hecat. VI 6) nacherzählt. Den Engländern galt früher die italienische Novelle als die Quelle unseres Dramas (cf. Dyce IV 387 f.).

stehen hat; Zenocia, Arnoldo's Braut, vertritt Transila und Sigismunda. Die Engländer haben sich in der ersten und zweiten Episode genau an die Quelle gehalten, namentlich in der Guiomar-Episode lässt sich oft der Wortlaut des spanischen Originals erkennen. Guiomar's unvergessliche Worte zu dem Mörder ihres Sohnes: Verhülle dein Gesicht, dass ich dich später nicht erkennen muss: *Let thy face be cover'd | That I hereafter be not forc'd to know thee* (Act II sc. 4) — sind eine fast wörtliche, aber verbesserte Wiedergabe der Worte der Portugiesin: *Ponte las manos en el rostro, porque si yo me descuydo en abrir los ojos, no me obligues a que te conozca.*

Was die englischen Dramatiker dieser schon an und für sich übervollen Handlung noch eingefügt haben, ist eitel von Übel, ja zum Teil geradezu schändlich. In der ganzen dramatischen Produktion jener Epoche — und damit ist gewiss viel gesagt — kenne ich nichts Gemeineres, nichts Niederträchtigeres, als die Scenen in den *male-stews* (Act III sc. 3, IV 4). Dass die Engländer den Duarte nicht töten, sondern nur für tot ausgeben, kann seine Erklärung finden in dem Bestreben, ihre Komödie nicht mit tragischen Elementen zu belasten — unverzeihlich aber ist, dass sie die würdige, bedeutende Gestalt der Guiomar schliesslich dem Wüstling Rutilio in die Arme werfen. Überall kracht es in dem hastig gezimmerten Bau, trotz vieler Detail-Schönheiten denkt man an und spricht von Fabrikware.

Bonduca. — Den historischen Kern dieser Tragödie [1]) hat man längst in den Annalen des Tacitus gefunden; [2]) mit Recht wurde neuerdings betont, dass der Verfasser wohl nicht unmittelbar aus Tacitus geschöpft haben wird, sondern aus dem die Mitteilungen der klassischen Historiographen zusammen-

[1]) Entstanden um 1616 (?); gedruckt 1647. Dyce (V 3) bezweifelt Beaumont's Mitarbeiterschaft; Oliphant (ESt. XV 335): *An alteration by Fletcher of an old drama of Beaumont's;* Fleay (Chron. I 203): Von *Fletcher*, wenige, vielleicht von *Field* eingeschaltete, Stellen ausgenommen.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 207.

fassenden Berichte Holinshed's in seiner vielbenützten Chronik.[1]) Dass unser Dramatiker einem vielleicht etwas älteren Stücke „The Valiant Welshman, or The True Chronicle History of the life and valiant deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, now called Wales. Written by R. A., London, 1615" irgendwelche Anregung verdankt,[2]) glaube ich nicht; eine Übereinstimmung mit Shakespeare's „Antony and Cleopatra" kann ich nur in dem Umstande finden, dass, wie Cleopatra, auch Bonduca's ältere Tochter vor ihrem freiwilligen Tode beteuert, sie wollte keinen römischen Triumph verherrlichen (Act IV sc. 4).[3])

The Knight of Malta. — Für die überreiche Handlung dieses Dramas[4]) sind bis jetzt keine Quellen nachgewiesen worden, die bisherige Forschung hat sich mit der Annahme einiger Shakespeare-Reminiscenzen begnügt. Es wird sich aber feststellen lassen, dass die tugendhafte Oriana, eine der reinsten Frauengestalten Fletcher's, mit der leichtfertigen Frau Philippa in der „Widow" für den Quellenforscher die Ähnlichkeit hat, dass auch sie die Schicksale zweier Heldinnen italienischer Novellen zu erleben hat.

Oriana, die Schwester Valetta's, des Grossmeisters von Malta, wird von einem Malteser-Ritter, von dem Franzosen Mountferrat, trotz seines Gelübdes der Ehelosigkeit mit Liebesanträgen verfolgt, welche sie zuerst sanft, dann mit der Drohung einer öffentlichen Anklage zurückweist. Der wütende Franzose verläumdet sie, beschuldigt sie verliebter

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[1]) Cf. B. Leonhardt „Bonduca" ESt. XIII 36 ff. Seine Analyse des Dramas enthält einige Missverständnisse. Von den Annalen des Tacitus kommen in Betracht lib. XII 33—37, suppl. VII—X 49, XIV 29 ff., cf. ib. p. 44 ff.

[2]) Cf. l. c. p. 49 ff., wo sich eine ausführliche Analyse dieser dramatischen Rarität findet.

[3]) Cf. l. c. p. 62 f.

[4]) Entstanden zwischen 1616 und 1619; gedruckt 1647. Dyce (V 105): Höchst wahrscheinlich von *Fletcher* allein; Oliphant (ESt. XVI 183): *I declare for Fletcher, Massinger, and Field (with remains of an earlier writer in 4 of Field's Scenes);* Fleay (Chron. I 206): *Fletcher, Massinger and Field.*

und zugleich hochverräterischer Verbindungen mit einem türkischen Pascha. Oriana wird von ihrem Bruder zum Tode verurteilt; der sie liebende Spanier Gomera tritt für sie ein und beweist durch seinen Sieg im Zweikampf ihre Unschuld. Die Gerettete wird von ihrem Bruder dem Spanier vermählt. — Die Duchessa di Savoia, die Schwester des Königs von England, wird während einer Abwesenheit ihres Gatten von dem conte di Pancalieri mit Liebesanträgen verfolgt, welche sie zuerst mild, dann mit Androhung schwerer Bestrafung seines Verrats zurückweist. Aus Rache bezichtigt sie der Graf verbrecherischen Umganges mit seinem Neffen, welchen er im Augenblick der scheinbaren Entdeckung tötet. Die Herzogin wird zum Flammentode verurteilt, in der Entscheidungsstunde tritt jedoch der sie liebende Don Giovanni di Mendozza für sie in die Schranken, bekämpft und besiegt den Verläumder. Späterhin, nach dem Tode des Herzogs, wird die Gerettete von ihrem Bruder ihrem Retter zur Gattin gegeben. So erzählt Bandello, in der vierundvierzigsten Novelle des zweiten Teiles (= Painter I 45). [1])

In hochschwangerem Zustande wird Oriana von einer eifersüchtigen Regung ihres Gatten so schwer gekränkt, dass sie ohnmächtig zusammenbricht und für tot gehalten wird. Sie wird in einer Kirche bestattet, wohin nachts ahnungslos der junge Miranda kommt, der auch um sie geworben und sie zärtlich geliebt hatte. Er entdeckt das neue Grabmal und die schöne Tote, welche plötzlich Lebenszeichen gibt. Heimlich lässt er sie in seinen Palast bringen, wo sie bald eines Knaben genest. In einer oft und mit Recht gerühmten Scene gelingt es Oriana, die Gedanken des jungen Ritters von irdischer zu himmlischer Liebe zu lenken (Act V sc. 1); er führt sie mit dem Kinde wieder ihrem Gatten zu, der sie schmerzlichst beweint hatte. — In Bologna geschah es, dass die hochschwangere madonna Catalina urplötzlich starb und von ihren Verwandten begraben wurde. Wie Messer Gentil de'Carisendi, der die schöne Frau hoffnungslos geliebt hatte,

[1]) Diese Novelle war in England sehr beliebt. Vergl. über elisabethanische Versionen und Allusionen Studien p. 95f.; ferner über eine ähnliche Novelle Granucci's Landau „Beiträge" p. 98.

die Trauerkunde erfährt, eilt er nachts in die Kirche, an das Grab der Geliebten, und entdeckt, dass ihr Leben noch nicht ganz erloschen ist. In aller Heimlichkeit bringt er sie in sein eigenes Haus, wo sie bald von einem Knaben entbunden wird. Nach ihrer Genesung gibt der junge Mann die Frau mit dem Kinde in allen Ehren ihrem Gatten zurück. So erzählt Boccaccio im Decameron X 4 (= Painter II 19).[1])

Dass der wechselreiche Lebenslauf der Oriana eine ziemlich lockere Verkettung der Hauptereignisse dieser beiden italienischen Novellen zeigt, scheint mir keines weiteren Beweises zu bedürfen. Was die Shakespeare-Elemente der Handlung betrifft,[2]) so ergeben sich aus Boccaccio's Novelle einige Situations-Ähnlichkeiten mit „Romeo und Juliet" und „Much Ado about Nothing". In den ausserhalb der erwähnten Quellen liegenden Teilen der Handlung fällt uns vor allem der Schlaftrunk auf, welchen Mountferrat's Helfershelferin, die Mohrin Zanthia, der Oriana einflösst, um die Ohnmächtige in eine Scheintote zu verwandeln. Berücksichtigen wir ausserdem, dass Zanthia einmal einige Worte des Friar Laurence wiederholt (Act IV sc. 1),[3]) so werden wir wohl nicht zweifeln, dass der Schlaftrunk aus Shakespeare's Arsenal stammt. Ebenso deutlich ist mir ein Othello-Motiv: Oriana's massloses Lob des Miranda, welches die Eifersucht ihres Gatten erwecken muss und seinen Zornausbruch und ihre verhängnisvolle Ohnmacht herbeiführt (Act III sc. 2), ist viel unnötiger und ebenso unklug, wie Desdemona's hartnäckiges, die Eifersucht ihres Gatten aufstachelndes Bitten für Cassio. Die Mohrin Zanthia, welche in sinnlichster Leidenschaft für Mountferrat entbrannt, ihm zu Gefallen Oriana aus einem Unglück in das andere stürzt, ist ebenso intrigant, aber lange nicht so schlau wie Jago. Die Verblendung, welche sie von Anfang bis zu Ende jedes Mittel versuchen

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[1]) Über die elisabethanischen Versionen dieser Novelle vergl. Studien p. 84; Anglia XIII 50 ff.

[2]) Rapp, p. 77: „Offenbare Reminiscenzen aus Romeo, Much ado u. s. w."

[3]) Cf. Dyce, vol. V p. 177 Anm.

lässt, ihrem Geliebten seine Geliebte in die Hände zu spielen, findet ihre Erklärung nicht sowohl in der gemeinen Natur des Weibes, als vielmehr in der Not des Dramatikers, der sie immer wieder als Hebel für seine schwere Handlung braucht.

Valentinian.[1]) — Auf einem mit grosser Freiheit behandelten historischen Hintergrunde[2]) bietet diese Tragödie in ihren drei ersten Akten eine mit grösserer Sorgfalt ausgeführte Variation des Themas der „Faithful Friends". Der römische Kaiser Valentinian verfolgt Lucina, die Gattin seines Feldherrn Maximus, mit ehrlosen Anträgen, und es gelingt ihm, die tugendhafte Frau an seinen Hof zu locken — in ganz ähnlicher Weise wie der römische König Titus Martius die Gemahlin seines Günstlings und Feldherrn umgarnt (vgl. p. 63). Aber die keusche Lucina endet tragisch, wie Lucretia — entehrt, stirbt sie in bitterer Seelennot.

In den beiden letzten Akten herrscht die Rache: Valentinian wird vergiftet. Bei solchen Sterbescenen kann sich Fletcher eines starken Eindrucks nicht erwehren, den er von einer ähnlichen Shakespeare-Scene erhalten hatte: seine vergifteten Fürsten wiederholen Bruchstücke der Klage des an Gift sterbenden King John (Act V sc. 7). Wie der Shakespeare'sche König geklagt hatte: *And none of you will bid the winter come . . . . / Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course / Through my burn'd bosom, nor entreat the north / To make his bleak winds kiss my parched lips . . . . Within me is a hell* (v. 36 ff.), wiederholt Valentinian: *Danubius I'll have brought through my body . . . And Volga, on whose face the north wind freezes. / I am an hundred hells! . . . Tempests blow me . . .* (Act V sc. 2, p. 298). In echter Epigonenweise

[1]) Cf. Dyce, vol. V p. 207 ff. Entstanden 1616 (?); gedruckt 1647. Nach der Ansicht der meisten modernen Kritiker von *Fletcher* allein verfasst, cf. Fleay (Chron. I 203).

[2]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 216: *For the Plot see the Writers of those Times; as Cassi[o]dori Chron.; Amm. Marcell. Hist. Evagrius Lib. 2. Procopius, etc.* Eine Vergleichung der pseudo-historischen Dramen Beaumont's und Fletcher's mit den Quellenschriften ist, wie bereits bemerkt (vergl. p. 35 Anm. 3), von anderer Seite in Angriff genommen worden.

sucht Fletcher den Effekt der vorbildlichen Scene ungeschickt zu überbieten, Valentinian's Jammer füllt noch viele, die erste Wirkung abschwächende Verse.[1])

Beim Studium der Fletcher'schen Dramen erhalten wir viele Beweise dafür, dass sich Falstaff's umfangreiche Gestalt auch im Gedächtniss des jüngeren Dramatikers breit machte, dass Fletcher gar manche Falstaff-Rede auswendig gewusst haben muss. Einer der berühmtesten Monologe des feisten Ritters ist wohl seine Abhandlung über die Eigenschaften der Ehre, sein Frage- und Antwortspiel über das, was die Ehre kann und nicht kann (Henry IV A, Act V sc. 1, 131 ff.). Sehr wahrscheinlich ist es mir deshalb, dass die Form dieses Monologs sich spiegelt in folgender, sehr ernst gemeinten Rede, in welcher Maximus abwägt, wem er mehr Rücksicht schulde, seiner Ehre oder seinem Freunde Aëcius:

> . . . . . What is honour,
> We all so strangely are bewitch'd withal?
> Can it relieve me, if I want? he has;
> Can honour, 'twixt the incensèd prince and envy,
> Bear up the lives of worthy men? he has;
> Can honour pull the wings of fearful cowards,
> And make 'em turn again like tigers? he has . . .
> Why should this empty word incite me, then . . .
> (Act III sc. 3, p. 266).

Auch Falstaff schliesst: *What is honour? a word. What is in that word honour? . . . air* (l. 136 f.).

The Laws of Candy.[2]) — Zwei Gesetze Candia's lernen wir in diesem Drama kennen, von welchen eines den Hauptkonflikt, das andere die Katastrophe und ihre Lösung liefert. Das eine Gesetz bestimmt, dass der Krieger, welcher sich in

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[1]) Vergl. p. 115 die Bemerkungen zu Alphonso's Vergiftung in „A Wife for a Month".

[2]) Cf. Dyce, vol. V p. 317 ff. Entstanden 1619 (?); gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 335): *The „Laws of Candy" as it stands is pretty equally divided between Massinger and Beaumont;* Fleay (Chron. I 209 f.): *The play . . is clearly almost entirely Massinger's; nevertheless . . . I can distinctly trace in places the hand of Fletcher.*

einer Schlacht vor allen anderen ausgezeichnet habe, nach der Heimkunft selbst seinen Lohn fordern dürfe. Nach einem siegreichen Gefecht mit den Venetianern machen sich ein Vater und sein Sohn, Cassilane und Antinous, diese Ehre streitig, welche schliesslich von dem Senat dem Sohne zuerkannt wird. Der erbitterte Vater verhärtet sich gegen alle Versöhnungsversuche des guten Sohnes, mit einer an King Lear's Jähzorn erinnernden Halsstarrigkeit. Diesen ziemlich künstlich konstruierten Zwist hatten die Engländer in einer Novelle des Giraldi Cinthio gefunden, in der neunten Novelle der zehnten Dekade seiner „Hecatommithi, overo Cento Novelle". [1])

Das andere Gesetz straft jeden Undankbaren mit dem Tode, wenn sich nicht der Gekränkte selbst für den Sünder verwendet. Auf Grund dieses Gesetzes erfolgt im letzten Akte allgemeine Beschuldigung und allgemeine Begnadigung. Die Quelle dieses Motives ist mir nicht bekannt.

Erst als dritte Triebfeder der Handlung kommt die sonst zumeist allmächtige Leidenschaft zur Geltung, die Liebe, und zwar in einer, wie ich glaube, Shakespeare abgesehenen Weise — als plötzliche und heftige Neigung einer Jungfrau zu einem Manne, welcher freilich bei Shakespeare kein Mann ist. In „As you like it" liebt der Schäfer Silvius die Schäferin Phebe, die ihn spröde und scharf zurückweist, sich aber auf den ersten Blick in Ganymede, die verkleidete Rosalind, verliebt. Phebe missbraucht den guten Silvius nicht nur als Träger eines Liebesbriefes an seinen Rivalen, sondern veranlasst ihn sogar, dem kaltherzigen Jüngling zu sagen, was Liebe ist: *Good Shepherd, tell this youth what 'tis to love* (Act V sc. 2, 89). In unserem Drama wirbt der Prinz Philander vergeblich um die stolze Prinzessin Erota, die ihn sehr schlecht behandelt, sich aber auf den ersten Blick in den jungen Antinous verliebt (Act II sc. 1). Dieser kommt jedoch ihrer Liebe so zögernd entgegen, dass sie den guten Philander bittet, ihren Fürsprecher zu machen, was er auch thut (Act III sc. 3). Das Ende dieser Liebesgeschichte ist in beiden Dramen eben-

[1]) Cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht, p. 279.

falls das gleiche: die selbstlose Liebe wird belohnt, in den „Laws of Candy“ mit noch besserer Wirkung als bei Shakespeare: Phebe hat keine Wahl mehr, während sich Erota nach reiflicher Überlegung, aus besserer Erkenntnis, dem Prinzen zuwendet. Auch in den Worten und Gedanken unseres Dramas lassen sich einige Shakespeare-Reminiscenzen erkennen. [1])

The Queen of Corinth. — Für dieses Drama [2]) ist bis jetzt keine Quelle gefunden worden; ich bezweifle nicht, dass das Hauptmotiv der Handlung dem Cervantes entlehnt ist, einer seiner 1614 gedruckten „Novelas exemplares“, deren Schauplatz aus Spanien sehr unpassenderweise in das von einer spartanischen Fürstin beherrschte Korinth verlegt ist. Die schöne Merione wird nächtlicherweile von dem Prinzen Theanor, dem Sohne dieser namenlosen Königin von Korinth, geraubt und entehrt, ohne dass sie den maskierten Frevler zu erkennen vermag. Theanor legt die durch einen Schlaftrunk Betäubte an der Schwelle des Hauses ihres Bruders nieder, nachdem er ihr einen Ring genommen hat, der schliesslich sein Verräter wird. Eine glückliche, uns freilich sehr unerfreuliche Lösung wird dadurch herbeigeführt, dass Merione dem Elenden, der seine Schandthat im Laufe des Stückes wiederholt hat, verzeiht und seine Gattin wird.

Bei Cervantes, in der sechsten Novelle des ersten

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[1]) Auf eine Hamlet-Erinnerung ist bei Dyce vol. V p. 367 aufmerksam gemacht. Auffälliger ist mir jedoch eine nicht hervorgehobene Übereinstimmung mit Julius Cæsar (Act III sc. 1, 212 f.). Mark Antony sagt nach seinem Lobe des ermordeten Cæsar:

> The enemies of Cæsar shall say this;
> Then in a friend, it is cold modesty.

Ganz ähnlich versichert der Schmeichler Gonzalo dem jungen Antinous:

> Your enemies must needs acknowledge it;
> Then do not think it flattery in your friends
> (Act II sc. 1).

[2]) Cf. Dyce, vol. V 393 ff. Entstanden 1617/18; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 180 f.), Fleay (Chron. I 207): *Massinger, Field and Fletcher.*

Bändchens, betitelt: *La Fuerça de la Sangre*, lesen wir, dass die 16jährige Leocadia auf einem nächtlichen Spaziergange mit ihren Eltern von dem jungen Rodolfo geraubt und entehrt wird, ohne dass sie den Frevler in der Dunkelheit erkennen kann. Noch in derselben Nacht wird sie von dem Verbrecher in die Nähe des elterlichen Hauses geführt, mit verbundenen Augen, doch hat sie aus dem Gemach Rodolfo's ein kleines silbernes Kruzifix mitgenommen, mit welchem sie nach mehreren Jahren den Eltern ihres Verderbers die Wahrheit ihrer Anklage beweisen kann. Rodolfo, der aus Furcht vor Entdeckung Toledo verlassen hatte, wird zurückgerufen und Leocadia ist mit Freuden zur Verzeihung und zur Ehe bereit.

Die Übereinstimmung zwischen den Grundzügen der Handlung der Novelle und des Dramas ist eine vollkommene. Der schwerste, unverzeihliche Fehler des Dramas ist die Wiederholung der Vergewaltigung, die englischen Dramatiker können das Mass der Greuel nicht voll genug häufen, ihre besten Wirkungen verderben sie sich selbst durch diesen Mangel an moralischem Takt. Die Merione des zweiten Aktes, die für ihren namenlosen Schmerz erschütternde Worte findet, ist beklagenswert, im letzten Akt ist sie verächtlich.

Die komischen Scenen sind jedenfalls frei erfunden, ihre Satire richtet sich gegen einen beliebten Sündenbock der Zeit, gegen den prahlsüchtigen, sich mit ausländischen Manieren und Sprachen brüstenden Reisenden. [1])

[1]) Bei der ironischen Huldigung, welche die Schelme und Narren des Stückes dem Tugendhelden Euphanes darbringen, ruft ihm Onos, der gereiste Jüngling, zu: *Pearl in the state's eye!* und Neanthes fügt bei: *Being a black man* (Act III sc. 1). Wir haben hier eine Variation eines von Shakespeare in den „Two Gentlemen of Verona" citierten Sprichwortes: *The old saying is, | Black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes* (Act V sc. 2, 11 f.), welches Chapman in der tollen Posse „An Humorous Day's Mirth" (1599) von Lemot als *a stale proverb* bezeichnen und in etwas abweichender Form wiederholen lässt: *Black is a pearl in a woman's eye* (cf. Works ed. R. H. Shepherd, London 1889, p. 37). Die „Shakespeare-Allusion-Books" (New Sh. Soc. Series IV 3, London 1879/86) verzeichnen p. 423 eine Wiederholung des Sh.'schen Sprichwortes aus Samuel Rowlands' „Tis merrie when Gossips meet" (1602).

The Loyal Subject. — Der Titelheld dieses Stückes,[1]) der russische General Archas, wird während des ganzen Dramas von seinem launischen und argwöhnischen Fürsten, einem Great Duke of Moscovia, so empörend misshandelt, dass uns das glückliche Ende, seine schliessliche Erhöhung, für die ausgestandenen, grundlosen Quälereien nicht entschädigen kann. Eine so übertriebene Loyalität ist keine dramatisch verwendbare Eigenschaft; Fletcher hat sich m. E. bei der Wahl seines Protagonisten vergriffen.

Wo Fletcher diesen extremen Loyalisten und den tyrannisch veranlagten Fürsten gefunden hat, ist bis jetzt noch nicht festgestellt worden. Man hat auf gewisse Übereinstimmungen mit einem Drama des Thomas Heywood, betitelt „The Royal King and the Loyal Subject", aufmerksam gemacht, und die Erklärung in einer unbekannten, gemeinschaftlichen Quelle gesucht.[2]) Es wird mir bei der Besprechung des Heywood'schen Werkes nicht schwer fallen, nachzuweisen, dass Heywood eine 1567 von Painter (II 4) aus Bandello übersetzte Novelle dramatisiert hat, Bandello's zweite Novelle des ersten Teiles.[3]) Die Beantwortung der Frage, ob Fletcher die Novelle oder das — zeitlich nicht fixierbare — Drama im Auge hatte, ist kaum möglich, da Fletcher dieser Quelle fast nur den Hauptgedanken seines Stückes verdankt, den Gedanken, Fürstenlaune und Unterthanentreue gegeneinander auszuspielen. In der Ausführung dieses Gedankens bemerke ich nur noch die Ähnlichkeit, dass, wie Ariabarzane von dem Perserkönig, Archas von seinem Herzog gezwungen wird, seine beiden Töchter an den Hof zu senden, und dass sich beide Fürsten mit einer Tochter ihres getreuen Unterthanen vermählen. Von einem engeren Anschluss an die Quelle kann auch in diesem Falle nicht

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[1]) Lic. 1618, Nov. 16; gedruckt 1647. Dyce (VI 3), Oliphant (ESt. XVI 181), Fleay (Chron. I 207): *Fletcher.*

[2]) Cf. Ward II 199: *Fletcher's play owes no debt to Thomas Heywood's „RK. and LS.", though both are obviously founded on the same story.*

[3]) Cf. Anhang p. 133 f.; Studien p. 89.

die Rede sein; Fletcher hat dieselben Fäden verschieden gesponnen.

Für zwei andere Episoden des Dramas lässt sich bei dem belesenen Fletcher ein literarisches Vorbild vermuten, wenn auch nicht strikte beweisen. Der Herzog besucht Archas, lässt sich durch dessen ganzes Haus führen, kommt an ein verschlossenes Zimmer, zu welchem er sich gegen Archas' Willen Zutritt erzwingt. Er findet einen Schatz, mit dessen Aufbewahrung für Zeiten der Not Archas von dem Vater des Herzogs betraut worden war (Act II sc. 6). Dieser Zwischenfall, der nicht den mindesten Einfluss auf die weitere Entwickelung der Handlung ausübt, kann einer anderen, ebenfalls 1567 von Painter (II 22) übersetzten Novelle Bandello's entlehnt sein, der fünfzehnten Novelle des zweiten Teiles.[1]) Alessandro, duca di Firenze, besucht die Villa eines Günstlings, ein Zimmer bleibt ihm verschlossen, er erzwingt sich Zutritt und findet in ihm die von dem Hausherrn entehrte Müllerstochter.[2]) Fletcher hat, wie wir sehen werden (cf. p. 112), diese Novelle später selbst dramatisiert.

Das andere, möglicherweise einem berühmten Werk entlehnte Motiv findet sich in dem Nebenspiel. Des Archas gleichnamiger jüngster Sohn nimmt Mädchenkleidung an, um in den Dienst der geliebten Prinzessin Olympia treten zu können. Der Herzog, Olympia's Bruder, verliebt sich in den verkleideten Jüngling, und so befindet sich der junge Archas in derselben peinlichen Lage, wie Sir Philip Sidney's Prinz Pyrocles in der „Arcadia", welcher, um sich der Prinzessin Philoclea nähern zu können, Amazonentracht angenommen hat und in dieser Verkleidung von dem König Basilius, dem Vater seiner Dame, mit Liebesanträgen verfolgt wird.[3])

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[1]) Cf. Studien p. 94.

[2]) Diese Ähnlichkeit ist auch Ward (II 220, Anm. 2) aufgefallen, er betrachtet sie jedoch als *a probably accidental resemblance.*

[3]) Zu einer Stelle der dritten Scene des ersten Aktes hat Dyce (VI 16) nach Reed auf einige Shakespeare-Verse verwiesen. Man möchte fast vermuten, dass diese Anmerkung aus Versehen unrichtig placiert sei, denn an einer späteren Stelle unseres Dramas kommt

The Mad Lover.[1]) — Memnon, der in langjährigen Kriegen ergraute Feldherr des Königs von Paphos, verliebt sich bei seiner Rückkehr auf den ersten Blick in die Prinzessin Calis, des Königs Schwester. Seine Leidenschaft macht sich so plötzlich und so plump bemerkbar, dass die Prinzessin, nicht ohne heimliche Furcht vor diesem siegreichen und ungestümen Werber, ihn verspottet und ihn schliesslich auffordert, ihr sein Herz doch wirklich, nicht nur mit Worten, zu schenken. Memnon verfällt in Trübsinn, denkt alles Ernstes daran, sich das Herz aus der Brust schneiden zu lassen: seine Kur wird in einigen, zum Teil derbkomischen Scenen bewerkstelligt. Calis' Übermut wird durch eine ebenso plötzlich erwachende Liebe gestraft, die lange keine Erhörung findet. Schliesslich verzichtet Memnon und die verliebte Prinzessin bekommt ihren Polydore.

Eine Quelle dieser sonderbaren Liebesgeschichte ist mir nicht bekannt; in einer Verwicklung des Dramas glaube ich ein Shakespeare-Motiv zu erkennen. Wir haben bereits gesehen (cf. p. 73 f.), dass Fletcher die Phebe-Episode in „As you like it" sehr gut im Gedächtnis hatte: es ist deshalb doppelt bemerkenswert, dass die Gruppe Memnon, Polydore,

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Fletcher dem Wortlaute Shakespeare's viel näher. Shakespeare's Hotspur spricht bombastisch von

> . . . . . swift Severn's flood,
> Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
> Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
> And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank . . .
> (Henry 4 A I 3, 103 ff.);

Reed-Dyce vergleichen Archas' Worte

> I yet remember when the Volga curl'd,
> The agèd Volga, when he heav'd his head up,
> And rais'd his waters high, to see the ruins . . . ,

während ich ein stärkeres Shakespeare-Echo aus folgenden Versen des Archas heraushöre:

> Then, when the Volga trembled at his terror,
> And hid his seven curl'd heads, afraid of bruising
> By his arm'd horses' hoofs . . . . . .
> (Act IV sc. 5, p. 91).

[1]) Cf. Dyce vol. VI 115 ff. Entstanden 1617/8 (?); gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

Calis der Gruppe Silvius, Rosalind-Ganymede, Phebe vollkommen entspricht. Memnon und Silvius lieben und werden verschmäht; Polydore und Ganymede treten für die Verschmähten ein und suchen die spröden Mädchen in die Liebe hineinzuzanken; Calis und Phebe verlieben sich sofort in die scheltenden Jünglinge, welche nichts von ihnen wissen wollen. Nach Ganymede's Vorwürfen sagt Phebe: *Sweet youth, I pray you, chide a year together* (Act III sc. 5, 64) — nach Polydore's Ermahnungen sagt Calis: *Prithee, be angry still, young man: good fair sir, | Chide me again* (Act III sc. 4).[1])

In den zum grössten Teile überaus schmutzigen Nebenepisoden ist die List bemerkenswert, durch welche Cleanthe, eine der Kammerfrauen der Prinzessin, ihrem Bruder Syphax den Besitz der Calis sichern will. Sie besticht eine Venus-Priesterin, der Prinzessin vermittelst eines Orakelspruches den Syphax als den ihr bestimmten Gatten zu bezeichnen. Durch eine Erscheinung der Göttin selbst wird der Betrug verhindert; anstatt der Prinzessin wird dem Syphax seine abgedankte Maitresse in die Hände gespielt. Es ist wohl möglich, dass Fletcher diese spitzbübische Intrigue nach dem Muster des von Josephus und Bandello (III 19) erzählten Betruges der römischen Isis-Priester, durch welchen Paolina das Opfer des Mundus wurde, entworfen hat.[2])

The False One.[3]) — Ein Cleopatra-Drama,[4]) welches uns

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[1]) Rapp, p. 69: „Unleugbar ist die Parodie einer Hamlets-Hypochondrie, zumal einer Stelle von Hamlet's Geist, sowie auch einer Stelle des Macbeth, da wo Polydore vor dem König sich selbst heruntersetzt . . .; endlich auch eine Stelle, die an Macbeth's Hexen erinnert." Mir ist bei der Lektüre des Stückes nur der ersterwähnte Macbeth-Anklang aufgefallen, Polydore's grundlose Selbstanklage (Act IV sc. 4) erinnert allerdings an Malcolm's Stratagem (Act IV sc. 3). Die übrigen von Rapp angedeuteten Reminiscenzen sind mir nicht fassbar.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 211; Dyce VI 117f.; Studien p. 97.

[3]) Cf. Dyce, vol. VI p. 213ff. Entstanden ca. 1620; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 186), Fleay (Chron. I 211): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

[4]) Bei G. H. Moeller „Die Auffassung der Kleopatra in der Tragödienliteratur etc." (Ulm 1888) nachzutragen, wie schon Sachs, Lgrph. 1889, col. 262f., bemerkt hat.

die junge Cleopatra zeigt, [1]) eine Art Vorspiel zu Shakespeare's Tragödie, leider sehr schwach im Tone. Die hinter die Scene verlegte Ermordung des Pompejus, die Intriguen des ägyptischen Hofes gegen Julius Caesar, dessen Liebelei mit Cleopatra, welche nach dem Tode ihres Bruders die Krone erhält — das stoffliche Interesse dieser Ereignisse kann uns die oberflächliche Charakterzeichnung nicht vergeben und vergessen lassen.

Von der unvermeidlichen Erinnerung an „Antony and Cleopatra" abgesehen, werden wir noch bei Scæva's Spott über den verliebten Cæsar an eine Shakespeare-Stelle denken: *You had best be troubled with the tooth-ache too, | For lovers ever are* (Act II sc. 3, p. 254) — der verliebte Benedick hatte behauptet, mit diesem Übel behaftet zu sein (Much ado Act III sc. 2, 21 ff.). Bei Cleopatra's Metaphern: *You had the spring of my affections . . . You must expect the winter of mine anger* (Act IV sc. 2, p. 280) hören wir Richards des Dritten erste Worte: *Now is the winter of our discontent | Made glorious summer by this sun of York* (Act I sc. 1, 1 f.).

The Double Marriage.[2]) — Der Neapolitaner Virolet, der liebende Gatte der ihn vergötternden Juliana, verschwört sich gegen den tyrannischen König Neapels, Ferrand genannt. Die Verschwörung wird entdeckt, der König will ihm jedoch das Leben schenken, wenn Virolet es unternimmt, einen gefährlichen Feind des Königs zu bekämpfen, den Duke of Sesse, einen früheren Höfling, der als Seeräuber den König schwer schädigt. Virolet fährt ins Meer hinaus, stösst auf des Herzogs Schiff, wird besiegt und gefangen genommen. Er wäre verloren, wenn sich nicht Martia, die amazonenhafte Tochter des Herzogs, in den kühnen Mann verliebte. Sie

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[1]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 209: *See Suetonius, Plutarch, Dion, Appian, Florus, Eutropius, Orosius*, etc., vergl. oben p. 35 Anm. 3. Im Dialog des Dramas hat Seward viele Entlehnungen aus Lucan's „Pharsalia" nachgewiesen, cf. Dyce, l. c., pp. 226 ff., 241 ff., 254.

[2]) Cf. Dyce, vol. VI p. 307 ff. Entstanden um 1620 (?); gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 186 ff.), Fleay (Chron. I 210): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

verspricht ihm Rettung und Freiheit, unter der Bedingung, dass er sie eheliche. Virolet, der sich verloren sieht, willigt ein, wird aber nach seiner Rückkehr beim Anblick der seinetwegen eingekerkerten und gefolterten Juliana von solcher Reue ergriffen, dass er die Ehe mit Martia nur der Form nach eingeht, nicht vollzieht. Martia's Liebe wandelt sich in Hass, sie verbündet sich mit Virolet's Feinden, ihre Rachepläne werden jedoch vereitelt durch das Eingreifen ihres Vaters, der Neapel befreit. Martia und der König, dessen Geliebte sie geworden war, werden getötet, aber auch das Schicksal der neuvereinten Gatten erhält in diesen Wirren einen tragischen Abschluss. Virolet nimmt die Tracht eines Günstlings des Königs an, um sich unter dieser Maske in die Festung des Königs zu schleichen und sein Vaterland und sich selbst zu rächen; Juliana, die von diesem Günstling Unheil für Virolet fürchtet, ersticht ihn und stirbt selbst vor Entsetzen über ihren furchtbaren Irrtum.

Eine reiche Handlung, für deren Gesamtheit keine Quelle gefunden worden,[1] und m. E. wohl auch keine einheitliche Quelle anzunehmen ist. Zwei Fäden sind verschlungen; die Geschichte einer erfolgreichen Empörung gegen einen tyrannischen Fürsten lässt sich ablösen von der Geschichte eines vom Schicksal verfolgten Mannes, der durch irgendwelche Verkettung der Umstände gezwungen wurde, eine zweite Ehe einzugehen. Der Anfang der Verschwörungsgeschichte ist mit engstem Anschluss an Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar in Scene gesetzt.[2] Virolet hat sich in kalter Morgenfrühe von der Seite seiner Gattin weggestohlen, das Stück beginnt mit einem kurzen Gespräche zwischen ihm und seinem Diener Lucio, dann kommt die besorgte Juliana und fragt ihn nach den Gründen seiner Verstörtheit. Er versichert sie seiner Liebe und spricht ihr von seinen gefährlichen Plänen. Mitten im Gespräch der Gatten klopft es, Juliana entfernt sich auf die Bitte ihres Gatten, die Verschworenen kommen. Die

[1]) Ward II 201: The sufficiently extravagant plot was doubtless borrowed from some Italian or Spanish novel (or possibly drama).

[2]) Was schon Robert Boyle bemerkt hat, ESt. X 389: *The opening borrowed from Cæsar.*

vorbildliche Shakespeare-Scene (Act II sc. 1) beginnt morgens mit einem kurzen Gespräche des Brutus mit seinem Diener Lucio, später kommt die beunruhigte Portia und fragt den Gatten nach den Gründen seines veränderten Benehmens. Brutus beteuert ihr seine Liebe und verspricht ihr Mitteilung seines schweren Geheimnisses; es klopft. Portia zieht sich auf Brutus' Bitte zurück, Verschworene kommen. Bei dieser grossen äusseren Ähnlichkeit ist uns die innere Verschiedenheit um so auffälliger: Portia denkt nur an die Sorgen des Gatten, beklagt nur seinen Mangel an Vertrauen, Juliana, welche als eine ideale Frauengestalt gedacht ist, erwägt die Möglichkeit eines Liebesverhältnisses ihres Gatten, denkt an eine Nebenbuhlerin. Wir sind aus Shakespeare's reiner Luft in die schwüle, unreine Atmosphäre Fletcher's herabgestiegen.

Neben der düsteren Gestalt des Tyrannen Ferrand steht als komische Kontrast-Figur der Höfling Castruccio, der die Majestät des Königs nicht genug bestaunen und seine Sehnsucht nach einem so herrlichen Leben gar nicht wortreich genug aussprechen kann. Ferrand lässt ihn königlich schmücken und wie einen König bedienen — eine Gunst, die dem Höfling viele Unannehmlichkeiten verursacht und ihn schliesslich vernichtet. Zweifellos eine klassische Reminiscenz, eine Dramatisierung der Episode des Damokles am Hofe des Dionysius von Syrakus. Aber auch ein unangenehmes Erlebnis des Sancho Pansa muss Castruccio erleben: die köstlichsten Speisen werden ihm vorgesetzt, auf Befehl seines Leibarztes jedoch sofort wieder abgetragen, weil sie seine Gesundheit schädigen könnten (Act V sc. 1). Derselbe Streich war schon Sancho Pansa während seiner Statthalterschaft gespielt worden (P. II cap. 47).[1]) Auch bei der Wiederholung dieses harmlosen Scherzes sind die englischen Dramatiker sehr unnötiger- und unerfreulicherweise über das Original hinausgegangen, indem sie nicht nur mit dem Hunger, sondern auch mit der Sinnlichkeit Castruccio's operieren.

Wo Fletcher die Geschichte der Doppel-Ehe gefunden

[1]) Cf. Reed bei Dyce VI 395.

hat, vermag ich leider nicht zu sagen. Jeder Deutsche denkt bei diesem Motiv natürlich sofort an die Sage von der Doppel-Ehe des Grafen von Gleichen,[1]) und auch in französicher Sprache gibt es ähnliche Geschichten.[2]) Ich bezweifle nicht, dass sich die Quelle der englischen Dramatiker noch näher bestimmen lassen wird.

The Humorous Lieutenant. — Dieses Stück[3]) spielt am Hofe des Königs Antigonus, in seiner Hauptstadt und auf einem Schlachtfeld Kleinasiens. Es enthält, locker verbunden, eine Posse und ein Schauspiel, und die Posse zerfällt selbst wieder in zwei, nur durch die Person des Titelhelden verbundene Aktionen. Der namenlose Leutnant war lange Zeit ein kranker Mann gewesen und hatte sich in seiner krankhaft gereizten Stimmung sehr tapfer gezeigt; eine Schwertwunde heilt seinen inneren Schaden, er gesundet, und von diesem Augenblick an hat er jede Kampflust verloren, will er nichts mehr von kriegerischen Unternehmungen wissen. Um ihn zu neuen Thaten anzuspornen, spricht seine Umgebung so viel von seinem leidenden Aussehen, dass er sich schliesslich einbildet, er sei doch noch krank, sich in diesem Wahne mitten in das Gewühl der Kämpfenden stürzt und die feindliche Fahne erbeutet (Act 1—3). Das Grundmotiv dieser komischen Aktion fand Fletcher in einer genau entsprechenden Anekdote von einem Soldaten des Antigonus, welche jedenfalls sehr alt ist, bis jetzt aber nur in einer etwas späteren englischen Version nachgewiesen wurde, in einer von Thomas Forde kompilierten, 1660 veröffentlichten Anekdoten-Sammlung,

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[1]) Cf. Reineck „Die Sage von der Doppel-Ehe eines Grafen von Gleichen", Hamburg 1891 (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge. Neue Folge, 6. Serie; Heft 138 p. 635 ff.).

[2]) Graesse II 3, 1 p. 390 erwähnt der Marie de France „Lai d'Eliduc" [cf. Karl Warnke's Ausgabe der Lais, Halle 1885, p. 186 ff.] und die „Histoire de Gilion et de dame Marie sa femme".

[3]) Cf. Dyce vol. VI p. 415 ff. Entstanden 1619, überliefert in einer Handschrift des Jahres 1625; gedruckt mit vielen Textänderungen 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

betitelt „A Theatre of Wits Ancient and Modern, represented in a Collection of Apothegmes Pleasant and Profitable". [1])

Aus dem Kriege zurückgekehrt, wagt sich der Leutnant, dessen Mut bereits wieder zu verdampfen beginnt, von seinen Gefährten aufgestachelt, in die Nähe des in seinen Liebeskummer versunkenen Prinzen Demetrius, wird von diesem mit einer Pistole bedroht und fällt vor Schrecken in Ohnmacht. In diesem Zustande wird ihm aus Versehen ein Zaubertrank eingeflösst, welcher des Prinzen Geliebte, die schöne Celia, in seinen Vater, den König Antigonus, verliebt machen sollte. Der Trank wirkt und bewirkt einige unsinnige Scenen, über welche gewiss viel gelacht wurde. — Bei der durch Furcht herbeigeführten Ohnmacht des Leutnants denken wir unwillkürlich an Falstaff, der, von dem Schotten Douglas angegriffen, umfällt und sich tot stellt (Henry IV A. Act V sc. 4). Und wenn unsere Gedanken einmal bei Falstaff sind, so erinnert uns auch der tolle Einfall, den Leutnant durch einen Zaubertrank in den König Antigonus verliebt zu machen, sofort an die Worte, mit welchen Falstaff in demselben Stücke seine Zuneigung zu Poins erklärt: *If the rascal have not given me medicines to make me love him, I'll be hanged: it could not be else; I have drunk medicines* (ib. Act II sc. 2). Ich halte es für durchaus möglich, dass Fletcher, dessen Gedanken bei der Komposition dieses Stückes wieder voll Shakespeare-Erinnerungen waren, in diesen beiden Falstaff-Reminiscenzen die Anregung zu dem zweiten Teile seiner Posse fand. Eine wörtliche Entlehnung aus einem anderen Akte dieser Shakespeare'schen Historie kann meiner Vermutung noch als Stütze dienen. [2])

[1]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 209 f.; bei Dyce (VI 469 ist der englische Text dieser Anekdote citiert. Fleay (Chron. I 208) hätte nicht wieder, trotz Ward's richtiger Ablehnung (II 209), auf Horaz, Epist. Lib. II 2, 26 ff. als gleichberechtigte Quelle verweisen sollen. Bei dem Soldaten des Lucullus handelt es sich um Geld, das er wiedergewinnen und dann nicht nochmals aufs Spiel setzen will, nicht um die Gesundheit.

[2]) Dyce (VI 446) verweist zu Leontius' Worten: *Like sacrifices, In our best trim* (Act II sc. 2) mit Recht auf Hotspur's Vers: *They come like sacrifices in their trim* (IV 1, 113). Ausserdem notiert er

Aus dem Schauspiel, welches mit dieser Leutnants-Posse zusammengearbeitet ist, tritt uns fesselnd die ebenso kluge, wie energische Celia entgegen, die Tochter des Königs Seleucus, welche, als Kriegsgefangene, unerkannt das Herz des Prinzen Demetrius gewonnen hat. Der Vater des Prinzen greift störend ein, er will das schöne Mädchen selbst besitzen, zuerst als Geliebte, zuletzt bietet er ihr sogar die Krone an. Über die erste Scene (Act IV sc. 1), in welcher die mutige Celia den verliebten König nach allen Regeln der Kunst abfertigt, geht mir nichts in der ganzen Fletcher'schen Produktion. Nicht minder frisch und kräftig im Ausdruck und nicht minder rein im Gedanken ist die analoge zweite Scene (Act IV sc. 5), für deren Anfang m. E. eine Hamlet-Scene als Muster diente. Celia kommt, in einem Buche lesend, welches betitelt ist *The Vanity of Lust*, und aus welchem sie dem alten König allerlei höchst unangenehme Wahrheiten über verliebte alte Männer zu hören gibt. Die schöne Celia wandelt hier auf den Spuren des Dänenprinzen, der in einem Buche lesend kommt und aus diesem Buche dem alten Polonius allerlei für alte Leute sehr unangenehme Wahrheiten vorträgt (Act II sc. 2).[1])

Wie sich die der authentischen Geschichte entlehnten Gestalten des Dramas, König Antigonus, sein Sohn Demetrius

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(l. c. p. 467) einen Romeo- und Juliet-Anklang, und Ward (II 209) nennt das Lied des den Liebestrank brauenden Geistes (Act IV sc. 3) mit gutem Grund *a very graceful imitation of the incantation in „Macbeth"*. Eine der Ingredienzien dieses Trankes: *This dull root, pluck'd from Lethe flood, | Purges all pure thoughts and good*, erinnert mich an einige Worte des Geistes von Hamlet's Vater: *And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed | That roots itself in ease on Lethe wharf* (Act I sc. 5, 32 f.); über eine m. E. dem Hamlet nachgeahmte Situation vergl. oben.

[1]) Rapp (p. 68) bemerkt über Act IV und V: „Es ist eine halb bewusste halb unbewusste völlig tolle Parodie der Liebe von Hamlet und Ophelia, und nur so einigermassen zu fassen." Dieser Bemerkung, die sich doch nur auf die Liebe des Demetrius und der Celia beziehen kann, stehe ich vollkommen verständnislos gegenüber. Ausser dass Demetrius auch ein Prinz ist, erinnert mich in dem Verhältnisse der beiden Königskinder nichts, aber auch gar nichts, an die zwischen Hamlet und Ophelia bestehenden Beziehungen.

und ihre Umgebung, zu den Schilderungen der alten Historiographen verhalten,[1]) bleibt noch zu untersuchen.

Women Pleased. — Bei der Komposition dieses Stückes[2]) hat Fletcher besonders eifrig in dem *commonplace-book* gegeblättert, in welchem er sich seine Lesefrüchte notiert haben muss, die ihm dramatisch verwendbar dünkenden Motive der durch seine Hände gehenden Gedichte und Geschichten. Die dramatis personae teilen sich wieder in zwei Gruppen, welche eigentlich gar nichts miteinander zu thun haben und die organisch zu verbinden, dem Dramatiker sehr wenig aufgelegen ist. In der einen Gruppe geht es sehr anständig zu, in ihrer Mitte steht ein romantisches Liebespaar, für dessen Schicksale der Dichter aus zwei Quellen geschöpft hat, aus einer bisher nicht erkannten und aus einer längst bekannten Quelle.

Die Herzogin von Florenz lässt ihre schöne Tochter Belvidere in einem festen Schlosse ängstlich bewachen, weil ein unerwünschter Freier sie zu rauben versucht hatte und weil es zwischen den zahlreichen Werbern öfters zu Streitigkeiten und Blutvergiessen gekommen war. Ein Edikt der Herzogin bestimmt, dass jeder ohne ihre Erlaubnis um die Gunst der Prinzessin werbende Mann sein Leben verwirkt. Silvio liebt Belvidere und wird geliebt; er findet Mittel und Wege zu ihr zu dringen, wird in ihren Armen überrascht und gefangen genommen. In der Gerichtssitzung soll vor allem festgestellt werden, wer von den beiden Liebenden der hauptschuldige Teil, *the main offender*, sei, wer die erste Anregung zu dem sträflichen Stelldichein gegeben habe — eine Finesse, von der in dem Edikt der Herzogin mit keinem Worte die Rede war, deren plötzliche Einführung uns aber durch einen Blick in die Quelle erklärt wird. Die Liebenden wetteifern in Selbstanklagen, jedes will alle Schuld auf sich nehmen, um das geliebte Leben des anderen zu retten. Gerührt

[1]) Langbaine p. 210 verweist auf *Plutarch's Life of Demetrius Diodorus, Justin. Appian, etc.*, vergl. oben p. 35 Anm. 3.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. VII p. 1 ff. Entstanden um 1620 (?); gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

beschränkt sich die Herzogin darauf, den jungen Silvio zu verbannen.

Soweit bewegen wir uns auf einem von der bisherigen Quellenforschung noch nicht eroberten Boden. Ich glaube, dass Fletcher aus einer im sechzehnten Jahrhundert in vielen Sprachen gedruckten Prosa-Geschichte geschöpft hat, aus der *Historia de Grisel y Mirabella con la disputa de Torrellas y Braçayda, la qual compuso Juan de Flores a su amiga. Serilla 1524.* Diese Geschichte soll bald ins Französische, Italienische und Englische übersetzt und unter verschiedenen Titeln gedruckt worden sein.[1]) Mir liegt sie vor in einem zweisprachlichen, links einen spanischen, rechts einen französischen Text bietenden Drucke, betitelt: *L'Histoire d'Aurelio et Isabelle, fille du Roy d'Escoce, mieux corrigée que parcy deuant, mise en Español et Françoys.* Darunter steht der genau entsprechende spanische Titel mit der Bemerkung *para los que quisieren deprender vna lengua de otra. En Amers . . . . MDLVI.*[2]) Die für uns allein in Betracht kommenden Anfangsepisoden dieser weit verbreiteten Geschichte haben in knappester Form folgenden Inhalt: Isabella, die schöne Tochter des Königs von Schottland, wird von ihrem Vater, der sie nicht verheiraten will, in ein Schloss gesperrt, weil sich die in Menge zuströmenden Freier bekämpften und erschlugen. Der junge Aurelio liebt die Prinzessin und wird von ihr geliebt. Er findet Mittel und Wege zu ihr zu dringen; die Liebenden werden überrascht und gefangen genommen. Ein schottisches Gesetz bestimmt: wer bei einem unerlaubten Liebeshandel in erster Linie den Anlass zur Sünde gegeben hat, wird getötet, der minderschuldige Teil auf ewig verbannt. Vor Gericht klagen Aurelio und Isabella sich selbst eifrigst an, jedes will die Hauptschuld auf sich nehmen, um das Leben des anderen zu retten. Es kann wohl keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass

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[1]) Cf. Graesse II 3, 1 p. 486; Brunet col. 1302 sq. Hazlitt „Handbook" verweist p. 17 unter *Aurelio and Isabella* auf *Flores*, welchen Artikel er jedoch ausgelassen hat.

[2]) Diesen zweisprachlichen, spanisch-französischen Antwerpener Druck von 1556 habe ich weder bei Brunet, noch bei Graesse, noch auch bei Warton-Hazlitt IV 345 erwähnt gefunden.

Fletcher nach dieser Geschichte arbeitete; ihre hochtragische, den Untergang des liebenden Paares bietende Katastrophe, konnte er für sein Schauspiel nicht brauchen.

Der junge Silvio Fletcher's muss sich binnen Jahresfrist wieder am Hofe der Herzogin einfinden, und gelingt es ihm bis zu dieser Frist, eine ihm bei seiner Verbannung gestellte Rätselfrage richtig zu beantworten, so soll er Belvideren als Gattin erhalten — wenn nicht, den Kopf verlieren. Dieser zweite Teil des Schicksals der Liebenden ist, wie längst festgestellt,[1]) eine Dramatisierung der Erzählung der Frau von Bath in Chaucer's „Canterbury Tales". Und zwar eine ganz geschickte Dramatisierung insofern, als Belvideren selbst die Rolle der Chaucer's Ritter rettenden Fee zugeteilt ist. Sie entlockt ihrer Mutter die Lösung des Rätsels, tritt dem herumirrenden Silvio als alte Frau in den Weg, verhilft ihm zum Siege, fordert als Lohn die Ehe mit ihm und enthüllt sich und sein Glück ihm erst nach der Trauung.

In der zweiten Gruppe des Dramas geht es durchaus nicht anständig zu. Fletcher's Isabella, die üppige Frau des geizigen Juweliers Lopez, vertritt nicht weniger als drei galante Frauen Boccaccio's[2]): madonna Isabella, welche ihrem Gatten zwei Liebhaber vor der Nase wegzueskamotieren versteht (Dec. VII 6; cf. Act II sc. 6) — monna Sismonda, die Heldin der Bindfaden-Geschichte (Dec. VII 8; cf. Act III sc. 4) und die Gattin des Zeppa, welcher seinem Nachbarn Gleiches mit Gleichem vergilt (Dec. VIII 8; Act IV sc. 3). Trotz dieser bedenklichen Vorbilder und trotz ihrer inneren Bereitwilligkeit bleibt Isabella vor dem Sündenfall bewahrt, wodurch das frivole, auf steten Sinnenkitzel berechnete Spiel des Dramatikers natürlich nicht im mindesten

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[1]) Cf. Dyce VII 3.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine p. 217. Über ältere englische Versionen der beiden Novellen des siebenten Tages cf. Studien p. 83. Auf der englischen Bühne hatte bereits Cyril Tourneur in der 1611 gedruckten „Atheist's Tragedy" (Act II sc. 5) die List der madonna Isabella für eines der Abenteuer seiner Levidulcia verwendet (cf. Collins' Ausgabe vol. I pp. 62 ff., 160; Anhang p. 138).

entschuldigt wird. Die empörendste, pseudo-moralische Wendung des Stückes ist, dass sich der junge Mann, der Isabella wiederholt bis an den Rand des Abgrundes lockt, schliesslich als ihr Bruder entpuppt, der sie nur auf die Probe stellen wollte.

Dieser liebenswürdige Bruder, Claudio genannt, vertritt im ersten Akte des Dramas eine Persönlichkeit der Aurelio- und Isabella-Novelle, er kann uns beweisen — was sich leider so oft beweisen lässt —, wie mechanisch Fletcher die Geschichte dramatisierte, wie wenig er bedacht war, die Ereignisse der Novelle in Einklang mit dem Gesamtplane seines Dramas zu bringen. Aurelio trifft vor dem Schlosse, in welches der schottische König seine Tochter gesperrt hat, mit einem ihm eng befreundeten Jüngling zusammen, beide sind mit Leitern bewaffnet, beide haben die Absicht, die Mauer des Schlosses zu erklimmen, um Isabella zu sehen. Es kommt zum Wortwechsel, zum Zweikampf, Aurelio tötet seinen Gegner, wird jedoch nicht entdeckt: mit der Bemerkung, dass der König den Mörder nicht habe ermitteln können, schliesst der Erzähler dieses ganz überflüssige Intermezzo ab. Im Drama tritt Claudio mit einer Leiter auf und mit der Absicht, zu der eingesperrten, auch von ihm verehrten Belvidere zu dringen. Sein Jugendfreund Silvio stellt sich ihm erzürnt in den Weg, es kommt zum Wortwechsel, fast zum Zweikampf, und wie Silvio später jemanden, trotz seiner Warnungen, die Leiter erklimmen sieht, schiesst er wütend eine Pistole auf ihn ab; der Kletterer stürzt. Die Zuschauer wissen, dass der Gestürzte nicht Claudio selbst ist, sondern sein Bedienter Soto; wir erfahren auch bald, dass Soto nicht tot ist, sondern nur aus Schrecken von der Leiter gefallen ist. Silvio aber glaubt seinen Freund getötet zu haben, er fühlt sich von dieser schweren Schuld belastet — nichtsdestoweniger übt dieses Ereignis nicht den mindesten Einfluss auf sein Schicksal aus, ist von diesem Mord gar nicht mehr die Rede, weil die Quelle keine weiteren Anhaltspunkte bot. Leichtsinnige, hastige Theatermache an allen Ecken und Enden, Abschreiben der Quelle ohne Rücksicht auf die Harmonie des ganzen Werkes.

The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed. — Die erste Frage, welche wir uns bei der Analyse dieses Gegenstückes [1]) zu Shakespeare's „Taming of the Shrew" zu stellen haben, ist, wieviel Fletcher ausser der Anregung dem Shakespeare'schen Stücke verdankt, welche Figuren und Motive er demselben entlehnt hat. Von den Personen ist nur der von seiner zweiten, englischen Frau zu zähmende Zähmer seiner verstorbenen, italienischen Frau, nur Petruchio in Fletcher's Drama übergegangen — *quantum mutatus ab illo!* —; seine Umgebung ist zum Teil in Namen und zum Teil auch im Charakter verschieden, ist aber doch mit genauer Einhaltung des Shakespeare'schen Schemas aufgestellt. Auch Fletcher zeigt uns einen reichen alten Herrn mit zwei Töchtern, von welchen Maria die Gattin des Petruchio, Livia der Gegenstand der Huldigung verschiedener Freier ist, ganz wie Shakespeare's Bianca. Wie bei Shakespeare gruppieren sich die dramatis personae um die zwei Töchter: in der Maria-Gruppe handelt es sich um das Problem der Zähmung des Widerspenstigen; in der Livia-Gruppe um die Täuschung des missliebigen Werbers und des Vaters, welchem Livia schliesslich den unerwünschten Schwiegersohn zuführt, nach dem Muster der Bianca Shakespeare's.

Das Spiel beginnt an Maria's Hochzeitstag, unmittelbar nach der Trauung, und schon beim ersten Auftreten der Braut erfahren wir, dass sie, inspiriert von und verbündet mit ihrer Base Bianca, entschlossen ist, ihrem Gatten Trotz zu bieten. Das Erstaunen der Männer über die plötzliche und energische Beredsamkeit Maria's (Act I sc. 3) erinnert uns an den ersten Knalleffekt in Ben Jonson's Lustspiel „The Silent Woman", an Morose's Entsetzen über den plötzlichen Redefluss der ihm soeben anvermählten Epicoene (Act III sc. 2). Der erste Schachzug Maria's gegen Petruchio ist, dass sie sich in ihren Gemächern verschanzt, und erklärt, sich ihrem Gatten nur dann wieder nähern zu wollen, wenn er alle von ihr gestellten Bedingungen acceptiert. Rasch hat sich die Kunde

[1]) Cf. Dyce vol. VII p. 95 ff. Entstanden um 1615 (?), eine abweichende Ansicht bei Oliphant (ESt. XV 338 f.); gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

von dem heroischen Widerstand der Neuvermählten in der Stadt verbreitet, in hellen Haufen kommen die Frauen der Maria zu Hilfe, die Männer sind machtlos und Petruchio muss schliesslich klein beigeben und versprechen, alle Wünsche seiner Gattin zu erfüllen (Act I und II).

Diese erste Aktion der Zähmerin ist ohne jeden Zweifel nach einem berühmten und berüchtigten klassischen Muster in Scene gesetzt, nach der „Lysistrate" des Aristophanes. [1]) Die Athenerin Lysistrate wiegelt alle Frauen Athens und Spartas gegen ihre Männer auf; die Frauen Athens werfen sich unter Führung der Lysistrate in die Akropolis, wo sie sich siegreich behaupten, bis die Männer schliesslich zu Kreuz kriechen und die Wünsche der rebellischen Frauen erfüllen. Ein Blick in die Quelle erklärt uns auch, wie es kommt, dass sich unter den der Maria zu Hilfe eilenden Londonerinnen Bäuerinnen befinden und sprechen: sie sind gewiss Spiegelungen der derben Spartanerin Lampito.

Im dritten Akte quält Maria ihren Gatten durch ihre Sprödigkeit, ihre verschwenderischen Pläne und durch ihr Kokettieren mit einem anderen. Um sie zu strafen, stellt sich Petruchio sterbenskrank, ein sonderbarer Einfall, für welchen er selbst gestraft wird — Maria, die seine Finte sofort durchschaut, erklärt ihn für pestkrank und trifft schleunigst Anstalten, das Haus zu verlassen, während sie ihn in sein Zimmer sperren und sorgfältig bewachen lässt. Die Scene, in welcher der eingesperrte, wütende Petruchio mit seinen Wachen unterhandelt, diese ihn für schwerkrank halten und beschwichtigend zu ihm sprechen, während er seine Gesundheit beteuert, scheint mir nach einer vielbelachten Shakespeare-Scene entworfen zu sein. Petruchio hat dasselbe Schicksal wie Malvolio, der, von seinen boshaften Hausgenossen als verrückt eingesperrt, mit dem Clown unterhandelt und von diesem Schelme beschwichtigende Worte bekommt, während er eifrigst seine Vernünftigkeit beteuert (Twelfth Night Act IV sc. 2). — In den von Wiederholungen nicht freien beiden

[1]) Der in der klassischen Dichtung wohlbelesene Rapp scheint der erste gewesen zu sein, dem diese gelehrte Reminiscenz Fletcher's auffiel, cf. p. 71.

letzten Akten scheint Fletcher's Maria ganz auf eigenen Füssen zu stehen. Petruchio, der, um das Herz seiner Gattin zu rühren, sich schliesslich tot stellt, in einem Sarg auf die Bühne gebracht wird, muss dieselbe Enttäuschung erleben, wie seine Vorgänger, die in verschiedenen Jest-Books sich tot stellenden Ehemänner[1]): die Fassung seiner Gattin ist exemplarisch. Maria hält ihm eine Leichenrede, bei deren Genuss er vor Ärger beinahe wirklich erstickt (Act V sc. 4). Von den ihre Gatten in der That für tot haltenden Frauen der Jest-Books unterscheidet sich die kluge Maria durch die Erkenntnis der plumpen List ihres Gatten.

Die jüngere Schwester Livia spielt die Kranke und Reumütige und lässt zwei Dokumente aufsetzen, einen Absagebrief für den ihrem Vater fatalen jungen Werber, und einen Ehekontrakt, der sie dem ihr verhassten alten Freier verbinden soll. Wie es zum Unterzeichnen kommt, vertauscht Livia ohne Wissen ihres Geliebten, mit dem sie sich gezankt hatte, die Papiere, so dass schliesslich die Jungen vereint und die Alten geprellt sind. Woher Fletcher diese Intrigue genommen hat, weiss ich nicht.[2])

The Chances.[3]) — Eine Handlung, welche dem Dramatiker aus einer, längst erkannten Quelle zugeflossen ist, aus der vierten Novelle des zweiten Bändchens der „Novelas Exemplares" des Cervantes, betitelt: *La Señora Cornelia.*[4]) Fletcher bietet nur eine Dramatisierung dieser Novelle, wir können ihm einmal ganz genau auf die Finger sehen, wie er sich seinen Stoff zurechtlegt, wir können genau kontrollieren,

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[1]) Cf. z. B. in den „Mery Tales etc." (Shakespeare Jest Books, ed. by W. C. Hazlitt; London 1864; vol. I p. 99): *Of him that feyned him selfe deed, to proue what his wyfe wolde do. LXXXII.* Dieselbe Geschichte findet sich auch in „Mother Bunches Merriments" (cf. ib. vol. III).

[2]) Dyce VII 163 bemerkt zur dritten Scene des dritten Aktes, wo Livia scheinbar mit Rowland bricht, nach Weber: *In one of Calderon's comedies a similar scene occurs; but the resemblance of it to that of our author must have been purely accidental.*

[3]) Cf. Dyce, vol. VII p. 211 ff. Entstanden 1615 (?); gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher.*

[4]) Cf. Langbaine, p. 207 f.

was der Engländer aus den Charakteren des Spaniers gemacht hat.

Im Mittelpunkte der Handlung stehen zwei Freunde, zwei junge, in Bologna studierende Spanier. Sie beschützen eine von ihrem Bruder bedrohte Dame, sie retten deren Kind, sie versöhnen den rachedurstigen Bruder mit dem Geliebten und Verführer und bahnen den Weg für die schliessliche Vereinigung der Liebenden. Von den feinen Sitten, der edelmütigen Gesinnung dieser beiden jungen Männer kann Cervantes gar nicht Rühmens genug machen, abgesehen von einer verräterischen Bemerkung ihrer geschwätzigen Haushälterin,[1]) erscheinen sie bei ihm als Tugendhelden comme il faut. Bei Fletcher sind diese idealen Jünglinge bedeutend vermenschlicht, in erfreulicher und unerfreulicher Weise. Der von dem Dramatiker in den Vordergrund gestellte Don John ist ein jovialer und redelustiger Geselle, wie Philip the Bastard, zotenfreudig, wie Mercutio — aber die Zoten des Fletcher'schen Humoristen sind viel schmutziger, krankhafter. Mit Vorliebe spricht er von seinen sexuellen Ausschweifungen und deren schmerzhaften gesundheitlichen Folgen, immer wieder wird dieses Thema erörtert, die widerlichsten Einzelheiten werden behaglich aufgetischt. Der gravitätische, dezente Hidalgo hat sich hinter seiner spanischen Maske in einen Londoner Roué verwandelt, der uns bei jedem Schritt den Schmutz der Hauptstadt ins Gesicht spritzt.

Die Gegenspielerin dieses Fletcher'schen Humoristen ist die Haushälterin der Studenten, welche im Drama eine ausgeprägtere Individualität besitzt, als in der Novelle. Für ihr Eingreifen in die Handlung, ihre Entfernung der Dame aus dem Hause der Studenten, sind wir bei Fletcher besser vorbereitet als bei Cervantes. Ethisch steht die alte Gillian ungefähr auf einer Stufe mit der Amme der Julia, aber sie ist schlagfertiger, der sie neckende Don John wird von ihr viel schärfer abgefertigt (Act III sc. 1), als Mercutio von der Amme (Act II sc. 4). Dass Fletcher an diese Shakespeare-Scene gedacht hat, wird durch eine wörtliche Übereinstimmung[2])

[1]) In ihrem Gespräche mit Cornelia vol. II p. 216.

[2]) Von Dyce VII 262 nicht bemerkt. Einen anderen, von Dyce

noch wahrscheinlicher. Die empörte Nurse hatte gefragt, wer denn der Mensch gewesen sei *that was so full of his ropery* (i. e. *roguery*), und Fletcher's Gillian wiederholt: *You'll leare this ropery | When you come to my years.*

Die wesentlichste stoffliche Abweichung ist, dass die Haushälterin die Dame aus dem Hause der Studenten nicht zu einem Landpfarrer, wie in der Novelle, sondern zu einem ihr befreundeten alten Zauberkünstler bringt. Durch diese Änderung hat sich Fletcher Gelegenheit verschafft, seinen letzten Akt mit allerlei harmlosem Zauberspuk auszustatten, wofür ihm das Publikum gewiss dankbar gewesen sein wird.

Monsieur Thomas.[1]) — Zwei leicht zu trennende Gruppen. In der einen Gruppe herrscht ein lustiger Krieg zwischen zwei für einander bestimmten, gleich schlauen jungen Leuten; zwischen Mary, die nichts von ihrem Liebhaber wissen will, bis er sich in moralischer Hinsicht gebessert habe, und zwischen Thomas, der sich nicht bessern und doch in den Besitz der Geliebten gelangen will. Bei zwei Episoden dieses Kampfes denkt man bei dem *bookish* Fletcher sofort an ähnliche ältere Geschichten. Der schlimme Thomas klettert nachts zu Mary's Fenster hinauf, wird durch eine ihm entgegengehaltene Teufelsmaske erschreckt, fällt und beginnt kläglich zu jammern: sein Bein sei gebrochen. Mary eilt heraus, sofort springt er auf und das überlistete Mädchen scheint

nicht betonten Shakespeare-Nachklang spricht Petruchio aus, der dem Verführer seiner Schwester ans Leben will:

I am not greedy of this life I seek for,
Nor thirst to shed man's blood; and would 't were possible . . .
My sword could only kill his crimes!

(Act I sc. 2 p. 225),

ein unverkennbares Echo von Brutus' Worten:

We all stand up against the spirit of Cæsar,
And in the spirit of men there is no blood;
O, that we then could come by Cæsar's spirit,
And not dismember Cæsar!

(Act II sc. 1, 167 ff.).

[1]) Cf. Dyce, vol. VII p. 305 ff. Entstanden um 1609 (?); gedruckt 1639. Von *Fletcher.*

auch ganz willig auf seine Pläne einzugehen. Wie sie ins Haus treten wollen, bemerkt Mary, dass sie ihr Tuch verloren habe. Thomas sucht es und in diesem Augenblick springt das Mädchen in das Haus, verriegelt die Thür und sagt ihm vom Fenster aus nochmals ihre Meinung (Act III sc. 3). Boccaccio's leichtfertige Monna Ghita wird nachts von ihrem Gatten Tofano hinausgesperrt und wirft einen schweren Stein in den Brunnen, worauf Tofano erschrocken herausgelaufen kommt, um sie zu retten. In diesem Augenblick springt die Frau ins Haus, verriegelt die Thür und überhäuft vom Fenster aus ihren Gatten mit Schmähworten. Dass Fletcher an diese oft benützte Novelle (Dec. VII 4)[1] gedacht hat, wird dadurch noch wahrscheinlicher, dass auch das andere in Frage kommende Motiv derselben Fundgrube entnommen sein kann. In den Kleidern seiner Zwillingsschwester Dorothea hofft Thomas sich unentdeckt in das Haus der Geliebten schleichen zu können. Von Dorothea selbst gewarnt, lässt sich Mary für unwohl ausgeben und den verkleideten Schelm sofort in ihr Schlafzimmer führen, wo eine ihrer Mägde, eine hässliche Mohrin, ihre Stelle eingenommen hat. Thomas glaubt sich am Ziel seiner Wünsche, und die Bitterkeit der Enttäuschung wird ihm noch verschärft durch das Gelächter und den Spott der Mädchen, welche ihn im Augenblick der Entdeckung überraschen (Act V sc. 2). Boccaccio's verliebter Probst von Fiesole wird von der tugendhaften Monna Piccarda in derselben Weise getäuscht und mit der hässlichen Magd Ciutazza in seinen Armen überrascht und geschmäht (Dec. VIII 4).[2] Und nebenbei sehen wir in dieser Gruppe des Spieles auch noch Boccaccio's Äbtissin auftauchen, welche bei einer nächtlichen Ruhestörung statt ihres Schleiers die Hosen ihres Priesters erwischt hat (Dec. IX 2)[3] — in der Schilderung eines der tollen Streiche, durch welche Thomas und seine Spiessgesellen die Nächte unheimlich machten: *The windows clattering, | And all the chambermaids in such a whobub, | One*

[1] Über eine wahrscheinlich etwas jüngere englische Version dieser Geschichte cf. Studien p. 83.

[2] Cf. Studien p. 83.

[3] Cf. ib.

with her smock half-off, anóther in haste | With a serving-man's hose upon her head (Act IV sc. 2).

Ausserdem liefert uns das Personal dieser Gruppe wieder ein Glied der von Fletcher zu Marston zurücklaufenden Kette. Den jungen Hylas, der sich in jedes neuerscheinende Frauenzimmer verliebt, dessen Herz einem äusserst geräumigen Omnibus zu vergleichen ist, werden wir wohl als eine noch gesteigerte Wiederholung des mit gleicher Liebesfähigkeit ausgestatteten Nymphadoro in Marston's „Parasitaster" zu betrachten haben.[1]) Allerdings verdankt Nymphadoro selbst diesen seinen *humour* einem lateinischen Klassiker, dem Ovid, aber ich möchte bei dem in der Bühnenwelt lebenden Fletcher doch eher an Marston's Figur denken, als an Ovid's lebhafte Skizze.

Die Gestalten der zweiten Gruppe stehen am Rande einer Tragödie. Valentine, ein reicher, nicht mehr junger Mann, kommt von einer langen Reise zurück nach London, begleitet von dem jungen Francisco, den er unterwegs kennen gelernt und herzlich lieb gewonnen hat. Valentine ist verlobt mit seinem Mündel Cellidè, die trotz des Altersunterschiedes gern bereit ist, seine Gattin zu werden: in dieses schöne Mädchen verliebt sich der fremde Jüngling. Sorgfältig verbirgt er seine Gefühle, um das Glück seines Gönners nicht zu stören, aber seine innere Qual ist so gross, dass er erkrankt, der allgemeinen Meinung nach gefährlich erkrankt. Ein unbeteiligter Freund errät den Grund seines Leidens, setzt Valentine in Kenntniss, dieser verzichtet zu gunsten des jüngeren Mannes und wird für sein Opfer dadurch belohnt, dass er in Francisco seinen totgeglaubten Sohn findet. Die Quelle dieses schön gelösten Konfliktes ist bis jetzt nicht richtig bestimmt worden,[2]) es kann aber keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Fletcher eine von Plutarch überlieferte, von

[1]) Vergl. oben p. 28.

[2]) Dyce VII 307: *Weber thinks that „the original idea of the plot of Valentine, Cellidè and Francisco, was probably borrowed from the celebrated novel of Tito and Gisippo in the last giornata of Boccaccio's Decameron*". Diese durchaus unrichtige Vermutung wird von Fleay (Chron. I 182) als eine Thatsache wiederholt, ganz ohne Fragezeichen.

Bandello (II 55) breiter erzählte und 1566 von Painter (I 27) aus Bandello ins Englische übersetzte Geschichte [1]) dramatisiert hat: die Geschichte der Liebe des Antiochus zu seiner jungen Stiefmutter, der Gattin seines Vaters Seleucus. Die Übereinstimmung lässt an Beweiskraft nichts zu wünschen übrig: Antiochus liebt Stratonice, verheimlicht seine Flamme, erkrankt gefährlich, der Arzt Erasistratus erkennt den Grund seines Siechtums, verständigt den König, Seleucus verzichtet, Antiochus wird mit Stratonice vermählt.

Es ist zu bedauern, dass Fletcher es nicht verstanden hat, mit diesem gediegenen Stoff hauszuhalten, dass er die ruhige Entwickelung durch allerlei Einschaltungen gestört hat. Für eines dieser retardierenden Momente scheint mir auch ein italienisches Novellen-Motiv verwertet zu sein. Fletcher's Valentine vermittelt, wie Seleucus, selbst zwischen dem jungen Paar, wobei er Francisco's Tugenden nachdrücklichst lobt. Cellidè ist über diesen schnellen Verzicht Valentine's empört und nähert sich in dieser Stimmung dem Kranken mit Liebesbeteuerungen. Der überraschte Francisco will jedoch weder aus der Resignation Valentine's, noch aus des Mädchens Hingabe Gewinn ziehen, er widersteht ihren etwas aufdringlichen Werbungen, sie trennen sich scheinbar für immer (Act III sc. 1). Ich glaube, dass Fletcher's Francisco in dieser Zwischenepisode die Erbschaft eines der ehrenwertesten Charaktere der italienischen Novellistik angetreten hat, des jungen Galgano, dessen treffliches Benehmen Ser Giovanni Fiorentino gemeldet hat in seinem Pecorone I 1. Galgano liebt Madonna Minoccia, eine verheiratete Frau, ohne Erhörung zu finden, bis die spröde Dame eines Tages ihren eigenen Gatten den Jüngling in der rückhaltslosesten Weise loben hört. Diese Lobsprüche machen ihr den Jüngling wert, sie ist bereit, sich ihm zu ergeben. Wie aber Galgano den Grund ihrer plötzlichen Sinnesänderung erfährt, will er aus dem Lobe des Gatten und der dadurch bewirkten Wandlung der Gattin

[1]) Cf. Studien p. 96. Über ältere Versionen dieser Geschichte vgl. Marcus Landau's „Beiträge" p. 107; Ztschr. f. vgl. LG. n. F. VI 414.

keinen Gewinn ziehen, er trennt sich von ihr für immer. Auch diese Novelle könnte Fletcher bei Painter (I 47) gelesen haben.[1])

The Island Princess. — An diesem dichterisch wenig fesselnden Drama[2]) ist die Einheit der Handlung zu loben. Der König von Tidore, einer Insel der Molukken-Gruppe, ist von dem Regenten einer benachbarten Insel, dem Governor of Ternata, gefangen genommen worden. Um seine Befreiung zu bewerkstelligen, verspricht seine schöne Schwester Quisara dem Retter ihre Hand, in der heimlichen Hoffnung, dass der von ihr geliebte Portugiese Ruy Dias dieser Retter sein würde. Aber während Ruy Dias bedenklich zögert, gelingt einem anderen jungen portugiesischen Edelmann, Armusia, die kühne That. Quisara sucht die Auslösung ihres verpfändeten Wortes hinauszuschieben; der Statthalter von Ternata hetzt, als Priester verkleidet, den König selbst gegen seinen Befreier auf, gegen den Christen Armusia. Armusia's standhafte Weigerung, seinen Glauben zu wechseln, gewinnt ihm in der Stunde der Gefahr das Herz der Fürstin, und die glückliche Lösung, die Vereinigung der Liebenden, wird herbeigeführt durch einen siegreichen Eingriff der portugiesischen Besatzung.

Die Quelle des grössten Teiles dieser Handlung ist schon vor vielen Jahren richtig bestimmt worden, hat aber nicht die gebührende Beachtung gefunden.[3]) Fletcher bietet

[1]) Cf. Studien p. 99.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol VII p. 413 ff. Aufgeführt 1621/2; gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

[3]) Dyce (VII 415) sagte: *Weber observes: „There is a Spanish play upon the same subject by Melchior Fernandez de Leon, entitled 'La Conquista de las Maluccas'. Some part of the plot, which is taken from history, is similar to that of 'The Island Princess', but there the resemblance ceases"*. In seinen *Addenda and Corrigenda* (p. C sq.) hat Dyce jedoch hinzugefügt: *This play is founded on a tale, of which I find a French translation among the 'Nouvelles de Cervantes', ed. 1731, — 'Histoire de Ruis Dias Espagnol, et de Quixaire Princesse des Moluques'*. Es ist dies die zweifellos richtige Bestimmung der Quelle, welcher ich nur insofern noch etwas näher kommen konnte, als mir die editio princeps der französischen Erzählung vorlag. Ward (II 202) und Fleay (Chron. I 215) haben diesen Nachtrag übersehen, sie sprechen nur von dem bei Weber erwähnten Drama.

die geschickte Dramatisierung einer französischen Novelle, die er im Anhang der ersten französischen Übersetzung der „Novelas Exemplares“ gefunden hatte. Im Jahre 1615 erschien in Paris ein Bändchen, betitelt: *Les Nouvelles de Miguel de Cervantes Saauedra . . . . . Traduictes d'Espagnol en François: Les six premieres par F. de Rosset. Et les autres six, par le Sr. D'Audiguier. Auec l'Histoire de Ruis Dias, et de Quixaire Princesse des Moluques, composée par le Sr. de Bellan.* Faktisch waren die von D'Audiguier übersetzten Novellen bereits im Jahre 1614 veröffentlicht worden: *Six Nouvelles de Michel Cervantes. Par le Sieur D'Audiguier. A Paris . . . MDCXIV,* [1]) und am Schlusse dieses Bändchens steht, mit neuer Paginierung: *Histoire Memorable de Dias Espagnol,* [2]) *et de Quixaire Princesse des Moluques. Tirée des Memoires des Indes, et composée par le Sieur de Bellan.* Da sich auch in der Erzählung selbst nirgends ein Verweis auf eine spanische Vorlage findet, [3]) so müssen wir die Novelle doch wohl als eine selbständige Kompilation des Franzosen betrachten.

Bis zum Schluss des dritten Aktes hat sich Fletcher genau an seine Quelle gehalten. Stoff für die Füllung der beiden letzten Akte hat er sich dadurch verschafft, dass er den Befreier des Königs, welcher in der Novelle ein eingeborener Prinz, ein Verwandter des Gefangenen, Namens Cuchiz Salama, ist, in den Portugiesen Armusia verwandelt hat. Dem

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[1]) D'Audiguier bemerkt in seiner Vorrede, dass er auch die übrigen Novellen übersetzt haben würde: *si ie ne me fusse rencontré en mesme dessein auec un de mes amis, qui auoit desià commencé de trauailler sur la premiere.*

[2]) Eine falsche Angabe — in der Erzählung selbst sind die Europäer Portugiesen, wie bei Fletcher.

[3]) In dem von Dyce benützten Drucke des Jahres 1731 ist die Novelle dem Cervantes selbst zugeschrieben: *Voici une de ces Nouvelles, qu'il voulut bien mettre en sa propre Langue, il la tira des Mémoires des Indes*, wozu Dyce (*A. and C.* p. C) bemerkt, dass er sich bei Cervantes vergeblich nach dieser Novelle umgesehen habe. Die Notiz des Jahres 1731 ist gewiss entweder ein Irrtum, oder eine absichtliche Täuschung des Publikums. Die bei Dyce citierten Stellen der Novelle zeigen einen von der editio princeps sehr verschiedenen Wortlaut, der Text ist modernisiert.

Christen stellt Fletcher seinen als heidnischen Priester maskierten Feind gegenüber: dieser Konflikt zwischen Christentum und Heidentum scheint Fletcher's Zugabe zu sein. Dass ein unverletzbares Gesetz den Fürstinnen der Molukken verbot, sich mit einem Fremden zu vermählen, ist allerdings auch in der Quelle betont, anlässlich des Liebeshandels zwischen Quixaire und Ruy Dias (p. 8a). Immerhin werden wir die Handlung der beiden letzten Akte, die ganze Priester-Intrige als Fletcher's Erfindung zu betrachten haben, und der geschickten Lösung des Knotens unsere Anerkennung nicht versagen. [1])

Mit der Feststellung dieser Quelle ergibt sich uns auch die Thatsache, dass Fletcher die französische Übersetzung der „Novelas Exemplares" zu Rate zog, möglicherweise ausschliesslich benützte. Höchst wahrscheinlich war ihm die französische Sprache viel geläufiger als das Spanische.

The Pilgrim. — Über die Quelle dieses lebhaften Spieles [2]) sind bis jetzt nur Vermutungen ausgesprochen worden. [3]) Alinda und Pedro, der aus einem im Drama nicht aufgeklärten Grunde sich freiwillig vom Hofe des Königs verbannt hat und im Pilgergewande durchs Land zieht, sind das für einander bestimmte Liebespaar; Alphonso, Alinda's Vater, und ein von diesem merkwürdigerweise begünstigter Freier, der Räuberhauptmann Roderigo, thun das möglichste, ihre Verbindung zu hindern. Alinda

[1]) Ward's Vermutung (II 202), dass der Charakter des Piniero Fletcher's Schöpfung sei, bestätigt sich. In der Novelle ist Peynere ein Meuchelmörder, bei Fletcher ein frischer und derber Soldat von der Art des Shakespeare'schen Bastard.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. VIII p. 1ff. Aufgeführt 1621 2; gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

[3]) Dyce (VIII 3) nach Weber: *The plot, from internal evidence, seems to be borrowed from some Italian or Spanish novel;* Ward (II 203) denkt an eine spanische Novelle; Rapp (p. 72) bemerkt: „Die Handlung ist zu wenig streng motiviert, und wie sie im dritten Akt in das Narrenhaus von Segovia überspringt, nicht recht vorbereitet; ich vermute hier Einwirkung von Lope de Vega." Mit dieser nicht näher begründeten Vermutung hat Rapp das Richtige getroffen.

sucht in Männertracht ihren Pilger, beide fallen dem Räuber in die Hände, welcher der nicht erkannten, von ihm freundlich aufgenommenen Alinda den Befehl gibt, den von ihm erkannten Pedro zu töten, aufzuhängen, eine mit raffinierter Grausamkeit ausgeklügelte Situation. Doch gelingt es Alinda, den Räuberhauptmann umzustimmen und Pedro's Befreiung zu erlangen. Das nächste Zusammentreffen der Liebenden findet statt in einem Irrenhause der Stadt Segovia, wohin die in Knabentracht umherirrende Alinda als des Wahnsinns verdächtig gebracht worden ist. Pedro besichtigt das Irrenhaus aus Neugierde, die Liebenden erkennen sich, fallen sich in die Arme — und werden sofort von den Wärtern der Anstalt wieder getrennt, welche in den Liebesworten und Liebkosungen der verkleideten Alinda die Bestätigung ihrer Annahme finden, dass der Knabe irrsinnig sei. Pedro pilgert weiter und hat späterhin Gelegenheit, seinem Feinde Roderigo das Leben zu retten, worauf sich derselbe in einen teilnehmenden Freund und in ein von den besten Absichten beseeltes Mitglied der menschlichen Gesellschaft verwandelt. Schluss: Vereinigung der Liebenden.

Viele der Wunderlichkeiten dieser unruhigen Handlung werden uns erst durch das Studium der bis jetzt noch nicht bestimmten Quelle verständlich: durch die Lektüre von Lope de Vega's schlechtgeordnetem, mit Ereignissen überfülltem Prosa-Roman „El Peregrino en su Patria".[1]) Das Schiff, in welchem Panfilo und die als Mann verkleidete Nise, das Liebespaar des Romans, von einer Pilgerfahrt nach Rom in ihr Vaterland Spanien zurückkehren wollen, scheitert angesichts der spanischen Küste. Panfilo wird noch lebend ans Land gespült, Nise muss er für verloren halten. Im Pilgergewande zieht er weiter und fällt Räubern in die

[1]) Cf. Coleccion de las Obras Sueltas assi en Prosa, como en Verso de D. Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, Tomo V (En Madrid: Año de M. DCC. LXXVI) p. 1 ff.: *El peregrino en su patria, dividido en V. Libros.* Im *Prologo del Editor* ist die editio princeps dieses mit vielen Gedichten vermischten Prosa-Romans in das Jahr 1604 gesetzt, womit Brunet übereinstimmt. Die Namen der Pilger und seiner Geliebten erfahren wir im Roman erst im dritten Buche.

Hände; ihr Hauptmann ist der edelgeborene Doricleo, dessen Vorgeschichte ausführlich erzählt wird. Panfilo erfährt, dass sich Doricleo jetzt um die Gunst eines von den Wellen in Männertracht ans Ufer geworfenen, schönen Weibes bewerbe, erkennt seine Nise und macht sie mutig dem Räuber streitig, der den Befehl gibt, den Pilger aufzuhängen. Die Hinrichtung wird jedoch von den damit beauftragten Räubern nicht vollzogen, sie schenken dem Jüngling Leben und Freiheit. Nise aber bleibt in den Händen der Räuber (Libro primero p. 9 ff.). — Diese Räuber-Episoden des Romans haben dem Dramatiker den sehr frei behandelten Stoff für die zweite Scene des zweiten Aktes geliefert: dem Pilger Panfilo entspricht der Pilger Pedro, dem Räuberhauptmann Doricleo der Räuberhauptmann Roderigo, der verkleideten Nise die verkleidete Alinda. Sehr bezeichnend für die starke Effekte suchende Eigenart der Engländer ist, dass der Gedanke, Alinda mit der Hinrichtung Pedro's zu betrauen, Fletcher's Gehirn entstammt, in der Quelle mit keinem Worte angedeutet ist.

In Valencia besucht der wissensdurstige Panfilo ein grosses Hospital für Geisteskranke, und erkennt in einem irrsinnigen Jüngling seine geliebte Nise. Sie wirft sich ihm an die Brust, sofort kommt der Aufseher und trennt die Liebenden aufs neue (Libro tercero p. 193 ff.). — Dieses zweite Wiedersehen der Liebenden hat Fletcher im dritten Akte seines Dramas, Scene 6 und 7, verwertet. Hiermit ist seine Schuld an Lope de Vega's Roman erschöpfend angegeben, die übrigen Teile des Dramas scheinen frei komponiert zu sein. Mit gewohnter Geschicklichkeit hat Fletcher aus dem breitfliessenden Prosa-Romane einige bühnenwirksame Episoden herausgegriffen; mit gewohnter Flüchtigkeit hat er sich nicht die Zeit genommen, uns genügend über die Vorgeschichte der von ihm geborgten Gestalten aufzuklären. Den Fragen: warum zieht Pedro als Pilger durchs Land? wodurch wurde der vornehme Roderigo in einen Räuberhauptmann verwandelt? — bleibt Fletcher befriedigende Antworten schuldig, wir müssen sie uns aus seiner Quelle holen.

Alinda und ihre zwei Freier dominieren in den pathe-

tischen Scenen, den *fun* des Stückes liefert Juletta, Alinda's Zofe, die sich die dankbare Aufgabe gestellt hat, den alten Alphonso, einen echten Heinz Widerborst, zu foppen. Sie verfolgt in Männertracht den seine Tochter verfolgenden Alten, und wie er nachts in einen Wald kommt, lockt sie ihn ins unwegsame Dickicht und sprengt ihn hin und her, genau nach dem probaten, von Puck wiederholt gegebenen Rezept (Act III sc. 1 und 2).[1]) Schliesslich bringt sie es wirklich so weit, dass Alphonso als verrückt in das Irrenhaus gesperrt wird, für kurze Zeit. Auch die Insassen des Irrenhauses werden als komische Personen verwendet, in einer für uns wenig erfreulichen Weise, am diskretesten in dem Intermezzo des Scholaren Stephano, der sich so vernünftig gebärdet, dass man drauf und dran ist, ihn als geheilt zu entlassen. Im letzten Augenblick wird jedoch vor ihm zufällig in ängstlichem Tone von den auf dem Meere wütenden Stürmen gesprochen, worauf er bemerkt, sie hätten nichts zu fürchten, er sei ja Neptun (Act III sc. 7). Dass diese Episode eine Dramatisierung der von dem Barbier zum Nutzen und Frommen des Don Quixote (P. II c. 1) erzählten Geschichte von dem verrückten Lizentiaten ist, wurde erst kürzlich festgestellt.[2])

The Wild-Goose-Chase.[3]) — Der Wüstling Mirabel ist die zu jagende Wildgans, die Jäger sind seine von ihm abgedankte Braut Oriana und ihr Bruder nebst Bundesgenossen. Oft werden wir an das Verhältnis von Don Juan und Donna Elvira erinnert, aber Mirabel ist in jeder Hinsicht noch weit

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[1]) An diesen Streich der Juletta wird Rapp wohl gedacht haben bei der Bemerkung, dass dieser Komödie neben „Shakespeare's Two Gentlemen auch der Summernight's Dream offenbar zum Vorbild gedient habe" (p. 72). Die Vorbildlichkeit der „Two Gentlemen of Verona" sollte wohl für die als Knabe ihrem Geliebten folgende Alinda und für die Scenen der *Outlaws* Geltung haben; jetzt, nach der Aufdeckung der Quelle, wissen wir, dass Verkleidung und Räuberleben im Walde ihr entnommen sind.

[2]) Von Fleay, Chron. I 215.

[3]) Cf. Dyce vol. VIII 101 ff. Aufgeführt 1621/2; gedruckt 1652. Von *Fletcher*.

unritterlicher als der Opernheld; eine bittere Kränkung der Verlassenen, welche in der Oper dem Leporello überlassen bleibt, besorgt er selbst. Wie Leporello der Donna Elvira, überreicht Mirabel der Oriana ein Buch mit den Namen der von ihm betrogenen Frauen:

> Look over all these ranks; all these are women,
> Maids, and pretenders to maidenheads; these are my conquests;
> All these I swore to marry, as I swore to thee
> (Act II sc. 1).

Nach zwei vergeblichen Jagdzügen siegt Oriana durch eine so plumpe List, dass uns der Dramatiker am Ende noch den letzten Spass verdirbt, das Vergnügen an der Gewandtheit, der Geriebenheit seines Wildlings.

Die Geringschätzung, ja Verachtung des weiblichen Geschlechtes, welche sich an so vielen Stellen der Fletcher'schen Produktion verrät,[1]) kommt in diesem Drama besonders wehthuend zur Geltung. Nur ein Mann, der den Frauen jede Achtung versagte, konnte die schon an und für sich hinreichend würdelose Oriana, die er in seiner Quelle gefunden haben wird, auf ihrer Jagd solchen Brutalitäten aussetzen, wie sie uns Fletcher's Mirabel zu hören gibt. Ein gewisses Gegengewicht wird im Drama dadurch hergestellt, dass zwei andere junge Mädchen an ihren Verehrern ihr Mütchen kühlen, aber schliesslich sind auch im Nebenspiel die Mädchen die Werbenden.

Die Quelle dieses wechselreichen *breach of promise-case* ist bis jetzt noch nicht entdeckt worden.

The Prophetess. — Das Schicksal des Kaisers Diocletianus, sein Aufsteigen, sein erfolgreicher Perserkrieg, sein Verzicht, liefert den Stoff dieses Dramas,[2]) dessen Verhältnis

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[1]) Ein Beispiel für viele. Im „Pilgrim" bezeichnet es Alinda als das Ziel ihrer Wünsche, einen tüchtigen Mann zu finden, der die wilde Bestie Weib lenken könne: *to find one | That can but rightly manage the wild beast Woman* (Act I sc. 1).

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. VIII 207 ff. SR. 14. Mai 1622; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 191), Fleay (Chron. I 216): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

zu den Berichten der Historiographen [1]) an anderer Stelle genau untersucht werden wird. Aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte wird die Handlung in das Land der Romantik verlegt durch die in den Quellen angedeutete, im Drama aber alle Ereignisse beherrschende Gestalt der Prophetin Delphia. Sie hat dem Diocletian die Kaiserwürde prophezeit, sie beschützt ihn, sie straft ihn — je nach seinem Benehmen gegen ihre ihn liebende Nichte Drusilla, die sie ihm zur Gattin bestimmt hat. Dieser Delphia, die durch ihre Allmacht im Reiche der Geister vor allen Dingen das Glück ihrer Nichte sichern will, hat vielleicht Shakespeare's Prospero als Vorbild gedient, der bei seinem Zauberwalten auch in erster Linie das Lebensglück seiner Tochter Miranda im Auge hat. Von einer geschmackvollen Imitation könnte man aber in diesem Falle nicht reden. Diocletian besitzt eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit dem treulosen Mirabel — die zauberkundige Tante muss ihm die empfindlichsten Beweise ihres Unwillens geben, bevor er seinen Verpflichtungen gegen die Nichte gerecht wird. [2])

In den wenigen komischen Scenen dieses pseudo-historischen Dramas führt Geta, Diocles' Diener, das grosse Wort. Wie Diocles als Imperator den Namen Diocletianus, nimmt der zum Ädilen avancierte Geta den Namen Getianus an. Dass Fletcher bei der Schöpfung dieser Kontrastfigur an Sancho Pansa dachte, [3]) möchte ich nicht bestreiten, doch verlangt

[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 214: *For the plot consult Eusebius Lib. 8. Nicephorus Lib. 6. and 7. Vopisc. Car. and Carin. Aur. Victoris Epitome. Eutropius L. 9. Baronius An. 204 etc. Orosius L. 7. C. 16. Coeffeteau L. 20. etc.;* vgl. oben p. 35 Anm. 3.

[2]) Eine von Dyce nicht bemerkte Shakespeare-Reminiscenz liegt vielleicht in Diocles' Äusserung über seinen Gegner Aper: *Thou art like thy name, | A cruel Boar, whose snout hath rooted up | The fruitful vineyard of the commonwealth* (Act II sc. 3; vol. VIII p. 236) — verglichen mit Richmond's Worten über Richard III.: *The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar, | That spoil'd your summer fields and fruitful vines* (Act V sc. 2, 7 f.). Der *clown* Geta ruft wie Cæsar: *Et tu Brute?* (Act IV sc. 4), wohl damals bereits ein geflügeltes Wort.

[3]) Cf. Rapp p. 75: „Der zu Würden gelangte Clown [ist] ein deutliches Abbild des Sancho Pansa als Gouverneurs von Barataria."

die Gerechtigkeit die ergänzende Bemerkung, dass sich Geta bei seinen Gerichtssitzungen ebenso witzlos und unanständig zeigt, wie sich Sancho Pansa witzig und anständig bewiesen hatte.

The Sea Voyage. — Meine Vermutung, dass unser unermüdlicher Dramatiker bei der Schöpfung der Delphia an Shakespeare's Prospero dachte, könnte eine gewisse Stütze in der Thatsache finden, dass auch dieses, sehr wahrscheinlich unmittelbar nach der „Prophetess" entstandene Stück [1]) uns wenigstens in den ersten Scenen stark an den „Tempest" erinnert. [2]) Auch seine Handlung beginnt auf einem mit einem heftigen Sturme kämpfenden Schiff, auch diesen schwer bedrohten Schiffern gelingt es, sich auf eine Insel zu retten. Sobald die dramatis personae festen Boden unter den Füssen haben, nimmt ihr Schicksal einen verschiedenen Verlauf: unter den Bewohnern der Insel findet sich jedoch auch eine Jungfrau, die, wie Miranda noch keinen Jüngling, überhaupt noch nie einen Mann gesehen hat, und die beim Anblick des bewusstlosen Albert sagt: *What a brave shape it has in death!* (Act II sc. 2), wie Miranda von Ferdinand gesagt hatte: *It carries a brave form. But 'tis a spirit* (Act I sc. 2, 411).

Die unfruchtbare Insel, an welche bei Fletcher das Schiff der Franzosen gtrieben wird, ist von einer Nachbar-Insel getrennt durch einen schwarzen See, welcher mit dem Grendel-See im Beowulf die Ähnlichkeit hat, dass sich ein gehetzter Hirsch lieber töten lässt, als dass er sich in diese schwarzen Fluten stürze. [3]) Auf dieser benachbarten Insel leben nur

[1]) Cf. Dyce vol. VIII p. 291 ff. Lic. 1622, June 22; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 192): *Originally by Fletcher alone, but altered subsequently by Massinger*; Fleay (Chron. I 216): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

[2]) Wie schon Dryden bemerkte, cf. Langbaine p. 214. Dyce (VIII 293) sagt: *I may add, that the incidents in the first act, — Albert and his companions landing on a barren island, and finding Sebastian and Nicusa there, the eagerness of some of the crew to seize the treasure and the escape of Sebastian and Nicusa in the ship, — bear a considerable resemblance to what is related in the „Calamus Primus" of Warner's „Pan his Syrinx" (n. d., licensed in 1584).* Dieses Gedicht ist mir leider nicht zugänglich.

[3]) Die Ähnlichkeit in Gedanken und Worten ist merkwürdig. Hrôd-

Weiber, beherrscht von Rosella, einer grossen Männerfeindin, die Mutter einer schönen Tochter, Clarinda genannt, welche sich auf den ersten Blick in den Franzosen Albert verliebt. Rosella erinnert an Ariost's energische Orontea, welche ebenfalls einen Weiberstaat gründet: auch Orontea besitzt eine Tochter, die schöne Alessandra, welche sich auf den ersten Blick in den an ihre Küste verschlagenen Elbanio verliebt (Orlando Furioso, canto XX st. 24 ff.). Vielleicht hat Fletcher den Weiberstaat Ariost's kopiert,[1]) vielleicht ist es kein Zufall, dass in diesem Stück Ariost's Bradamante einmal genannt ist.[2]) Ebenso möglich ist jedoch, dass Fletcher die Amazonen in der noch nicht entdeckten Quelle der Gesamthandlung seines Dramas gefunden hat.[3])

The Spanish Curate.[4]) — Zwei Handlungen, deren Quelle längst richtig bestimmt worden ist[5]): Fletcher hat sie beide der englischen Übersetzung eines spanischen Romanes entlehnt, 1622 veröffentlicht und in der zweiten Ausgabe des

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gâr sagte: *Đêah-đe hêđ-stapa hundum geswenced, | heorot hornum trum holt-wudu sêce | feorran geflŷmed, êr hê feorh seleđ, | aldor on ôfre, êr hê in wille | hafelan ‹hŷdan›* (v. 1368 ff.). Das Gespräch der Amazonen lautet:

Crocale. When we believ'd the stag was spent,
And would take soil, the sight of the black lake,
Which we suppos'd he chose for his last refuge,
Frighted him more than we that did pursue him.
Juletta. That's usual; for death itself is not so terrible
To any beast of chase (Act II sc. 2).

Fletcher wird wohl an Vergil's schwarzen Averner See gedacht haben, er lässt Crocale in den nächsten Versen sagen, dass kein Vogel über diesen See zu fliegen wage, cf. Aen. VI 239 f.

[1]) Cf. Weber bei Dyce VIII 293.

[2]) Cf. Act III sc. 1. Doch wird diese allbekannte Heldin auch in „Love's Cure" Act III sc. 4 genannt, wie ausserdem z. B. von Ben Jonson im „Alchemist" II 1.

[3]) Um nicht die Eifersucht der Clarinda zu wecken, bezeichnet Albert seine geliebte Aminta als seine Schwester (Act II sc. 2), wie Abraham seine Gattin Sara (Gen. XX).

[4]) Cf. Dyce vol. VIII p. 371 ff. Lic. 1622, Oct. 24; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 192), Fleay (Chron. I 217): *Fletcher and Massinger.*

[5]) Cf. Langbaine p. 215.

Jahres 1653 betitelt: *Gerardo The Unfortunate Spaniard, or a Pattern for Lascivious Lovers. Containing several strange Miseries of Loose Affections. Written by an ingenuous Spanish Gentleman Don Goncalo de Cespides and Meneces, in the time of his five years Imprisonment. Originally in Spanish, and made English by L[eonard] D[igges].* [1]) Dass Fletcher diese Übersetzung und nicht das 1615 gedruckte spanische Originalwerk des Gonçalo de Cespedes [2]) vor sich hatte, wird dadurch bewiesen, dass er einen Brief fast wörtlich aus der englischen Prosa in sein Drama aufgenommen hat. [3]) Wahrscheinlich hat sich Fletcher überhaupt zumeist französischer oder englischer Übersetzungen bedient, selten unmittelbar aus den spanischen Quellen geschöpft.

In der ernsten Handlung hat der Dichter das Blutvergiessen der Quelle vermieden und gleichwohl eine wirkungsvolle Erhöhung der Spannung erzielt, durch die geschickte Verwendung zweier Gestalten, die in der Novelle im Hintergrund geblieben zu sein scheinen. Der kinderlose Don Henrique hat, um die Erbfolge seines ihm verhassten Bruders zu verhindern, einen illegitimen Sohn adoptiert, wodurch sich seine Gattin Violante so schwer gekränkt fühlt, dass sie auf blutige Rache sinnt. In den betreffenden, von der Quelle unabhängigen Scenen der beiden letzten Akte begegnen wir dem Motive der getäuschten Furie, welches, aus Bandello's Novelle von der Contessa di Cellant stammend, von Marston in seiner „Insatiate Countess" und in der „Dutch Courtezan" auf die englische Bühne verpflanzt wurde (cf. oben p. 29 f.). Die leidenschaftliche Violante trägt sich selbst und ihren Reichtum ihrem Schwager Don Jamie an, unter der Bedingung, dass er seinen Bruder, ihren Gatten, töte; Don Jamie geht scheinbar bereitwilligst auf ihre Pläne ein, verständigt sich jedoch mit seinem Bruder, so dass Violante schliesslich in derselben Weise getäuscht und gestraft wird, wie Marston's Gräfin und Dirne.

Bei seinem Intriguenspiel gegen seinen Bruder Don

[1]) Cf. Dyce VIII 373 ff.

[2]) Betitelt *Poema Tragico del Español Gerardo, y Desengaño del amor lasciuo* nach einer in Valencia 1628 gedruckten Ausgabe.

[3]) Cf. Dyce VIII p. 392.

Jamie hatte Don Henrique ein williges Werkzeug gefunden in dem Winkeladvokaten Bartolus, der zugleich eine sehr unfreiwillige Hauptrolle in der komischen Aktion zu spielen hat. Er besitzt ein schönes, junges Weib, Amaranta, welches ihm Leandro abspenstig machen will, mit Hilfe des lebenslustigen spanischen Pfarrers Lopez. Auch in diesem Lustspiel ist die Komik durch eine glücklich erfundene Gestalt gesteigert: dem fidelen Pfarrer haben die englischen Dramatiker seinen ebenso pfiffigen Totengräber Diego zugesellt. Wie sich dieses *par nobile fratrum* unter dem Stimulus einer ihnen in Aussicht gestellten Geldsumme allmählich ganz genau auf eine ihnen völlig unbekannte, überhaupt nicht existierende Persönlichkeit besinnt (Act II sc. 1) — das ist urkomisch. Nicht sicher bin ich, ob Diego's merkwürdiges Testament, zu dessen Abfassung der Advokat von der Seite seiner Gattin gelockt wird (Act IV sc. 5), eine freie Erfindung der Dramatiker ist.[1]) Es schwebt mir eine Erinnerung an eine ähnliche extravagante Testierung vor, ohne dass es mir jedoch möglich ist, diese Erinnerung zu fixieren.

The Beggars' Bush.[2]) — Der hinterlistige Wolfort hat den rechtmässigen Grafen von Flandern verdrängt und sich selbst an seine Stelle gesetzt. Sein Bemühen, die Mitglieder der verjagten Dynastie zu beseitigen, ist die Haupttriebfeder der Handlung, sein Sturz die Katastrophe des Dramas. Gerrard, der Vater des rechtmässigen Grafen, und seine Tochter Jaqueline hausen im Beggars' Bush, im Bettlerwald, als Bettler verkleidet, um den Nachstellungen des Tyrannen zu entgehen; Florez, der rechtmässige Graf, lebt, seiner Abkunft unkundig, in Brügge, ein ebenso reicher, wie freigebiger Kaufherr, Goswin genannt. Die von Gerrard regierten Bettler liefern die komischen Intermezzi und greifen auch

[1]) Wie Dyce (Account p. LXIX) annehmen möchte; vgl. auch Ward II 215 f.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. IX p. 1 ff. Aufgeführt um 1615 (?); gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 356): *Originally written by Beaumont, and redone by Fletcher and Massinger;* Fleay (Chron. I 199): *Certainly by Fletcher and Massinger.*

wiederholt in die Handlung ein, als Beschützer der Verfolgten.

Bei der Betrachtung der Elemente der Handlung werden wir manchmal an Shakespeare's „As you like it" (Usurpator, die Verdrängten, Vater und Tochter, im Walde) erinnert, manchmal wohl auch an den „Merchant of Venice". [1]) Weitere Spekulationen sind zwecklos, bis uns die Quelle der Dramatiker entdeckt worden ist. [2])

Love's Cure, or The Martial Maid. [3]) — Clara, die Tochter des spanischen Grande Fernando de Alvarez, hat von ihrem Vater in der Verbannung die Erziehung eines Knaben erhalten; sein Sohn Lucio ist von der ängstlichen, die Verfolgung mächtiger Feinde fürchtenden Mutter in Sevilla wie ein Mädchen, in weiblichen Kleidern und Sitten, erzogen

[1]) Rapp p. 67: „Der verkleidete reiche Kaufmann von Brügge [ist] eine deutliche Nachahmung von Shakespeare's *royal merchant*." Zu dem Ausruf des Bettlers Higgen, eines sehr unterhaltlichen Kumpans: *Why, then, come, doleful death!* (Act IV sc. 5) bemerkt Dyce (IX 82): *A quotation, it would seem, from some play or ballad.* Ich glaube, dass dem Komponisten dieser Scene der allitterierende Unsinn des Bottom-Pyramus im Gedächtnis war. Unmittelbar vorher spricht der Bettler Prig von *dainty ducks*, wie Bottom ausruft: *O dainty duck* (Act V sc. 1, 286) — vielleicht ist Higgen's *doleful death* ein Echo von Bottom's *What dreadful dole* (ib. v. 283). Higgen bezeichnet sich späterhin selbst als Bottom's Geist, in der oft kommentierten Zeile: *The spirit of Bottom is grown bottomless* (Act V sc. 2; vol. IX p. 103). Diese Stelle soll m. E. nur besagen, dass Higgen, der sich scherzhaft mit Bottom's Geist identifiziert, sich der den Bettlern drohenden anständigen Zukunft gegenüber *bottomless* bodenlos fühlt, dass er die Empfindung hat, den festen Boden unter den Füssen verloren zu haben und deshalb flüchten will.

[2]) Ward II 217 Anm. 4: *The plot of this comedy is said (by Mr. Lewes) to be taken from the „Fuerza de la Sangre", a novel by Cervantes.* Eine vollkommen grundlose Annahme, es besteht nicht die mindeste Ähnlichkeit. Ward fährt fort: *In any case, Fletcher's beggars probably owe their origin to the gipsies of Cervantes* — eine Vermutung, die ich weder bestreiten noch bestätigen kann.

[3]) Cf. Dyce vol. IX p. 105 ff. Entstanden 1608—12 (?); gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XIV 79): *Rewritten by Massinger from Beaumont, who may perhaps have received a little assistance from Fletcher;* Fleay (Chron. I 180): *Beaumont and Fletcher, revised by Massinger.*

worden. Das mächtig erwachende Gefühl der Liebe heilt die Schäden dieser naturwidrigen Erziehungsmethoden und zugleich die Feindschaft, welche Alvarez' Existenz bedroht. Sehr bezeichnend ist es wieder für Fletcher, dass Clara's Herbheit in eine höchst würdelose Hingabe an einen Wüstling umschlägt (vergl. besonders Clara's Schlussworte Act. IV sc. 2).

Die Quelle dieses Stückes ist noch nicht entdeckt worden.[1]) Eine auffällige, aber bis jetzt noch nicht betonte Shakespeare-Reminiscenz findet sich im Munde des Schusters Pachieco Alasto: *Oh, happy thou, Lazarillo, being the cause of other men's wits, as in thine own!* (Act II sc. 1, p. 126) — eine Wiederholung von Falstaff's Worten: *I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men* (Henry IV B, I 2, 11 f.).

The Maid in the Mill.[2]) — Zwei schlecht verbundene Handlungen: erstens, eine Variation des Motivs von dem ungetreuen Freunde, der sich in die Geliebte seines Freundes verliebt und sie für sich selbst gewinnen will; zweitens, eine Prüfung und Belohnung standhafter Frauentugend. Die Quellen der beiden Handlungen sind längst bekannt,[3]) in beiden Fällen bemerken wir, dass die englischen Dramatiker, welche ihr Publikum unterhalten, nicht erschüttern wollten, die tragische Färbung der Ereignisse verwischt haben. Der treulose Freund stammt aus derselben Quelle, welche Fletcher für seinen „Spanish Curate" so ausgiebig benutzt hatte, aus der englischen Übersetzung des *Poema Trajico del Español Gerardo* etc., des Don Gonçalo de Cespedes

[1]) Rapp p. 78: „Es scheint, Fletcher habe gründliche Studien der spanischen Poesie zu Grunde gelegt. Die Hauptintrige . . . ist vollständig aus dem Calderon'schen Parallelismus entlehnt." Irgendwelche Einwirkung Calderon's ist schon aus chronologischen Gründen ganz ausgeschlossen.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. IX p. 197 ff. Lic. 1623. Aug. 29; gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher and W. Rowley*, cf. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 192 f.) and Fleay (Chron. I 217).

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p. 211 f., zu dessen Quellenangaben es nur noch eines Verweises auf Painter's „Palace of Pleasure" II 22 bedarf.

y Meneses (cf. oben p. 108). Aber während der perfide Don Martin der Novelle seinen Zweck erreicht und von Don Jayme im Zweikampf getötet wird,[1]) ist er von den Dramatikern dadurch unschädlich gemacht worden, dass sie der Ismenia eine treulose Vertraute, Aminta, an die Seite gestellt und die beiden betrogenen Betrüger schliesslich zusammengebracht haben. Die bedrohte Unschuld, die von einem Edelmanne begehrte und geraubte Müllerstochter Florimel, fanden die Dramatiker in einer von Painter (II 22) übersetzten Novelle Bandello's, in der fünfzehnten Novelle seines zweiten Teiles, welcher Fletcher wahrscheinlich schon für eines seiner früheren Dramen eine Situation entlehnt hatte (cf. oben p. 77). Aber während bei Bandello und seinem Übersetzer der Plan des Verführers glückt und erst die schliessliche, erzwungene Ehe dem Mädchen die Ehre zurückgibt, widersteht die dramatische Müllerin allen Anfechtungen siegreich, in Scenen, die freilich weit anstössiger sind als Bandello's Bericht.

Schon in der Erzählung des Cespedes gehören die Liebenden feindlichen Familien an. Die unvermeidliche Erinnerung an „Romeo und Juliet“ [2]) haben die Dramatiker zu einer aufdringlichen gemacht, indem sie sich in der Nachtscene, welche uns Ismenia von ihrem Fenster aus mit Antonio unterhandelnd zeigt (Act I sc. 3), wiederholt auffällig den Gedanken und Worten der Gartenscene näherten. Namentlich Ismenia hält sich genau an die Gedanken ihrer illustren Vorgängerin, auch ihr Geliebter soll nicht schwören, auch sie fürchtet, für allzu entgegenkommend gehalten zu werden:

> No vow, dear sir! tie not my fair belief
> To such strict terms: those men have broken credits,
> Loose and dismember'd faiths, my dear Antonio,
> That splinter 'em with vows. Am I not too bold?
> Correct me when you please.

Das Festspiel, welches die Landleute, der Müllerssohn Bustofa und Gefährten, vor dem Grafen Julio und seinen

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[1]) Vergl. die ziemlich ausführliche Inhaltsangabe der Novelle bei Dyce IX 199 ff.

[2]) Vgl. Rapp p. 91.

Gästen aufführen (Act II sc. 2), erinnert durch seinen gelehrten Stoff, seine Form und die störenden Zwischenwitze der Zuschauer an das *Nine Worthies*-Maskenspiel in „Love's Labour's Lost", das *Pyramus and Thisbe*-Interludium und an die *Hero and Leander*-Posse in Ben Jonson's „Bartholomew Fair". Der von Bustofa und Konsorten malträtierte klassische Stoff, das Urteil des Paris, war schon von George Peele auf die englische Bühne gebracht worden, im ersten Teile seines „Arraignment of Paris" (1584). [1])

Der dramatische Nutzen, welchen die Engländer aus diesem komischen Zwischenspiel ziehen, die Art und Weise, wie sie es der Förderung der Handlung dienen lassen, zeigen aber eine merkwürdige Übereinstimmung mit einem *Entremes* des Lope de Vega, einer parodistischen Darstellung eines demselben Sagenkreise angehörigen Ereignisses, des Raubes der Helena. [2]) Der Hauptwitz dieses spanischen Schwankes, der im Hause eines Doktors zu seiner und seiner Gäste Belustigung aufgeführt wird, liegt in der Überraschung, dass der Raub wirklich erfolgt, dass der als Paris agierende junge Mann mit der Darstellerin der Helena, der ihm versagten Tochter des Doktors, wirklich entflieht, zur grossen Konsternation der versammelten Gesellschaft. Ganz ähnlich tritt in dem englischen Interludium plötzlich der als Mars verkleidete Gerasto auf und entführt nach wenigen Versen die Darstellerin der Venus, die Müllerin Florimel, allen

[1]) Bei den zahllosen Shakespeare-Reminiscenzen Fletcher's werden wir folgende Bemerkung des Müllers Franio

> Oppressions of all sorts sit like new clothes,
> Neatly and handsomely, upon your lordships
> (Act III sc. 2)

gern vergleichen mit den dasselbe Gleichniss in gegensätzlicher Verwendung bietenden Worten Banquo's (Act I sc. 3, 144 ff.).

[2]) Cf. die p. 101, Anm. 1 citierte Ausgabe der Werke Lope de Vega's, Tomo XVIII (1778): *Fiestas del SS^mo Sacramento. Fiesta* IV enthält *Entremes del Robo de Helena* p. 168/176. In dem *Prologo del Editor* p. III ist gesagt, dass diese *Fiestas* erst nach dem Tode des Dichters veröffentlicht wurden, von dem *Licenciado* Joseph Ortiz de Villena, und zwar *en Zaragoza por Pedro Verges año de M. DC. XLIV. en* 1. *tom. en 4.*

Ernstes, zur allgemeinen Überraschung und Empörung. Die Ähnlichkeit der Situation ist die auffälligste, und doch soll Lope de Vega's Schwank erst viele Jahre nach Fletcher's Tod gedruckt worden sein. Es muss demnach wohl mündliche oder schriftliche Vermittelung stattgefunden haben, denn an eine zufällige Übereinstimmung ist kaum zu denken, der Kniff ist ein zu künstlicher.

A Wife for a Month. [1]) — Ein mit Ibsen'scher Raffiniertheit ausgeklügelter Plan. Frederick, König von Neapel, begehrt Evanthe, die Schwester eines schurkischen Höflings. Das schöne und mutige Mädchen liebt den jungen Valerio; der König wirbt vergeblich und nimmt seine Rache, indem er die Liebenden zwar verheiratet, aber nur für einen Monat. Nach Ablauf dieses Monats soll Valerio getötet werden und auch der jungen Witwe droht dasselbe Schicksal, falls sie nicht binnen zwölf Stunden nach Valerio's Tod einen Ersatzmann findet, der sich unter den gleichen Bedingungen, wieder auf einen Monat, mit ihr vermählt. Diese spitzfindigen Grausamkeiten des Königs werden von dem Bruder Evanthe's, von dem Höfling Sorano, noch gesteigert: unmittelbar nach der Trauung teilt dieser Valerio mit, dass Evanthe sofort sterben müsse, wenn er von seinen ehelichen Rechten Gebrauch mache, und dass sie beide getötet würden, wenn er irgendjemandem den wahren Grund seiner Enthaltsamkeit verriete.

Woher Fletcher diese komplizierte, eine widerliche Mischung von tragischem Ernst und Lüsternheit ermöglichende Intrige entlehnte, ist nicht bekannt. Valerio ist mit dem Amintor in „The Maid's Tragedy" verglichen worden, [2]) der sich seiner Gattin, der Geliebten des Königs, zu enthalten hat; aber die Frauen sind ganz verschieden: die Evadne der älteren Tragödie stösst den Gatten selbst zurück. Auch in „Thierry und Theodoret" wird Thierry durch die Ränke seiner Mutter der Gattin gegenüber in dieselbe Lage versetzt, wie Valerio, und in diesem Falle erstreckt sich die Ähnlichkeit

[1]) Cf. Dyce vol. IX p. 295 ff. Lic. 1624, May 27; gedruckt 1647. Von *Fletcher*.

[2]) Cf. Weber bei Dyce IX 297.

auch auf die Frauen, welche sich beide in ihr Schicksal ergeben, die fromme Ordella allerdings weit williger als die lebenslustige Evanthe.

Dieser allzu künstlich geschürzte Knoten wird durchhauen, durch den Sturz des tyrannischen Frederick. Nur infolge einer schweren geistigen Erkrankung seines älteren Bruders Alphonso auf den Thron gekommen, lebt Frederick in fortwährender Furcht einer Heilung seines Bruders. Sorano will seinen Gönner auch von dieser Sorge befreien, er mischt ein tödliches Gift für Alphonso. Aber dieses Gift wirkt wunderbarerweise antidotisch auf den Krankheitsstoff in Alphonso's Körper: der Sieche genest plötzlich und ergreift sofort die Zügel der Regierung, wodurch alle Valerio und seine Gattin bedrängenden Gefahren schwinden.

Ob Fletcher's Alphonso der Reflex eines historischen Königs von Spanien ist, bleibt zu prüfen.[1]) Nicht zu bezweifeln ist hingegen, dass der von den Wirkungen des rettenden Giftes gequälte Alphonso (Act IV sc. 4) unter dem Einfluss eines Shakespeare'schen Königs steht[2]): wörtliche Anklänge lassen erkennen, dass Fletcher die Sterbescene König Johann's im Gedächtnis hatte. Nicht zu seinem Heile: die langen tobsüchtigen Tiraden seines Alphonso sind eine sehr unerfreuliche Paraphrase der kurzen Klagen seines Vorbildes.

Rule a Wife and Have a Wife.[3]) — Die üppige Margarita will heiraten, aber ihre Ehe soll nur den Deckmantel für ihre galanten Abenteuer abgeben, der gesuchte Gatte soll nur ein Strohmann sein, ein charakterloser Schwächling, der

[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 216: *The Character and Story of Alphonso, and his Brother Frederick's Carriage to him, much resembles the History of Sancho the Eighth, King of Leon. I leave the Reader to the perusal of his Story in Mariana, and Louis de Mayerne Turquet*; cf. oben p. 35 Anm. 3.

[2]) Cf. Dyce, *Account* p. LXXI, dessen ungünstige Kritik der Fletcher'schen Imitation meinem Eindruck vollkommen entspricht. King John's Notschrei nach Wasser, Wind und Winter, welche die ihn verzehrende Glut lindern sollen (Act V sc. 7, 36—41), wird von Alphonso ermüdend und abschwächend variiert; cf. oben p. 71f.

[3]) Cf. Dyce vol. IX p. 389 ff. Lic. 1624, Oct. 19; gedruckt 1640. Von *Fletcher*.

zu allen Anordnungen der Herrin Ja und Amen sagen wird. Eine solche Spottgeburt glaubt sie gefunden zu haben in einem jungen Fähnrich, in dem dummen Leon, aber sie sieht sich verdientermassen betrogen. Leon ist der Bruder ihrer Zofe Altea, kennt alle Pläne der schlimmen Margarita und hat sich nur verstellt, um die reiche Erbin zu gewinnen. Nach der Hochzeit wirft er die Maske ab, verjagt die Verehrer seiner Frau und zwingt die Widerspenstige selbst zu Gehorsam und Bewunderung.

Ein geschickt entworfener, wenn auch leider nicht mit entsprechender Feinheit ausgeführter Plan. Eine Quelle ist nicht bekannt. Die Zähmung der Margarita hat die Gedanken der Forscher wiederholt zu Shakespeare's „Taming of the Shrew" geführt[1]) — ich möchte, wenn wir es wirklich mit einem selbständigen Entwurf Fletcher's zu thun haben, die Hauptquelle seiner Inspiration an anderer Stelle suchen. Leon, der sich vor der Hochzeit blöde und schweigsam stellt, bei dessen erstem Zornausbruch Margarita verblüfft fragt: *Thou dar'st not talk?* (Act III sc. 1) — Leon ist wohl eine glückliche Nachahmung von Ben Jonson's schelmischer Epicoene, die bis zur Hochzeit auch den Mund kaum öffnet und deren erster Redefluss dem entsetzten Morose auch die fassungslose Frage entlockt: *You can speak, then?* (Act III sc. 2). Morose und Margarita haben dieselbe bühnenwirksame Enttäuschung durchzumachen und in gleicher Weise die Lacher gegen sich. Wir haben bereits gesehen, dass dieses Grundmotiv von Ben Jonson's „Silent Woman" in Fletcher's Gedächtnis haftete (cf. oben p. 90).

Für die schlaue Altea, welche ihrem Bruder die Hand der reichen Erbin verschafft, lässt sich in Fletcher's eigener Gallerie ein Vorbild zeigen: Cleanthe, die Kammerfrau der Prinzessin Calis des „Mad Lover" (vergl. oben p. 79). Aber die Intrige der Cleanthe missglückt, während Altea das Spiel gewinnt.

In der Haupthandlung ist die Gattin zu ihrem Heile die getäuschte; das Nebenspiel zeigt uns ein leichtfertiges Ehepaar,

[1]) Cf. Rapp p. 66; Ward II 206.

in welchem der Mann der hinters Licht Geführte ist. Eine Dienerin der Margarita hat sich in deren Abwesenheit für die Besitzerin ihres Hauses mit all seinen Reichtümern ausgegeben und mit diesem Köder einen militärischen Glücksritter geangelt, der sie vom Fleck weg heiratet und bald mit ihr im Elend steckt. Fletcher fand diese Geschichte im zweiten Bändchen der „Novelas Exemplares" des Cervantes, an vorletzter Stelle, betitelt *El Casamiento Engañoso.*[1]) Seine Dramatisierung ist ein flüchtiges Stück Arbeit: die Clara des Dramas ist eine ebenso überflüssige wie störende Persönlichkeit, deren Existenz uns erst durch die Quelle begreiflich, aber nicht entschuldbar wird.

The Fair Maid of the Inn. — Die Titelheldin dieses Dramas[2]) stammt wieder aus einer der „Novelas Exemplares" des Cervantes, betitelt *La Illustre Fregona.*[3]) Auch in dem englischen Drama ist das schöne Wirtstöchterchen Bianca schliesslich vornehmer Herkunft, ihrem Versucher und Werber Cesario in jeder Hinsicht ebenbürtig. Dieser Cesario steht im Mittelpunkte des Dramas, sein Verhältnis zu Bianca ist nur eine Episode seines Schicksals. Aus einem ganz nichtigen Grund entzweit er sich mit seinem Jugendfreunde Mentivole, wird von diesem verwundet, tödliche Feindschaft ihrer Familien ist die Folge ihres Zwistes. Cesario's Mutter, Mariana, fürchtet für das Leben ihres Sohnes: ihn gegen die Nachstellungen der Feinde zu sichern, greift sie zu dem desperatesten Mittel. Sie erklärt ihn für illegitim, für ein angenommenes Kind, mit dem sie die Sehnsucht ihres Gatten nach Kinder-

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[1]) Cf. Weber bei Dyce IX 391 ff. Neuerdings hat diese Novelle ihren Monographen gefunden in Leo Bahlsen „Eine Komödie Fletcher's, ihre spanische Quelle und die Schicksale jenes Cervantes'schen Novellenstoffes in der Weltliteratur". Wissensch. Beilage zum Jahresbericht der VI. städt. Realschule zu Berlin. Ostern 1894. Programm No. 121. Vgl. Anglia, Beiblatt V 170 f.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. X p. 1 ff. Lic. 1626, Jan. 22; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 342 ff.): *Beaumont and Fletcher, rewritten by Massinger and Rowley; the Fletcher portion is . . . small;* Fleay (Chron. I 222): *Fletcher, Massinger and Jonson.*

[3]) Cf. Weber bei Dyce X 4 ff.

segen befriedigt habe. Auf diese Enthüllung hin bestimmt der Herzog, dass sie, die Mutter, den Cesario als Entschädigung für die in ihm geweckten Hoffnungen zu heiraten oder ihm den grössten Teil ihres Vermögens abzutreten habe. Dieser Konflikt, der im Drama in der liederlichsten Weise, durch eine dem Herzog zugeflüsterte, dem Zuschauer nicht vernehmbare Gegenerklärung der Mariana aus der Welt geschafft wird (Act V sc. 3) — diese Geschichte von der Verleugnung eines Sohnes seitens der Mutter wird Fletcher in einem der zeitgenössischen Kompendien[1]) gelesen haben; die Fassung, welche er der lügnerischen Erklärung der Mutter gegeben hat, bietet m. E. eine Wiederholung der Intrige, auf welche das Drama „A King and no King" basiert ist. Wie die Königin Arane, hat die kinderlose Mariana das Söhnchen einer anderen angenommen, um den Gatten zu täuschen; wie die Königin Arane, gebiert sie selbst nachher ein Töchterchen, das nun um sein Erbrecht betrogen ist (Act III sc. 2). Die Erinnerung an jenes, den Inzest streifende Drama lässt uns auch begreifen, wie Fletcher auf den hässlichen Gedanken kommen konnte, dem Verhältnisse Cesario's zu seiner Schwester Clarissa höchst überflüssigerweise eine bedenkliche Färbung zu geben.[2]) Begreifen heisst aber auch in diesem Falle nicht verzeihen.

Eine der besten Scenen des an Schönheiten nicht reichen Dramas ist das Gespräch der Geschwister, welches uns zu Anfang des Dramas sehr geschickt über die Herzensan-

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[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 208 f.: *Mariana's disowning Cæsario for her Son, and the Duke's Injunction to marry him, is related by Causin in his „Holy Court", and is transcrib'd by Wanley in his „History of Man", Fol. Book 3. Chap. 26.* Wanley's Version steht bei Dyce l. c. p. 3 f. Diese beiden Werke sind jedoch erst nach dem englischen Drama veröffentlicht worden: Nicolas Caussin's „Cour Sainte" im Jahre 1632 (Paris, 3 vols.) und Nathaniel Wanley's „Wonders of the Little World; or, A General History of Man" erst 1678 (London, fol.). Fletcher's Quelle ist somit noch nicht bestimmt, doch ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass ihm eine ältere Version dieser Geschichte bekannt war.

[2]) Clarissa sagt: *We lov'd together, you preferring me | Before yourself, and I so fond of you | That it begot suspicions in ill minds, | That our affection was incestuous* (Act V sc. 3).

gelegenheiten Cesario's und Clarissa's aufklärt. Ich bezweifele nicht, dass wir diese gute Exposition einer Shakespeare-Reminiscenz verdanken, dass für Fletcher das meisterliche Gespräch der Geschwister Laertes und Ophelia vorbildlich war, welches die Ophelia-Tragödie des „Hamlet" einleitet (Act I sc. 3). Die Entwickelung der Gespräche ist dieselbe: Laertes und Cesario sind so aufdringliche Tugendprediger, dass es den Schwestern schliesslich zuviel wird und sie Gleiches mit Gleichem zu vergelten suchen.

The Noble Gentleman.[1]) — Der edle Herr ist der Landjunker Mount-Marine, der nach Paris gekommen ist, um sein Glück zu machen, und von seiner lebenslustigen Gattin in der Stadt festgehalten wird, obwohl sich keine seiner Hoffnungen erfüllt. Schliesslich wird er jedoch des fruchtlosen und kostspieligen Hoffens und Harrens überdrüssig, und dringt so gebieterisch auf sofortige Heimkehr, dass seine Frau ihre Zuflucht zu einer sehr gewagten Täuschung nimmt. Sie lässt ihm durch ihre Kourmacher viele von der Gunst des Königs gewährte Standeserhöhungen melden, eine nach der anderen, Schlag auf Schlag, so dass sich der betäubte Mount-Marine in wenigen Minuten mit einer Herzogskrone geschmückt sieht. Die List scheint zu glücken, der Tölpel bleibt, bis ihm die Lust kommt, seinen Freunden auf dem Lande mit seiner neuen Würde zu imponieren. Er will wieder abreisen, und nun hat seine Frau nichts Eiligeres zu thun, als ihn ebenso schnell all seiner Würden wieder entsetzen zu lassen.

Die Quelle dieses lustigen Einfalles, der viele, höchst komische Situationen ermöglicht, und auf den sich in unserer Zeit unter ganz verschiedenen Umständen auch der Librettist einer beliebten Operette besonnen hat,[2]) vermag ich leider

[1]) Cf. Dyce vol. X p. 107 ff. Lic. 1626, Febr. 3; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 340 ff.): *Beaumont and Fletcher, dating about 1607;* Fleay (Chron. I 222 f.): *Left unfinished by Fletcher, [completed by] William Rowley, probably aided by Middleton.*

[2]) Die Grossherzogin von Gerolstein lässt den Soldaten, der vor ihren Augen Gnade gefunden hat, mit derselben Schnelligkeit eine ähnliche Stufenleiter von Erhöhungen und Erniedrigungen passieren.

nicht anzugeben. Ich kann nur darauf aufmerksam machen, dass Fletcher nebenbei ein Motiv des „Mad Lover" wiederholt hat. Memnon, dem trübsinnigen Liebhaber, wird von seinen Freunden eine als Prinzessin verkleidete Dirne zugeführt, er durchschaut jedoch den Betrug und sagt, er wolle sie zu seinem numidischen Löwen führen; sei sie wirklich königlichen Geblütes, so würde ihr ja der Löwe huldigen (Act IV sc. 5).[1]) Ebenso schlägt Mrs. Mount-Marine ihrem Gatten, der den Verlust der Herzogswürde nicht verschmerzen kann, vor, er solle sich doch zu den Löwen begeben; falls sie ihn schonten, würde ihn die ganze Welt gewiss als rechtmässigen Prinzen anerkennen (Act V sc. 1, p. 194).

Einen der Monsieur Marine hänselnden Roués lässt Fletcher in heroisch-komischem Stile ausrufen: *Methinks 'tis strange | That, Heaven forewarning great men of their falls | With such plain tokens, they should not avoid 'em; | For the last night, betwixt eleven and twelve, | Two great and hideous blazing stars were seen* etc. Dass Fletcher in diesen und den folgenden Versen Calpurnia's Warnung an Cäsar, gipfelnd in den Worten *The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes* (Act II sc. 2, 13ff.), parodierte, wird noch wahrscheinlicher dadurch, dass er unmittelbar nachher Marine sagen lässt: *So Cæsar fell, when in the Capitol | They gave his body two-and-thirty wounds* (Act V sc. 1, p. 186).

The Elder Brother.[2]) — Ein Triumph der Frauenschönheit, dessen Grundgedanken Fletcher der Novelle Boccaccio's von dem thörichten Cimone verdanken könnte (Dec. V 1).[3]) Cimone wird, von der Schönheit der schlafenden Efigenia bezaubert, plötzlich aus einem rohen Menschen in

[1]) Von diesem mittelalterlichen Aberglauben handelt Kölbing in seinen ESt. XVI 454 ff., wo auch die betreffende Stelle des „Mad Lover" angeführt ist.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. X p. 197 ff. Aufgeführt und gedruckt 1637. Oliphant (ESt. XV 358 f): *Written by Fletcher about 1614 . . ., but re-written at a later date by Massinger*; Fleay (Chron. I 228 f.): *Fletcher (1625) and Massinger (1635).*

[3]) Über englische Versionen dieser Novelle im 16. Jahrhundert cf. Studien p. 82.

einen gesitteten verwandelt — eine ähnliche blitzschnelle Wandlung bewirken zwei schöne Frauenaugen auch in Charles', des älteren Bruders, Seele. Ganz in seine Studien versunken, ein Stubengelehrter im vollsten Sinne des Wortes, lässt sich Charles fast dazu bewegen, auf sein Erstgeburtsrecht zu verzichten, zu gunsten seines weltläufigeren jüngeren Bruders. Im letzten Moment jedoch entreisst der Anblick des Mädchens, welches diesem Bruder vermählt werden soll, den Scholaren seiner gelehrten Betäubung, das mächtig erwachende Gefühl der Liebe begeistert Charles zu schönen Worten und Thaten, die ihm die Braut gewinnen.

Die Frage nach der Quelle dieses Dramas, welches in Sprache und Gedanken viel Schönes bietet, kann ich leider nur mit dem höchst wahrscheinlich ungenügenden Hinweis auf das Cimone-Motiv beantworten.[1])

The Nice Valour: or, The Passionate Madman.[2]) — Eine dramatische Abhandlung über ein Thema, welches in unserer Zeit Sudermann mit so grossem Erfolge variiert hat — über die verschiedenen Schattierungen des Ehrgefühles. Krankhaft gesteigert beherrscht es des edlen Chamont's Seele. Ohne jede böse Absicht, nur um seine Aufmerksamkeit zu erregen, gibt ihm sein Fürst, der Herzog von Genua, einen leichten Schlag mit der Reitgerte. Chamont empfindet diese Vertraulichkeit als eine schwere Kränkung, für welche er sich an der ihm heiligen Person des Herzogs nicht rächen kann; dieser innere Konflikt raubt ihm alle Lebensfreude, treibt ihn in die Einsamkeit. Die Gefahr seines Bruders, der einen Verwandten des Fürsten getötet haben und des-

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[1]) Cf. Weber bei Dyce X 199: *It is singular that one of Calderon's comedies, entitled „De una causa dos efectos", bears a most striking resemblance to „The Elder Brother".* Man könnte allenfalls an eine gemeinschaftliche Quelle, ein älteres Drama oder eine Novelle, denken.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. X p. 293 ff. Gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 336 ff.): *Originally written by Beaumont, remodelled about 1613 or 1614 by Fletcher, rewritten (probably in 1626) by Middleton*; Fleay (Chron. I 196f.): *Fletcher (1613), but greatly altered, perhaps by Middleton (c. 1625).*

wegen sterben soll, bewirkt seine Rückkehr und die Versöhnung mit dem wohlgesinnten Herzog.

Krankhaft gemindert, auf den Nullpunkt angelangt, ist das Ehrgefühl in dem Höfling Lapet, der Schimpf und Schande gleichgültig hinnimmt. Von der umfangreichen Skala, welche des modernen Dramatikers Hände durchlaufen, hat Fletcher somit nur den höchsten und den tiefsten Ton übermässig kräftig angeschlagen. Woher er seine Kontrast-Figuren genommen hat, wissen wir noch nicht.

Der von Chamont's Bruder verwundete Verwandte des Herzogs, *the Passionate Lord*, ist irrsinnig, er erinnert an eine Nebengestalt des Lustspiels „The Noble Gentleman", an den jungen Chatillion,[1]) dem die spröde Zurückhaltung seiner Herzensdame den Verstand verwirrt hat. Den beiden Geisteskranken folgen liebende Frauen, mit welchen sie schliesslich, genesen, vereinigt werden.

The Bloody Brother; or, Rollo, Duke of Normandy. — Die drei ersten Akte der Tragödie[2]) bieten das uralte Motiv der feindlichen Brüder,[3]) in einer Ausprägung, welche jeden deutschen Leser auf das Überraschendste an Schiller's „Braut von Messina" erinnern muss. Die feindlichen Brüder, ihre die Zwietracht nährenden Parteigänger, die bedeutende Gestalt der unglücklichen Mutter, die durch das Flehen der Mutter bewirkte Versöhnung der Brüder, die Ermordung des einen Bruders durch den anderen — diese Gestalten und Ereignisse zeigen eine für Fletcher's dramatischen Instinkt höchst schmeichelhafte Übereinstimmung mit dem Meisterwerke des deutschen Tragikers. Nach der

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[1]) Cf. Ward II 228.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. X p. 371 ff. Lic. 1639, Oct. 4; gedruckt 1639. Oliphant (ESt. XV 353 ff.): *Fletcher, Massinger, Jonson and Middleton;* Fleay (Cron. I 203 ff.): *By Fletcher and Massinger (c. 1616), reformed by Cartwright.*

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p. 207: *The Design of this Play is History: See Herodian, lib. 4. Xiphilini Epit. Dion. in Vit. Ant. Caracallae. Part of the Language is copy'd from Seneca's* [Dyce X 373: *Statius's*] *Thebais*; vgl. p. 35 Anm. 3.

Ermordung des jüngeren Bruders Otto nimmt das englische Drama eine ganz andere Entwickelung: Rollo's Grausamkeit fordert noch mehr Opfer, auch seinen greisen Erzieher, der es gewagt hatte, den Brudermörder zu tadeln, lässt er hinrichten. Eine plötzlich erwachende Leidenschaft für Edith, die Tochter des Enthaupteten, wird Rollo's Verhängnis, in ihrem Hause wird er ermordet.

In der Entscheidungsstunde gelingt es Rollo's Beredsamkeit, das Herz der Rächerin zu rühren: ohne das rechtzeitige Eintreffen ihrer Mitverschworenen würde sie nicht genug Willenskraft besessen haben, seinen werbenden Worten zu widerstehen (Act V sc. 2). Nicht ohne Grund ist diese Scene verglichen worden mit König Richard's III. Werbung um Lady Anne.[1]) Hamlet's Worte: *Thus conscience does make cowards of us all* (Act III sc. 1, 83) enthalten die Quintessenz von Latorch's Antwort auf Rollo's Frage, was Gewissen sei: *A fear they tie up fools in, Nature's coward, | Palling the blood, and chilling the full spirits | With apprehension of mere clouds and shadows* (Act II sc. 1, p. 395).

The Lovers' Progress.[2]) — Unter den zahllosen Episoden eines so langatmigen und langweiligen Romanes, wie des Franzosen Henry D'Audiguier „Histoire tragi-comique de nostre temps. Sous les noms de Lysandre et de Caliste.“[3]) eine so glückliche Auswahl getroffen zu haben, dass sich als Resultat ein spannendes Drama ergibt, ist kein geringes Verdienst, und dieses Verdienst wird man den englischen Dramatikern bereitwillig zugestehen. Zwei Freunde, von denen der eine die Gattin des anderen liebt und auch von ihr geliebt, aber doch zurückgewiesen wird, — zwei Freunde, die mit gleicher

[1]) Cf. Seward's Bemerkung bei Dyce X 459.

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. XI p. 1 ff. Lic. 1623. Dec. 6 als „The Wandering Lovers“ (?): gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XVI 193 ff.): *An alteration by Massinger from Fletcher;* Fleay (Chron. I 219): *Fletcher and Massinger (the alterer).*

[3]) Cf. Langbaine p. 211: *This Play is built on a French Romance written by M. Daudiguier, call'd Lisander and Calista.* Dyce XI 3 ff. bietet eine ausführliche Inhaltsangabe dieses Romans, dessen editio princeps in das Jahr 1615 gesetzt wird.

Leidenschaft eine schöne Frau lieben und sich schliesslich in einem edelmütigen Wettstreit des Verzichtens überbieten — dieser doppelte Konflikt von Liebe und Freundschaft ist geschickt dramatisiert, in lebendigen Scenen, nicht ohne Schönheiten der Sprache. Den Vater der standhaften Calista, Dorilaus, in der Quelle eine farblose Persönlichkeit, hat Fletcher mit guter Wirkung in einen derb-humoristischen Alten verwandelt; die komische Figur des verliebten und feigen Hausverwalters Malfort ist eine freie Schöpfung des Dramatikers, [1]) welcher der Sentimentalität der Haupthandlung ein Gegengewicht geben wollte.

Unerfreulich kommt m. E. dasselbe Bestreben zur Geltung in der Wiedergabe einer schon bei dem französischen Autor ziemlich trivialen Geister-Episode. Auf einer Reise nach Italien erscheint dem Gatten der Calista, dem Cleander, welcher die zu eliminierende Grösse des novellistischen Rechenexempels ist, nächtlicherweile in einem Wirtshause ein Geist — der Geist des Wirtes, mit der Meldung, dass er ermordet und seine Leiche nicht bestattet worden sei. Cleander sorgt für die Beerdigung und erhält dafür von dem nochmals erscheinenden Geist das Versprechen, dass dieser ihm dereinst drei Tage vor seinem Tode ein Warnungszeichen geben würde — eine merkwürdige Variation des alten Motives von dem dankbaren Toten. [2]) Im Drama ist alles geschehen, diese

[1]) Ganz verdorben von dem Fortsetzer, dem diese Gestalt im 4. und 5. Akt sehr im Wege war.

[2]) Cf. über diese Sage Max Hippe, Herrig's Archiv LXXXI 141 ff. und H. Dutz „Der Dank der Toten in der englischen Literatur", Programm, Troppau 1894. 19 s. Auf die Gefahr hin, etwas in dem mir nicht erhältlichen Dutz'schen Programme vielleicht bereits Gesagtes zu wiederholen, möchte ich Hippe's Mittheilungen über die englischen Versionen der Sage ergänzen durch einen Hinweis auf George Peele's Märchenspiel „The Old Wife's Tale". Eumenides, die von dem Zauberer Sacrapant geraubte Delia suchend, zahlt die Bestattungsgebühren für die unbeerdigte Leiche eines quondam lustigen Zechbruders, namens Jack. Der Geist des dankbaren Toten gesellt sich zu Eumenides, bewirkt, dass seine leere Börse sich füllt, und bedingt sich als Lohn seiner guten Dienste die Hälfte aus von allem, was Eumenides während ihrer gemeinschaftlichen Fahrt gewinnen werde. Der Zauberer Sacrapant wird getötet, Delia befreit, Jack verlangt seine Hälfte. Eumenides

schwierige Scene jedes gespenstischen Reizes zu berauben. Cleander sitzt nicht allein vor dem Feuer — er zecht mit seinem spasshaften Schwiegervater Dorilaus; der Geist führt sich mit einem Trinklied ein, muss sich gegen die profanen Vertraulichkeiten des alten Zechers wehren, und hat schliesslich nicht einmal seine Ermordung zu melden, sondern nur die uninteressante Thatsache, dass er durch ein Versehen des Küsters in ungeweihter Erde begraben worden sei (Act III sc. 5)! Von dem Trinkliede des Geistes, in welchem Weltlust und Grabesleid eindrucksvoll zusammenklingen, abgesehen, lässt uns diese Scene tief in die dem Temperamente Fletcher's inhärente Nüchternheit blicken, welche ihn vollkommen unfähig machte, die Elemente des Übernatürlichen zu beherrschen. [1])

Mit viel besserer Wirkung, weit packender ist die zweite Erscheinung des Geistes in Scene gesetzt (Act IV sc. 2), dem übereinstimmenden Urteile der modernen Kritiker nach aber nicht von Fletcher, sondern von Massinger, und von diesem m. E. nach einem berühmten Muster. Cleander allein, lesend, der Geist, die Verkündung des Todes, der Aufschrei des entsetzten Cleander, der seine Freunde ruft und sie fragt, ob sie nichts gesehen hätten — dass nicht nur der spätere Leser, sondern auch der Verfasser dieser Scene an Cæsar's Geist gedacht hatte, der dem Brutus das nahe Verhängnis verkündet (Act IV sc. 3), scheint mir der Aufbau der Scene zu beweisen.

The Night-Walker: or, The Little Thief. [2]) — Eine tolle Mischung ernster und possenhafter Elemente, voll überflüssiger und zum Teil recht witzloser Intermezzi. Die ernste Handlung knüpft sich an die Person der jungen Maria: mit der Liebe zu Heartlove im Herzen, wird sie von ihrer Mutter

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hebt wirklich sein Schwert gegen Delia; da enthüllt sich ihm der Geist und verschwindet.

[1]) Dyce hingegen (Account p. LXXIX) findet in dieser Scene *something which makes a near approach to the terrible.*

[2]) Cf. Dyce vol. XI p. 119 ff. Entstanden um 1615 (??), *lic. as corrected by Shirley 1633, May 11;* gedruckt 1640. Oliphant (ESt. XV 349 ff.), Fleay (Chron. I 197): *Fletcher and Shirley.*

gezwungen, sich mit dem alten Wucherer und Rechtsverdreher Algripe zu vermählen, bricht jedoch unmittelbar vor der Trauung bewusstlos zusammen und wird für tot gehalten. In der anderen Gruppe dominiert der kleine Dieb, die als Knabe verkleidete Alathe, welche zwei Leitmotive hat: erstens will sie den Hauptdieb, ihren Bruder Lurcher, vor allzu schlimmem Thun bewahren, wobei sie eine ganz sonderbare, ihre moralische Absicht nicht nur dem Bruder, sondern oft auch dem Leser verdeckende Methode befolgt; zweitens will sie sich ihres treulosen Bräutigams bemächtigen, der kein anderer ist als der alte Algripe. Mit diesem anfänglich so verächtlich geschilderten Menschen wird sie schliesslich vereinigt, ein in jeder Hinsicht unbefriedigender Schluss.

Maria, die durch ihren Scheintod einer verhassten Ehe entgeht und schliesslich mit dem geliebten Manne vereinigt wird, hat ein ähnliches Schicksal wie eine Heldin Bandello's, Elena genannt. Heimlich mit Gerardo vermählt, wird Elena von ihrem Vater einem anderen verlobt und stirbt vor Kummer. Gleichzeitig kehrt Gerardo von einer langen Reise zurück, öffnet das kaum geschlossene Grab, und in seinen Armen erwacht die Scheintote zu neuem Leben und Glück (Parte II Nov. 41).[1]) Bandello's Novelle wurde von François de Belleforest ins Französische übersetzt:[2]) die Möglichkeit, dass Fletcher die Erzählung kannte, ist somit eine doppelte. Aber für die zwischen Maria's Scheintode und ihrer Vereinigung mit Heartlove liegenden Ereignisse bot ihm, oder seinem Bearbeiter, die ernste Novelle keine Anhaltungspunkte.

Eine der Klammern, welche die schlecht gebauten Teile

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[1]) Ähnliche Geschichten mit dem Motive der verhassten Heirat verzeichnet Liebrecht in seinem Aufsatze „Die Toten von Lustnau“ (cf. Zur Volkskunde, Heilbronn 1879, p. 60 ff.; Landau „Quellen“ p. 326 f.).

[2]) Cf. Le Quatriesme Tome des Histoires Tragiques . . . A Turin 1571: Hist. 62. In der 6bändigen, 1604 in Rouen gedruckten Ausgabe der HT. ist unsere Novelle die 64. Geschichte des 4. Bändchens (p. 400 ff.): *Un ieune homme ayant secretement espousé vne fille, fait le voyage de Baruth, cependant le pere la marie a vn autre, elle s'esuanouist et est mise en terre pour morte* etc.

des Stückes schlecht zusammenhalten, ist der Raub der scheintoten Maria. Lurcher und sein Page, die verkleidete Alathe, stehlen den Maria enthaltenden Sarg — Lurcher, weil er ihn für eine Silberkiste ansieht, Alathe, weil sie den Bruder durch diese Enttäuschung und den Anblick der Toten einzuschüchtern hofft. Das Motiv des Raubes einer Scheintoten, welche zum Entsetzen der Diebe erwacht, wird wohl manchem Leser ebenso bekannt erscheinen, wie mir; hoffentlich wird sich die mir nicht gegenwärtige Quelle bald bestimmen lassen.[1]) Zu den vielen Geschmacklosigkeiten dieses hastig ergänzten Stückes gehört es, dass die neubelebte Maria in das Kostüm einer Walliserin gesteckt ist und diese lieblichste Gestalt des ganzen Dramas in den drei letzten Akten das lächerlichste Kauderwelsch reden muss.[2])

Bei zweien der possenhaften Intermezzi werden wir an ähnliche Episoden älterer Fletcher-Stücke erinnert. Wildbrain verfolgt im Dunkeln den Kutscher Toby mit Liebesanträgen (Act II sc. 2, p. 151f.), wie Beaufort den in Frauenkleider gesteckten Lakaien des „Noble Gentleman" (Act IV sc. 3, vol. X p. 170); Lurcher und Alathe entwenden dem Leichtfusse Wildbrain und seinen Kumpanen die beim Glockenläuten abgelegten Kleider (Act IV sc. 3f.), wie die Sekundanten den „Little French Lawyer" und seinen Gegner der Kleider beraubt hatten (Act IV sc. 4, vol. III p. 532 ff.) — das Frieren der Bestohlenen ist in beiden Stücken der Hauptspass der Situation.

Love's Pilgrimage.[3]) — Wie längst bekannt, die Dra-

[1]) Gewöhnlich ist es ein räuberischer Totengräber, welcher der Scheintoten zu neuem Leben verhilft (vgl. Liebrecht l. c. p. 60). Vielleicht ist die Variation unseres Dramas eine Erfindung Fletcher's oder seines Bearbeiters.

[2]) Ward II 226: [*Maria's*] *disguise as a Welsh serving-girl recalls that of Luce as a ‚Dutch frow' in the ‚London Prodigal'.* Luce's kurze Verkleidung ist aber viel besser motiviert und wirkt nicht störend.

[3]) Cf. Dyce vol. XI p. 215 ff. Entstanden 1612 (??), *renewed* 1635; gedruckt 1647. Oliphant (ESt. XV 346 ff.): *The play is Fletcher's and Beaumont's, altered by Massinger and Jonson;* Fleay (Chron. I 193 f.): *Fletcher altered by Jonson and perhaps Webster.*

matisierung einer der „Novelas Exemplares“ des Cervantes, betitelt: *Las dos Donzellas.*[1]) Manchmal hat sich der Dramaturg so eng an den Text der Vorlage angeschlossen, dass beim Lesen, ohne die erklärenden Bewegungen der Schauspieler, die Kenntnis der Quelle dem Verständnis förderlich ist.[2]) Die Handlung zeigt im Drama wenig neue Elemente, freier sind die Charaktere behandelt. Die drei Väter, in der Quelle ohne Individualität, sind in wirksame Bühnenfiguren verwandelt; die Gestalt der Theodosia ist dadurch gehoben, dass sie der Dramatiker höchst nachdrücklich ihre *chastity* beteuern lässt (Act I sc. 2) — eine Beteuerung, zu der sie in der Novelle nicht mehr berechtigt war; der Verführer Marc-Antonio hingegen hat den chevalerésken Anstrich der Erzählung gänzlich verloren, erscheint als ein brutaler Wüstling, der noch eine dritte Frau, die Gattin seines edlen Gastfreundes, versucht, und den schliesslich nur die Todesangst — es wird ihm vorgespiegelt, seine unbedeutende Wunde sei lebensgefährlich — reuig stimmt. Possenreisserei zur Unzeit, ein ganz burlesker Schluss verdirbt auch die Wirkung der pathetischen Scene des letzten Aktes, in welcher sich Philippo und die verlassene Leocadia finden.

Für die realistischen Wirtshausscenen des ersten Aktes sind starke Anleihen bei Ben Jonson's auf der Bühne verunglücktem Schauspiele „The New Inn“ gemacht; vielleicht hat Ben Jonson selbst diese Einschaltungen vorgenommen.[3])

The two Noble Kinsmen. — Im Gegensatz zu der noch nicht endgiltig beantworteten Verfasser-Frage bietet die Bestimmung der Quelle bei diesem Drama[4]) nicht die mindeste

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[1]) Cf. Langbaine p. 211.

[2]) Theodosia's Frage: *Why were these holes left open?* (Act III sc. 2, p. 272) z. B. wird dem Leser erst durch *las ventanas de vuestras orejas* des Originals erklärt.

[3]) Cf. Dyce XI pp. 226 f., 238 f.; Gifford's Jonson vol. V pp. 360. 379.

[4]) Cf. Dyce XI p. 325 ff. Lic. 1634, April 3: gedruckt 1634. Oliphant (ESt. XV 323 ff.): *Originally by Fletcher and Shakespeare (c. 1612—13), altered after Fletcher's death by Massinger;* Fleay (Chron. I 191): *Fletcher and Beaumont wrote the play c. 1611; before Fl.'s death it was revised slightly.*

Schwierigkeit. Schon im Prologe des ersten Druckes von 1634 ist Chaucer als Gewährsmann genannt und gepriesen, und das Drama ist seiner berühmten Quelle, der Chaucer'schen *Knightes Tale*, nicht unwürdig.[1]) Ebenso lebensvoll, wie die epischen, sind die dramatischen Vettern; manchmal, besonders in den Waldscenen vor ihrem Zweikampf (Act III sc. 1, 3 und 6), ist die Mischung von Freundschaft und Eifersucht eine noch kunstvollere, der Konflikt mit noch grösserer psychologischer Feinheit und Wahrheit zur Geltung gebracht als in dem naiveren Epos. Viel plastischer tritt uns aus dem Drama die liebliche Emilia entgegen, die bei Chaucer eine sehr passive Rolle hat.

Neben Chaucer ist als Hauptgewährsmann kein Geringerer als Shakespeare zu nennen: von ihm sind auch Charaktere und Situationen geborgt, aber diese Imitationen verdienen kein Lob, in einem Falle sogar den schärfsten Tadel. Eine empörende Profanation des Ophelia-Typus ist die Gestalt der Tochter des Kerkermeisters. Ophelia singt im Wahnsinn verliebte lose Lieder — wie plump ist dieser psychologische Meisterzug nachgeäfft von dem Plagiator, der für sein verrücktes Mädchen gar nicht genug Zoten finden kann! Weit weniger anstössig, aber doch ohne jeden neuen Reiz sind die Entlehnungen aus „Love's Labour's Lost", dessen Holofernes der Vorfahr des Dorfschulmeisters Gerrold ist, und aus „Midsummer-Night's Dream", dessen schauspielernde Handwerker in unserem Drama von den vor Theseus tanzenden Bauern vertreten sind.[2]) Die Scene, in welcher der Kerkermeister und der Doktor nebst dem Freier versteckt das wahnsinnige Mädchen beobachten (Act IV sc. 3), steht vollkommen unter dem Einfluss der Macbeth-Scene, welche uns die von Doktor und Kammerfrau beobachtete, nachtwandelnde Lady zeigt (Act V sc. 1). Zuerst ein Gespräch der Beobachter —

[1]) Harold Littledale hat sich in dem Ergänzungsbande seiner Ausgabe des Dramas, *Part II: General Introduction and List of Words* (New Shakespeare Soc., London 1885), § 1—8 etwas eingehender mit der Quellenfrage beschäftigt und eine Beeinflussung durch ältere Dramatisierungen desselben Stoffes mit Recht in Abrede gestellt.

[2]) Cf. Ward I 467.

dann Erscheinung und Reden der Kranken mit Zwischenbemerkungen der Beobachter — Schluss: Gespräch der Beobachter: die Anordnung ist in beiden Scenen dieselbe.[1])

In der schwierigen Verfasser-Frage, bei welcher, da es sich um Shakespeare handelt, doch Farbe zu bekennen ist, geht meine Ansicht dahin, dass an ein gemeinschaftliches Arbeiten Shakespeare's und Fletcher's unter keiner Bedingung zu denken ist. Finden sich wirklich echte Shakespeare-Stücke in dem Drama, was ich nicht zu bestreiten wage, so kann ich mir ihre Existenz nur mit der Annahme erklären, dass Fletcher als berühmtester Dramaturg seiner Zeit ein Shakespeare'sches Fragment in die Hände bekommen und auf seine Weise ergänzt hat. Dass der uns überlieferte Text Shakespeare's Sanktion nie erhalten haben würde, ist mir bei den „Two Noble Kinsmen" ebenso unzweifelhaft, wie beim „Pericles".

Die erzählende Prosa der Spanier und Italiener hat der englischen Dramatiker-Gruppe, deren Werke unter der Flagge Beaumont und Fletcher segeln und als deren Hauptvertreter uns Fletcher zu gelten hat, die Mehrzahl der Stoffe geliefert, welche bis jetzt auf ihre Quellen zurückgeführt worden sind. Unter den spanischen Gewährsmännern dominiert Cervantes, dessen Schriften Fletcher wohl im Urtext lesen konnte; immerhin ist es beachtenswert, dass sich bei der Besprechung des Dramas „The Island Princess" das Vorhandensein der ersten französischen Übersetzung der „Novelas Exemplares" in Fletcher's Bücherei mit vollkommener Sicherheit feststellen liess (vergl. oben p. 99 f). Höchst wahrscheinlich kam Fletcher in den französischen Übersetzungen schneller vorwärts, als in den spanischen Texten, und bei der geradezu fieberhaften Hast, welche Fletcher's Produktion kennzeichnet, dürfen wir gewiss annehmen, dass er zumeist den kürzeren Weg gewählt hat.

Dieser Beobachtung entsprechend bemerken wir bei der Betrachtung der von Fletcher benützten italienischen No-

[1]) Cf. Littledale, l. c. § 62.

vellen ein Vorherrschen der von Painter ins Englische übertragenen Geschichten. Damit will ich keineswegs behaupten, dass Fletcher der italienischen Sprache unkundig war, es kommt mir nur darauf an, zu betonen, dass sich Fletcher bei der Wahl seiner Stoffe oft von dem „Palace of Pleasure" bestimmen liess, mit Vorliebe aus der ihm am leichtesten zugänglichen Quelle schöpfte.

Zu diesen unmittelbaren oder mittelbaren spanischen und italienischen Einflüssen kommt als dritter die Dichtung der Dramatiker bestimmender Faktor die mächtige vorbildliche Wirkung Shakespeare's. Bewusst oder unbewusst, willig oder widerwillig werden die jüngeren Dramatiker immer wieder in den Zauberkreis ihres grossen Vorgängers gezogen, lenken sie bei bestimmten Situationen immer wieder unwillkürlich in die von der Meisterhand vorgezeichnete Bahn ein. In meiner Darstellung sind nur die bereits von anderen und die von mir neu ermittelten Situationsähnlichkeiten berücksichtigt, und nebenbei eine grosse Anzahl von noch nicht bemerkten Wort- und Gedanken-Reminiscenzen verzeichnet worden; es besteht die Hoffnung, dass bald eine Zusammenfassung aller Shakespeare-Anklänge, einschliesslich des in den Ausgaben, Shakespeare-*Allusion-Books* und anderen Ortes verstreuten Materials, erscheinen wird. Dann wird sich noch klarer erkennen lassen, dass Shakespeare für die jüngeren Dramatiker das war, was Richard Wagner für die modernen Musiker ist — ein leuchtendes Vorbild und eine Gefahr.

Für die Chronologie der Dramen hat mir mein Quellenstudium keine neuen Gesichtspunkte gegeben. Auch für die tausend Schwierigkeiten in sich bergende Verfasserfrage kann ich nichts Förderndes beibringen.

Bei der Vergleichung der Fletcher'schen Dramen mit den Quellenschriften hat man gewiss oft Anlass, in Wahl und Ausbau die geschickte Hand des Dramaturgen zu bewundern, die Sicherheit der Technik zu loben. Nicht minder häufig aber wird man sich durch die sittliche Unsicherheit und Verschrobenheit des Dramatikers zu lebhaftem Proteste angeregt fühlen. Allzu oft bringt es Fletcher zuwege, äusser-

lich anständiger und innerlich viel unsittlicher zu sein als sein Gewährsmann. Irgend eine in der Quelle mit kurzen und nackten Worten gemeldete Immoralität oder Brutalität wird von ihm abgeschwächt, es kommt in seinen Dramen nicht wirklich zur Notzucht, zum Akte des Ehebruches, aber die vorausgehenden Situationen sind mit einem so empörenden Verweilen bei den schlüpfrigsten Einzelheiten, mit einer so krankhaften Lüsternheit geschildert, dass sie tausendmal anstössiger und gefährlicher wirken, als die rohe Thatsache der Quelle. Und die Frauen, welche Fletcher's Hand am Rande des Abgrundes festhält, hat er vorher mit so viel Schmutz beworfen, dass sie unsere Augen noch mehr beleidigen, als die Opfer der Novellen, deren schweres Schicksal unser Mitleid weckt. Unsere Achtung vor dem Menschen Fletcher kann durch die vergleichende Prüfung seiner Quellen nicht erhöht werden: wir erhalten bei dieser lockenden Beschäftigung allzu viel Beweise seiner Schwäche dem Publikum gegenüber, allzu tief lässt sie uns in den schwersten Schaden seiner Seele blicken — in seine Unfähigkeit, an weibliche Reinheit zu glauben, und ihr eine würdige und zugleich menschlich wahre Verkörperung zu geben.

Anhang.

1) Thomas Heywood und Painter's „Palace of Pleasure."

The Royal King and the Loyal Subject.[1]) — Zwei Handlungen: in der Haupthandlung wetteifert ein namenloser König von England mit seinem Lord Marshal in Grossmütigkeit; ein Wettkampf, der für den loyalen Unterthanen nicht ohne Gefahren ist, ihn schliesslich aber neben den Thron des Königs stellt. Der Marschall ist, sozusagen, der angreifende Teil, indem er auf seine eignen Kosten dem König jede Unannehmlichkeit zu ersparen versucht. Beim Schachspiel verliert er freiwillig; im Tournier lässt er sich von dem Sohne des Königs besiegen, um das Herz des Vaters zu erfreuen; wie des Königs Pferd auf der Jagd seine Hufeisen verliert, heisst der Marschall schnell seinem eigenen Pferde die Eisen abnehmen, damit das Lieblingspferd seines Herrn beschlagen werden kann, doch wird seine Höflichkeit in diesem Falle übertrumpft von dem König, der ihm das geschonte Pferd schenkt. Der König verliert die Geduld, entsetzt den allzu verbindlichen Marschall seiner Würden, verbannt ihn und lässt dem Verbannten nach einiger Zeit befehlen, seine schönste Tochter an das Hoflager des Königs

[1]) Cf. Collier's Ausgabe vol. II p. 1 ff.; Fleay (Chron. I p. 300): *It was, I feel sure, the „Marshal Oscric" of 1602. Sept., by Heywood and Went. Smith, rewritten in consequence of the revival of Fletcher's „Loyal Subject", 1633, Nov.*

zu senden. Nach vielen Schwankungen wiegt die unerschütterliche Ergebenheit des Unterthanen den Zorn des Fürsten auf, und alle Differenzen lösen sich: der König und sein Sohn heiraten die beiden Töchter des Lord Marshal, während dieser selbst des Königs Tochter zur Gattin erhält. Dieser Teil der Handlung, dessen Quelle bis jetzt noch nicht bestimmt worden ist, und in welchem man eine „spezifisch englische oder national germanische" Ausführung des Vorwurfes der Vasallentreue erkennen wollte,[1]) ist in allen Einzelheiten einer italienischen Novelle entlehnt, in welcher der Perserkönig Artaxerxes und sein *seneschalco* Ariabarzane die Hauptgestalten sind. Aus Bandello (I 2) ist die Novelle in Painter's „Palace of Pleasure" (II 4) übergegangen und der Wortlaut der englischen Übersetzung lässt sich manchmal in Heywood's Versen wiedererkennen, so besonders in der Erzählung von dem Falken, welcher einen Adler, den König der Vögel, tötete und deshalb von seinem Herrn, einem persischen König, zuerst gekrönt, dann aber als Verräter enthauptet wurde.[2]) Die wesentlichste Änderung des Dramatikers ist, dass er die dem Marschall feindlichen Höflinge mehr in den Vordergrund geschoben hat; die einzelnen Episoden des Edelmutswettstreites entsprechen sich auf das vollkommenste.

Die unbedeutende Nebenhandlung beruht auf einem beliebten Schauspiel-Motiv: Sichtung der wahren und falschen

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[1]) Cf. Rapp p. 49.

[2]) Painter (cf. Jacobs' Reprint vol. II p. 198) erzählt: *Within a while they sprang a Hearon, and the Kynge commaunded that one of the faulcons which was a notable swift and soaring Hauke, should be cast of to the Hearon . . . As the Hauke . . . was about to seaze vpon the hearon, he espied an Egle: the stoute Hauke seeing the Egle . . . fiercelg attempted to seaze vpon her . . . In the ende the good Hauke . . . agayne seazed vpon the Egle's neck, and wyth her beake strake her starke dead* etc. etc. Heywood's metrische Version lautet: *The great Sophy, once | Flying a noble falcon at the heron, | In comes by chance an eagle sousing by, | Which when the hawk espies, leaves her first game, | And boldly ventures on the king of birds. — Long tugg'd they in the air, till at the length | The falcon better breath'd, seiz'd on the eagle, | And struck it dead . . .* (Act V sc. 5, p. 81).

Freunde durch vorgespiegelte Armut. Die Liebe der Lady Mary Audley bewährt sich; glücklich führt Captain Bonville die treue Braut heim. Die Moral und Unmoral dieses Zwischenspiels sind in gleich aufdringlicher Weise zur Geltung gebracht.

A Woman killed with Kindness.[1]) — Zwei vollkommen getrennte Handlungen: eine Tragödie und ein Schauspiel. Eine Ehebruchs-Tragödie, die sich im Gegensatz zu zahllosen ähnlichen Konflikten unblutig löst. Weder die sündige Frau noch ihr Buhle werden von der Rache des gekränkten Gatten tödlich getroffen: Mrs. Frankford wird auf ein Landgut verbannt, wo sie sich in Reue und Sehnsucht verzehrt, den Verführer Wendoll lässt der Gatte ungestraft entfliehen. Als Entdecker des sträflichen Verhältnisses erscheint ein dem betrogenen Ehemann treu ergebener Diener, Namens Nicholas. — Im Schauspiel stehen sich zwei junge Edelleute feindlich gegenüber. Der eine verarmt, wird ins Schuldgefängnis geworfen, jedoch bald wieder befreit, weil sein Feind den Gläubiger befriedigt hat, aus Liebe zu der schönen Schwester des Verarmten. Diesem bleibt nur ein Mittel, dem Feinde Grossmut mit Grossmut zu vergelten, er selbst führt seine Schwester ihrem Verehrer zu. Aber der Befreier bekundet abermals seine vornehme Gesinnung, nicht als Geliebte, sondern als seine Gattin nimmt er das schöne Mädchen auf.

Die Quelle der Tragödie ist noch nicht gefunden, die des Schauspiels wohl noch nicht ganz richtig bestimmt worden. Ich

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[1]) Cf. Collier vol. II p. 93 ff. Aufgeführt 1603; gedruckt 1607. Das älteste Beispiel, welches Ward II 114 für die Redensart des Titels citiert, entstammt Shakespeare's „Taming of the Shrew". Wesentlich früher ist mir diese Redensart in einem Sh. wohlbekannten Werke begegnet, in dem 1582 gedruckten „Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses" des George Whetstone (cf. Studien p. 33 ff.), wo Sh. den Rohstoff für „Measure for Measure" gefunden hatte. Bei einem Disput über die Nachteile einer grossen Altersverschiedenheit der Ehegatten, am 6. Tage, bemerkt Soranso, dass eine reiche alte Witwe doch nicht so übel wäre, er würde sie gut behandeln bis ans Grab: *You will kill her with kindnesse* (*quoth Maria Belochye*). *Yea, Madam,* (*q. Soranso*) *if her nature be so froward, as to die with good usage.*

bezweifle nicht, dass Heywood den Stoff beider Handlungen demselben Werke entlehnte, welches ihm die Haupintrige seines Dramas „The Royal King and the Loyal Subject" geliefert hatte (cf. p. 134): dem Painter'schen „Palace of Pleasure". In der achtundfünfzigsten Novelle des ersten Bandes, überschrieben: *A President of Grenoble aduertised of the ill gouvernement of his wife, took such order, that his honestie was not diminished, and yet reuenged the fact,* [1]) ist erzählt, dass die Gattin dieses alternden Präsidenten ein Liebesverhältnis mit einem jüngeren Manne anknüpfte, dass ein dem Präsidenten treu ergebener Diener ihre Sünde entdeckte und seinem Herrn verriet, dass der betrogene Gatte das Liebespaar in flagranti überraschte, aber gleichwohl, um jeden öffentlichen Skandal zu vermeiden, den Buhlen ungestraft entrinnen liess und auch das Weib zunächst schonte. So weit stimmen Novelle und Drama in ihrer Handlung vollkommen überein, und es ist ausserdem bemerkenswert, dass Heywood den Namen des Geliebten der Präsidentenfrau, Nicholas, dem treuen Diener des Mr. Frankford beigelegt hat. Die der Novelle eigentümlichen Elemente sind, dass der Präsident die Ehre seiner Gattin auch dem Diener gegenüber zu retten weiss, und dass er die schuldige Frau späterhin vergiftet. Der ergreifende Schluss des Dramas, das sühnende Leiden und Sterben der Sünderin und die schliessliche Versöhnung der Gatten, sind somit Heywood's Schöpfung und für uns ein Beweis der Weichheit und Tiefe seiner Begabung, die sich leider in überhasteter Produktion erschöpfte.

Die Novelle, auf welcher die Handlung des Nebenspieles beruht, steht im zweiten Bande des „Palace of Pleasure" an

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[1]) Cf. Jacobs vol. II p. 101 ff. Painter hat diese Novelle dem Heptameron (IV 6) der Marguerite de Valois entlehnt. Zu den bei Jacobs vol. I p. LXXIX (wo für Bandello I 35 zu setzen ist: I 11), bei Dunlop-Liebrecht p. 299 und in Landau's „Beiträgen" p. 86 verzeichneten ähnlichen Geschichten verweise ich noch auf „Les Nouvelles Recreations et Joyeux Devis de feu Bonaventure Des Periers . . . . A Lyon, Par Guillaume Rouille MDLXI", p. 233: *De l'inuention d'vn mary, pour se venger de sa femme.* Des Periers erzählt die schliessliche Rache des Gatten genau nach Giraldi Cinthio's Bericht (Hecat. III 6

dreissigster Stelle, überschrieben: *A Gentleman of Siena, called Anselmo Salimbene, curteously and gently deliuereth his enemy from death. The condemned party seeing the kinde parte of Salimbene, rendreth into his hands his sister Angelica, with whom he was in loue, which gratitude and curtesie, Salimbene well markinge, moued in Conscience, woulde not abuse hir, but for recompence tooke hir to his wyfe.*[1]) Diese langatmige Überschrift zeigt uns genügend, wie vollkommen Novelle und Drama in ihren Hauptmotiven übereinstimmen. Painter hat die Novelle aus Belleforest übersetzt,[2]) welcher nach Bandello I 49 gearbeitet hat. Bandello's Vorlage hinwieder war die 1511 veröffentlichte Novella des Bernardo Ilicini von Siena,[3]) welcher die ausführlichste Fassung dieser vermutlich eine Thatsache verherrlichenden Geschichte niedergeschrieben hatte.[4])

2) Cyril Tourneur's Tragödien.

The Atheist's Tragedy: or, The Honest Man's Revenge. — Von den zwei mit ungeheueren Lastern beschwerten Hauptgestalten dieses Dramas[5]) ist der Mann, der Mörder und Atheist D'Amville, möglicherweise ein von Tourneur selbstgeschaffener Charakter, der eine grosse innere Verwandtschaft mit Marlowe's himmelstürmenden Verbrechern besitzt; das Weib hingegen, die dirnenhafte Levidulcia, ist nicht ohne

[1]) Cf. Jacobs vol. III p. 288 ff.

[2]) Über eine andere elisabethanische Version dieser Novelle cf. Studien p. 14.

[3]) Cf. Raccolta de' Novellieri Italiani vol. XV (Milano 1815) p. 3 ff. Diese Novelle des Ilicini wurde von John Addington Symonds „Shakspere's Predecessors in the English Drama" (London 1884) p. 462 als Heywood's Quelle bezeichnet, eine Angabe, welche Symonds wiederholt hat in seinem sehr wenig Neues bietenden Aufsatze: *On the Relation of Painter's „Palace of Pleasure" to the English Romantic Drama,* Fortnightly Review 1891, vol. LVI p. 242. Er hat damit den Ursprung der Geschichte vollkommen richtig bestimmt; die Painter'sche Version, Heywood's unmittelbare Vorlage, ist ihm entgangen.

[4]) Cf. Landau „Beiträge" p. 59 f.

[5]) Gedruckt 1611; Fleay (Chron. II 263) will die ersten Aufführungen in das Jahr 1603 setzen, sehr fraglich.

Grund als eine Nachahmung von Marston's „Insatiate Countess" bezeichnet worden [1]): das ausschweifende Leben, die schliessliche Reue und das tragische Ende (Hinrichtung bei Marston, Selbstmord bei Tourneur, Act IV sc. 5) hat Levidulcia mit der Gräfin Isabella gemein. Aber die mit Schelmen und Kupplern vertraute Levidulcia ist noch widerlicher, und während die masslose Leidenschaft der Gräfin sie von Anfang an zu einer tragischen Gestalt stempelt, besteht jene gewandt verliebte Abenteuer komischer Färbung, die ihrem Selbstmord jede innere Wahrscheinlichkeit rauben. Eine Frau, die ihrem Gatten die Anwesenheit von zwei Liebhabern mit durchtriebener Schlauheit harmlos zu deuten weiss (Act II sc. 5), verdient kein tragisches Ende. Wie längst festgestellt, hat Tourneur die Finte, zwei Liebhaber als Verfolgten und Verfolger zu erklären, dem „Decameron" (VII 6) [2]) oder einer der älteren englischen Versionen der Novelle Boccaccio's [3]) entlehnt.

The Revenger's Tragedy. — Auch für dieses Werk Tourneur's [4]) ist noch keine Quelle der verwickelungsreichen Handlung nachgewiesen worden. Wahrscheinlich ist an eine einheitliche Quelle überhaupt nicht zu denken, die Tragödie

[1]) Cf. Collins' Ausgabe vol. 1 pp. XXXVI f. und 165. Fleay (Chron. II 81) gibt für Marston's Drama vermutungsweise das Jahr 1604 an, doch halte auch ich die umgekehrte Reihenfolge für die wahrscheinlichere.

[2]) Cf. Langbaine p. 505. Nicht die ganze Tragödie, wie Fleay's Notiz l. c. p. 263: *founded on Boccaccio's Dec. VII 6* vermuten lässt, sondern nur diese einzige Scene beruht auf Boccaccio; für die hochtragische Haupthandlung ist keine Quelle bekannt. Der heuchlerische Puritaner Snuffe verkleidet sich als Geist, um sich ungestört und ungestraft mit seiner Geliebten vergnügen zu können (Act IV sc. 3; p. 109), wozu der Herausgeber bemerkt: *Tourneur was probably indebted for this particular kind of humour to ‚Merrie Boccace'* (p. 164). Er wird dabei vermutlich an den als Erzengel maskierten Frate Alberto gedacht haben (Dec. IV 2), dessen erotische Abenteuer in England sehr bekannt waren (vgl. Studien p. 82); aber die Ähnlichkeit ist eine ganz flüchtige, von einer Täuschung des Weibes ist im Drama nicht die Rede.

[3]) Cf. Studien p. 83.

[4]) Cf. Collins vol. II p. 1 ff. Gedruckt 1608.

berührt mich wie die Arbeit eines begabten jungen Dramatikers, dessen Seele so voll von den Eindrücken der grossen elisabethanischen Tragödien war, dass er sie in seinen Selbstbethätigungen unwillkürlich reproduzierte. Motive der älteren Blut- und Rache-Tragödien sind mit neuen Gräueln zu einem schrecklichen Ganzen verbunden, in welchem die Grenzen des Lächerlichen nicht immer glücklich vermieden sind. Die Dichterstimme besitzt erschütternde Accente, aber unkünstlerisch forciert, schlägt sie oft gerade bei der Bildung des entscheidenden Schlusstones hässlich um. Der kraftvolle Monolog, in welchem sich der Bastard Spurio zur schwersten Sünde gegen seinen Vater anspornt, schliesst mit einer abgedroschenen Zote (Act I sc. 2, p. 23); die Klage des Gatten um sein entehrtes, freiwillig gestorbenes Weib schliesst mit einem faden Witz auf Kosten der Frauen im allgemeinen (Act I sc. 4, p. 38); Vindice, der listige Rächer, liefert sich im letzten Akt durch eine dumme Prahlhanserei selbst dem Henker aus (p. 148).

In der ersten Scene des Dramas erscheint Vindice, dessen Gestalt das ganze Stück beherrscht, mit dem Schädel seiner von dem Herzog vergifteten Braut Gloriana, Rache schwörend — eine Introduktion, welche allerdings stark an den Anfang von Chettle's Rache-Tragödie „Hoffman; or, the Revenge for a Father" erinnert.[1]) Clois Hoffman und Vindice sind auf einen Ton gestimmt, mit rücksichtsloser, vor keiner Blutthat zurückscheuender Energie streben sie nach dem Ziel ihrer Rache. Und die beiden Rächer haben ausserdem auch noch die Ähnlichkeit, dass sie, scheinbar im schroffen Gegensatz zu dem Zauderer Hamlet stehend, doch nur Spiegelungen des Dänenprinzen sind: Shakespeare's Einfluss kommt bei Tourneur ebenso stark zur Geltung wie bei Chettle. Häufig werden wir in Gedanken und in Worten an Hamlet, durch die Episode des jüngeren Sohnes der Herzogin an „Measure for Measure" erinnert,[2]) und der Bastard Spurio, welcher

[1]) Cf. Collins, l. c. p. 151.

[2]) Cf. ib. vol. I p. XLI: *The younger brother . . . is a close copy of Claudio in „M. for M."* Diese Behauptung geht zu weit.

seinen Vater, den Herzog, und seinen legitimen Bruder hasst und mit der Herzogin buhlt, verdankt m. E. seine Existenz dem Bastard Edmund im „King Lear." Bei Vindice's grotesk-grausigem Manöver mit dem Totenkopf seiner Braut, den er mit Gift bestreicht, damit sich der alte Herzog an ihm zu Tode küsse (Act III sc. 5. p. 82 ff.), fallen uns die vorsorglich vergifteten Lippen der sterbenden Perseda ein, von welchen sich Soliman den Tod küsst, in Kyd's „Soliman and Perseda" (Act V). Der tote Herzog wird von seinen Mördern Vindice und Hippolito wie lebend aufgestellt und nochmals erstochen (Act V sc. 1. p. 129 ff.), eine Geschmacklosigkeit, welche gegenüber der Verwendung des erwürgten Mönches in Marlowe's „Jew of Malta" (Act IV) durch seine Mörder Barabas und Ithimore noch eine Steigerung aufweist.

Der allen Lockungen des Prinzen Lussurioso widerstehenden Schwester des Rächers, der keuschen Castiza, ist eine habgierige und kupplerische Mutter an die Seite gestellt, die sich bemüht, ihre Tochter den Wünschen des Versuchers willfährig zu machen. Dasselbe Verhältnis von Mutter, Tochter und vornehmem Werber finden wir in einer Novelle des Giraldi Cinthio, Hecatommithi Deca IV Nov. 3, nur handelt Lucilla's Mutter, trotz aller Beschönigungsversuche des rührseligen Erzählers, noch weit schändlicher, weil sie ihre Tochter schlafend dem Herzog preisgibt. Im weiteren Verlauf hat diese Episode des Dramas mit der Novelle noch den Sieg der Tugend gemein, alle Nebenumstände sind verschieden. Tourneur konnte die italienische Novelle auch in einer englischen Übersetzung gelesen haben, sie steht in *Riche his Farewell to Militarie profession* vom Jahre 1581 als dritte Erzählung. [1])

[1]) Näheres über diese kleine Novellen-Sammlung, auf welche wir beim Quellen-Studium wiederholt zurückgeführt werden, in Studien p. 48 ff.

3) Philip Massinger und Painter's „Palace of Pleasure".

The Maid of Honour.[1]) — Bertoldo, der natürliche Bruder des Königs Roberto von Sizilien, ist im Kriege von den Soldaten der Herzogin von Sienna gefangen genommen worden, und sieht sich, da sein königlicher Bruder ihn nicht loskaufen will, von lebenslänglicher Haft bedroht. Da tritt eine von ihm geliebte und ihn liebende Jungfrau, die schöne und sittenstrenge Camiola, für ihn ein, sie bezahlt das geforderte, ungeheure Lösegeld, unter der Bedingung, dass er sie eheliche. Mit tausend Freuden willigt Bertoldo ein, aber schon wenige Stunden nach seiner Befreiung wird er von einer unerwarteten Gunst des Schicksals, von der plötzlichen Liebe der Herzogin Aurelia von Sienna, die sich ihm geradezu an den Hals wirft, so geblendet, dass er Ehre und Liebe vergisst und sich der Herzogin verlobt. Unmittelbar vor der Trauung verkündet Camiola seinen Treubruch, der König und die Herzogin erkennen ihre Rechte an, Bertoldo selbst liegt in Reue und neu erwachter Liebe zu ihren Füssen — aber die Jungfrau kann seine Falschheit nicht vergessen, sie versagt sich ihm und entsagt der Welt. Sie nimmt den Schleier.

Die bis jetzt noch nicht bestimmte Quelle fliesst in der Nähe, an oft besuchter Stelle: Massinger hat eine Novelle Painter's dramatisiert, die zweiunddreissigste Novelle des zweiten Bandes, überschrieben: *A Gentlewoman and Wydow called Camiola of hir owne minde Raunsomed Roland the Kyng's Sonne of Sicilia, of purpose to haue him to hir Husband, who when he was redeemed vnkindly denied hir, againſt whom very Eloquently, she Inueyed, and although the Law proued him to be hir Husband, yet for his vnkindness, shee vtterly refused him.*[2]) Mas-

[1]) Cf. Gifford vol. III p. 1 ff. Nach Fleay (Chron. I 213): *Probably written before 1622;* gedruckt 1632.

[2]) Cf. Jacobs vol. III p. 354 ff. Als vermutlichen Gewährsmann Painter's habe ich in den ‚Studien' p. 9 Baptista Campofulgosus bezeichnet, mit der Bemerkung, dass Painter noch eine andere Quelle benützt haben müsse. Inzwischen ist Painter's einzige Quelle richtig bestimmt worden von Marcus Landau in seiner Besprechung der ‚Studien', Koch's Zeitschrift vol. VI n. F. p. 414. Painter bietet eine

singer's wesentlichste Änderungen betreffs der beiden Hauptpersonen sind, dass Camiola bei ihm Jungfrau, nicht Witwe ist, dass sich das Paar schon vor Bertoldo's Missgeschick liebte, und die überraschende Schlusswendung. Leider hat der Dramatiker versäumt, eine vollkommene Harmonie zwischen seinen Änderungen und dem ihm überlieferten Stoffe herzustellen. In der ersten, von ihm frei entworfenen Scene der Liebenden dringt Bertoldo auf Verheiratung, während Camiola's Frömmigkeit die Lösung seines Gelübdes als Malteser Ritter scheut (Act I sc. 2, p. 22 ff.) — nichtsdestoweniger lässt Massinger später Camiola durch ihren Zwischenhändler Adorni den Ehekontrakt ausdrücklichst stipulieren (Act III sc. 3, p. 69; IV 3 p. 76; V 1 p. 95), weil die Witwe in der Novelle, die vorher keine Beziehungen zu Roland gehabt hatte, die Ehe fordern, als eine *conditio sine qua non* kontraktlich feststellen lässt. Von diesem die Vornehmheit ihres Wesens schädigenden Fehler des Dichters abgesehen.[1]) ist Massinger's Camiola eine edle, fesselnde Erscheinung.

Die wichtigste der von Massinger neu geschaffenen Gestalten ist die Herzogin Aurelia von Sienna, ihre plötzliche Gunst erklärt Bertoldo's Undankbarkeit, welche in der Novelle nicht motiviert ist. Die Art und Weise, wie Massinger diese Herzogin Aurelia in die Handlung eingreifen lässt, erinnert höchst auffällig an die Rolle der gleichnamigen Schwester des römischen Kaisers Carinus in dem Drama „The Prophetess", der herrschenden Ansicht nach von Fletcher und Massinger verfasst.[2]) Wie Bertoldo an Camiola, ist auch Diocles durch ein Eheversprechen an Drusilla, die Nichte seiner Wohlthäterin Delphia, gebunden,[3]) und erweist sich ebenso pflichtvergessen, wie sich ihm die Prinzessin Aurelia

genaue Übersetzung von Boccaccio's Bericht in seinem Kompendium „De Mulieribus Claris": *De Camiola Vidua* Cap. CIII (Bernae MDXXXIX).

[1]) Mit richtigem Gefühl hat Gifford l. c. p. 109 diesen Ehekontrakt beanstandet. Die Quelle erklärt ihn, ohne ihn zu entschuldigen. Immer wieder müssen wir bei Shakespeare's Nachfolgern die Hast der Produktion beklagen.

[2]) Cf. oben p. 104 ff.

[3]) Act I sc. 3: cf. Dyce vol. VIII p. 224.

als Gattin anträgt,[1]) was ebenso plötzlich geschieht, wie von seiten der Herzogin Aurelia. Ausserdem ist die ganze Scene, in welcher die Herzogin um Bertoldo wirbt (Act IV sc. 4, p. 80 ff.), nach demselben Muster gebaut, wie die Scene, in der Delphia's Zauber bewirkt, dass sich die Kaiserschwester dem Maximinian in die Arme wirft[2]): der plötzliche Liebeswahnsinn des Weibes, die leidenschaftliche Schilderung der Reize des Geliebten, das Erstaunen des umworbenen Mannes, die Verblüffung und Empörung der Augenzeugen finden wir übereinstimmend in beiden Scenen. Wahrscheinlich sind auch die Aurelia-Episoden der „Prophetess" von Massinger entworfen,[3]) und er, zu dessen auffälligsten Eigentümlichkeiten die Neigung, sich selbst zu wiederholen, gehört,[4]) trug kein Bedenken, den groben, aber bühnenwirksamen Knalleffekt dieser blitzähnlichen Liebe zweimal zu verwerten.

Unter den sich um Camiola's Gunst bewerbenden Männern befindet sich Signior Sylli, die harmlose komische Figur des Dramas, in welcher Posse und Zote auf das damals mögliche Mindestmass beschränkt sind. Durch seinen Etiketten-Namen und seine Thorheiten erinnert uns Signior Sylli an einen der bekanntesten und belachtesten Vertreter seiner Spezies, an den Sir Amorous La-Foole in Ben Jonson's „Epicoene".[5])

[1]) Act II sc. 3; cf. ib. p. 238 f.

[2]) Act III sc. 3; cf. ib. p. 252 ff.

[3]) Die englischen Kritiker lassen den dritten Akt von Fletcher ausgeführt sein.

[4]) Boyle gab ESt. IX 211 ff. eine interessante Liste von *Parallel Passages from Massinger's Plays*, und prüfte ib. X 383 ff. auch die Stücke, an welchen Massinger mitgearbeitet haben soll, auf phraseologische Wiederholungen: p. 402 ist eine derartige Übereinstimmung in ‚Prophetess' und ‚Maid of Honour' verzeichnet.

[5]) In einem anderen Freier der Camiola, in Fulgentio, dem lasterhaften Günstling des Königs, will Fleay (Chron. I 214) den von den zwei ersten Stuarts begünstigten Duke of Buckingham erkennen, eine Vermutung, die Robert Boyle in dem Massinger-Artikel des Dict. of Nat. Biogr. (vol. XXXVII p. 10 ff.; London 1894) acceptiert und die auch mir sehr beachtenswert erscheint. Die Quelle kennt diese Rivalen Bertoldo's nicht. Jedenfalls stellt Comiolas kräftige Ausdrucksweise dem Könige gegenüber (Act IV sc. 5) dem politischen Manne-

The Picture.[1]) — Der böhmische Ritter Mathias zieht in den Krieg, nachdem er von einem Magier ein Bild Sophia's, seiner Gattin, erhalten hat, dessen Farbe ihm jede Untreue der Frau verraten soll. Durch seine Tapferkeit bald zu hohem Ansehen gelangt, weckt Mathias, das Lob seiner Gattin verkündend, die Eifersucht der ehrgeizigen Honoria, der vergötterten Gattin des ungarischen Königs Ladislaus. Sie sendet zwei Höflinge ab, welche Sophia's gepriesene Keuschheit gefährden sollen, und übernimmt dem Ritter gegenüber selbst die Rolle der Versucherin. Ein doppelter Sieg der Gattentreue krönt das schön und fest gebaute Stück.

Das Zauberbild und die List der Gattin, mit welcher sie sich die ungestümen Werber vom Leibe hält und bestraft, hat Massinger einer von Painter (II 28) übersetzten Novelle Bandello's (I 21) entlehnt;[2]) die psychologisch fesselnde und

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mute Massinger's das beste Zeugnis aus. In einem sehr lesenswerten Aufsatze: *The Political Element in Massinger* (Contemp. Review 1876 vol. XXVIII p. 495 ff.) hat der Historiker S. R. Gardiner versucht, die Handlungsweise des sizilianischen Königs Roberto in unserem Drama als eine Kritik des Verhaltens der zeitgenössischen Könige Englands, James I und Charles I, zu erklären. Wie Roberto sich entschieden weigert, zu gunsten des Herzogs von Urbino Krieg zu führen (Act I sc. 1, p. 11 ff.), waren James und später auch sein Sohn abgeneigt, die Ansprüche ihres Verwandten, des böhmischen Winterkönigs, mit den Waffen zu verteidigen. Die Ähnlichkeit besteht; aber jetzt, nach der Feststellung der Quelle, wissen wir, dass die Kriegsunlust des Königs kein von Massinger eingeführtes Motiv ist: schon in der Painter'schen Novelle ist zu lesen, dass der König von Sizilien seinen Unterthanen verboten hatte, den Kriegszug nach Lipari mitzumachen, und sehr erzürnt gegen alle Teilnehmer war: *King Pietro . . ., for that* [*Rowlande's*] *warres had no better successe, and done contrary to his commaundement, conceyued displeasure so wel agaynst him, as all others, which were at that battell* (l. c. p. 357). Deshalb weigert er sich, Rowland's Lösegeld zu zahlen.

[1]) Cf. Gifford vol. III p. 111 ff. Lic. 1629, June 8; gedruckt 1630.

[2]) Cf. Gifford l. c. p. 113, welcher seine Quellenkunde einem mir nicht zugänglichen Werke verdankt: „The Companion to the Playhouse". Über eine metrische, von Gifford auch erwähnte Version Whetstone's vgl. Studien p. 31 f., ein Einfluss dieses Gedichtes auf unser Drama ist mir nicht wahrscheinlich. Langbaine hatte die Ge-

das dramatische Interesse bedeutend steigernde Gestalt der ehrsüchtigen Königin ist seine Schöpfung, wie denn überhaupt das ganze Drama eine seiner besten Leistungen ist.

Die Versuchung der verlassenen Sophia erinnert uns an die Drangsale Imogen's, und es ist beachtenswert, dass sich ihre Versucher zuerst desselben Mittels bedienen, mit welchem Iachimo Imogen's Reinheit zu erschüttern versucht: Mathias wird von den Höflingen ebenso verläumdet, eines ausschweifenden Lebenswandels und vieler Buhlschaften bezichtigt (Act III sc. 6, p. 187 ff.), wie Posthumus von Iachimo (Act I sc. 5). Die Novelle bot Massinger keine Anregung für diese Verläumdungs-Scene. Anderseits hat er, wohl um die allzu grosse Ähnlichkeit mit dem Shakespeare'schen Drama zu vermeiden, das in der Quelle stark betonte Motiv der Wette nicht verwertet, sondern sehr glücklich durch die Eifersucht der Königin ersetzt.

4) Heywood und Massinger.

A Challenge for Beauty.[1]) — Zwei Handlungen, durcheinander gemischt, wie zwei Kartenspiele, ohne jede

schichte gelesen *in a Book of Novels in octavo, call'd „The Fortunate Deceiv'd, and Unfortunate Lovers", see Nov. 4 of the „Deceiv'd Lovers"*, einer öfters erwähnten Novellen-Sammlung, von der ich leider noch nicht Einsicht nehmen konnte. Über die Sage von dem Zauberbild cf. Dunlop-Liebrecht p. 287 und Anm. 368; Landau „Quellen" p. 141. Die grösste Ähnlichkeit mit der Novelle Bandello's zeigt ein me. Gedicht: „The Wright's Chaste Wife . . . A Merry Tale by Adam of Cobsam, from a Ms. . . . about 1462 a. d. copied and edited by F. J. Furnivall", London 1865 (EETS. 12); „Supplement" und „Additional Analogues to The W.'s Ch. W." by W. A. Clouston, London 1886 (EETS. 84). Von seiner Schwiegermutter erhält dieser Zimmermeister einen Rosenkranz, dessen Frische von der Treue seiner Gattin abhängt. Drei Männer erfahren das Geheimnis dieses Kranzes und thun ihr Möglichstes, ihn verwelken zu lassen, aber die tugendhafte und kluge Frau bringt es zuwege, einen nach dem anderen einzusperren, und sie zu zwingen, sich ihr tägliches Brot mit Spinnen zu verdienen, genau wie in der italienischen Fassung.

[1]) Cf. Heywood's Works (London 1874, in 6 vols.) vol. V p. 1 ff. Aufgeführt 1635 (?); gedruckt 1636.

organische Verbindung. Isabella, Königin von Spanien, verbannt den edlen Bonavida, der ihr nicht unbedingt den Ehrenpreis der höchsten Schönheit und Tugend zuerkennen will. Landesverwiesen soll er bleiben, bis er eine ihr in diesen Eigenschaften ebenbürtige Frau gefunden habe; kehrt er ohne einen solchen Phönix zurück, so muss er sterben. In England findet der Spanier das gesuchte Idealbild holder Weiblichkeit, triumphierend eilt er in seine Heimat zurück, unklugerweise allein. Die eifersüchtige Königin will seinen Worten keinen Glauben schenken, lässt ihn ins Gefängnis werfen und entsendet zwei Höflinge, welche die Tugend der Engländerin Helena versuchen sollen. — So weit wandelt Heywood m. E. vollkommen auf den Spuren Massinger's, dessen Drama „The Picture" vor wenigen Jahren beifällig aufgenommen worden war. Heywood's ehrgeizige Königin ist eine noch wesentlich unliebenswürdigere Nachfolgerin der Königin Honoria; Heywood's König Sebastian ist ebenso schwächlich, ebenso *woman-ridden*, wie König Ladislaus; Heywood's Bonavida vertritt zuerst den protestlerischen Eubulus, welcher Honoria's Einfluss zu beschränken sucht, und späterhin den auf die Keuschheit seiner Gattin pochenden Mathias; Heywood's zwei Höflinge sind farblose Kopien der Honoria umschmeichelnden und von ihr gegen die keusche Sophia entsandten Höflinge Massinger's. Das Plagiat schreit.

Die Hauptaufgabe der Heywood'schen Höflinge ist, sich eines Ringes zu bemächtigen, welchen Helena von dem scheidenden Bonavida erhalten hat, als nie zu veräusserndes Pfand. Durch Bestechung einer Dienerin gelangen sie, ohne Helena selbst gesehen zu haben, in den Besitz des Ringes, und mit diesem Kleinod in der Hand befleckt die Königin Helena's Tugend — Bonavida's Leben ist verwirkt. Im letzten Augenblick erscheint Helena und klagt einen der beiden Höflinge an, dass er ihr, nachdem er in ihren Armen ihre Gunst genossen, einen kostbaren Pantoffel gestohlen habe. Der Höfling beteuert, dieses ihn beschuldigende Weib nie gesehen zu haben: der Beweis, dass er den verhängnisvollen Ring nicht von ihr erhalten haben kann, ist erbracht. Die Königin bereut, die Liebenden werden vereinigt. —

Dieser zweite Teil der Haupthandlung zeigt die grösste Übereinstimmung mit dem ernsten Plane einer 1567 gedruckten spanischen Komödie, der „Eufemia" des Lope de Rueda.[1]) Auch in dem spanischen Stücke rühmt sich ein Bösewicht der Gunst eines keuschen Mädchens, wodurch der die Reinheit seiner Schwester preisende Bruder in Todesgefahr gerät, auch bei Rueda wird die Rechtfertigung des Mädchens und die Rettung des Verurteilten bewerkstelligt durch die listige Vorspiegelung eines unter gleichen Umständen erfolgten Diebstahls. Dass die einem Muttermale der Eufemia abgeschnittenen Härchen, welche der spanische Bösewicht einer Dienerin der Dame abgeschmeichelt und als Beweis ihres intimen Verkehrs eingeliefert hatte, bei Heywood durch einen Ring ersetzt sind, ist eine sehr vernünftige, den Forderungen der Bühne genügende Änderung, bei welcher Heywood allenfalls an das von dem scheidenden Posthumus der Imogen geschenkte, von Iachimo entwendete und als Beweis ihrer Schuld verwertete Armband gedacht haben könnte.

Gleichwohl glaube auch ich nicht, dass wir zwischen Rueda's Komödie und Heywood's Drama eine gerade Verbindungslinie ziehen dürfen. Eufemia bezichtigt ihren Verleumder des Diebstahles eines Kleinods, welches er von ihrem Kopfpolster mitgenommen habe:[2]) Helena spricht von einem kostbaren Pantoffel (*slipper*), dessen Genossen sie dem König zeigt. Dass wir es in diesem Falle mit einer willkürlichen Abweichung Heywood's zu thun haben, ist nicht anzunehmen, weil in einigen dieselbe Geschichte erzählenden italienischen Volksmärchen die unschuldige Frau auch den Diebstahl eines mit Gold gefüllten Stiefels oder eines mit

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[1]) Cf. Rapp p. 50. Wegen der „ziemlich korrekten spanischen Eigennamen, die aber zu denen des Rueda nicht stimmen", vermutet Rapp für Heywood eine andere spanische Quelle. Eine eingehende Analyse der „Eufemia" steht in J. L. Klein's „Geschichte des spanischen Dramas" im 2. Bande (Leipzig 1872) p. 144 ff.

[2]) Ein spanischer Text der Eufemia ist mir nicht zugänglich. Klein spricht l. c. p. 156 von einem ‚Schmuck': Moritz Rapp „Spanisches Theater" (Hildburghausen 1868). 1. Band p. 237 übersetzt: ‚ein sehr kostbares Kleinod'.

Juwelen geschmückten Pantoffels angibt, unter Vorzeigung des anderen noch in ihrem Besitze befindlichen Stiefels resp. Pantoffels.[1]) Es ist mir deshalb höchst wahrscheinlich, dass Heywood's unmittelbare Quelle irgend eine Prosa-Fassung der Geschichte war, in welcher ein Stiefel oder Pantoffel das corpus delicti war.

Die Springfeder der Nebenhandlung ist die selbstlose Freundschaft zweier Männer, eines der am weitesten verästelten Motive der Welt-Literatur. Der Spanier Valladaura liebt die ihn schnöde behandelnde Petrocella, er bittet den Engländer Ferrers, der durch Valladaura's Edelmut aus seinem Feinde in den treuesten Freund verwandelt worden ist, bei der spröden Schönen für ihn zu werben. Petrocella's und Ferrers' Herzen fliegen sich entgegen, sie gestehen sich ihre Liebe, nichtsdestoweniger fordert Ferrers als höchsten Beweis ihrer Gunst: *Love noble Valladaura, | And at his soonest appointment marry him!* (Act IV sc. 1, p. 49). Der Spanier hat dieses Zwiegespräch belauscht, unbemerkt; er bestimmt Ferrers, ihn als Priester verkleidet mit Petrocella zu vermählen, und nach der Trauung verlangt er, dass der Freund die erste Nacht bei seiner jungen Gattin zubringe, ohne sie zu berühren. Ferrers besteht auch diese Probe, Valladaura verzichtet zu seinen gunsten auf die Braut.

Diese unerquickliche Freundschafts-Geschichte, welche dramatisiert doppelt unangenehm wirkt, erinnert uns sofort an die Erlebnisse der Freunde Alexander und Lodovicus, welche in der „Historia Septem Sapientum" von dem Sohne des Kaisers erzählt werden.[2]) Die Prinzessin Florentina liebt Alexander und wird von Lodovicus geliebt, worauf

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[1]) Cf. Landau „Quellen" p. 143.

[2]) Cf. Georg Buchner's Ausgabe der „Historia Septem Sapientum nach der Innsbrucker Handschrift etc." Erlangen und Leipzig 1889, p. 71 ff.; Kölbing in der Einleitung seiner Ausgabe von „Amis and Amiloun" (Heilbronn 1884) p. CXXIX; Paul Petras „Über die me. Fassungen der Sage von den sieben weisen Meistern", Grünberg 1885, p. 48; Paul Schwieger „Die Sage von Amis und Amiles", Jahresbericht über das Kgl. Friedrich Wilhelm-Gymnasium etc. (Berlin 1885, Programm 54) p. 28 ff. Auf die späteren Schicksale der Alexander und Lodovicus-Sage in England sind diese Gelehrten nicht eingegangen.

Alexander so dringlich für den Freund wirbt, dass er ihm die Braut gewinnt; späterhin hat der neuvermählte Alexander Anlass, dem Freunde seinen Platz an der Seite seiner jungen Gattin einzuräumen, wobei sich Lodovicus' Treue bewährt: genau dieselben Freundschafts-Proben wie in Heywood's Drama. Die Sage von Alexander und Lodovicus, ein Abklatsch der weitverbreiteten Amicus- und Amelius-Sage, scheint diese in der englischen Literatur des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts ganz verdrängt zu haben. Aus dem letzten Dezennium haben wir Kunde von einem Drama, betitelt „Alexander and Lodowick", Henslowe führt es in seinem Diary am 14. Januar 1597 als *n[ew] e[nterlude]* an und verzeichnet bis zum 15. Juli desselben Jahres fünfzehn Vorstellungen. Dass dieses uns leider nicht erhaltene Stück eine gewisse Zugkraft besessen haben muss, wird uns am schlagendsten dadurch bewiesen, dass sich der ausschliesslich praktischen Beweggründen Rechnung tragende Henslowe noch im Jahre 1598 veranlasst fühlte, das Drama käuflich zu erwerben.[1]) Überliefert ist uns ein nicht datiertes Flugblatt mit einer *black letter* Ballade, welche ihre Entstehung möglicherweise der Popularität dieses Dramas verdankt: *The pleasant History of Alexander and Lodwicke, who were so like one another, that none could know them asunder; wherein is declared how Lodwicke married the Princesse of Hungaria in Alexander's name, and how each night he layd a naked sword betweene him and the Princesse, because he would not wrong his friend. To the tune of „Flying Fame".*[2]) Zeitgenössische Dramatiker erwähnen die Freunde als bekannte Typen, wie wir heute von Orest und Pylades sprechen, so

[1]) Cf. F. G. Fleay's „Chronicle History of the London Stage 1559—1642" (London 1890) pp. 100, 103, 105. In Collier-Hazlitt's „Shakespeare-Library" (London 1875), Part I vol. IV p. 180 ist ein holländisches Drama von Alexander und Lodwick erwähnt, gedruckt in Amsterdam 1618, möglicherweise eine Bearbeitung des verlorenen englischen Stückes. Eine Arbeit, welche die Beziehungen des holländischen Dramas zu dem englischen im 17. Jahrhundert zusammenfassend darstellen würde, wäre hochwillkommen.

[2]) Cf. Hazlitt's Handbook p. 6. Einen Neudruck dieser Ballade bietet Thomas Evans in den „Old Ballads, Historical and Narrative", in 4 vols., London 1810 (2nd Ed.); vol. I p. 77 ff.

z. B. Thomas Dekker, der in seinem „Satiromastix“ (1602) den Captain Tucca zu Horace sagen lässt: *Thou and I henceforth will bee Alexander and Lodwicke, the Gemini*;[1]) John Cooke in „Greenes Tu quoque: or, The Cittie Gallant“ (1614): *O, you pretty sweet-faced rogues! That for your countenances might be Alexander and Lodwick;*[2]) John Webster, dessen „Duchess of Malfi“ (ca. 1612?) im Scherz zu ihrem Gatten sagt: *If you please, | Like the old tale in Alexander and Lodowick, | Lay a naked sword between us, keep us chaste* (Act I sc. 2).[3]) Bei dieser Popularität der beiden Freunde hat es gar nichts Überraschendes, dass sich der stets stoffhungrige Heywood ihre Geschichte für seine Zwecke zurechtstutzte.

Konstruktionsfehler, wie Bonavida's unverständlicher und gänzlich unmotivierter Entschluss, allein, ohne Helena, nach Spanien zurückzukehren (Act II, p. 21) — Geschmacklosigkeiten, wie Petrocella's angebliche Ermordung ihres Gatten in der Brautnacht, eine hochtragische Scene, die mit allgemeinem Gelächter schliesst (Act V, p. 60) — Gemeinheiten, wie die blödsinnige Hosen-Abhandlung, mit welcher Heywood die Ohren Helena's beleidigen lässt (Act III, p. 43 f.), verderben uns die Freude an der romantischen Handlung. Die Sprache ist dünnflüssig, voll abgebrauchter, hastig wiederholter Theaterphrasen. Einige auffälligere Bilder könnte Heywood seinem Zeitgenossen Webster entlehnt haben. Sein Ferrers sagt: *My friend and I | Like two chaine-bullets, side by side, will fly | Thorow the jawes of death* (Act II, p. 26), wie

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[1]) Cf. Works vol. I p 235.

[2]) Cf. Dodsley-Hazlitt vol. XI p. 239.

[3]) Cf. Hazlitt's Ausgabe vol. II p. 178. Später im 17. Jahrhundert hat ein gewisser Francis Kirkman eine Version der „Hist. Septem Sap.“ veröffentlicht unter dem Titel „The History of Prince Erastus and the seven wise Masters of Rome“, London 1674, wozu Collier, Bibliogr. and Crit. Account, vol. I p. 436 bemerkt: *The latter part of his 'Erastus' is made up of the story of an old play called 'Alexander and Lodowick'.* Von diesem alten Drama wird Kirkman wohl nicht viel mehr gewusst haben als wir, seine Publikation geht vermutlich über eine französische Brücke, auf die 1542 zuerst gedruckte, italienische Fassung der 'Hist. septem Sap.' zurück, auf „I compassionevoli avvenimenti di Erasto“ (cf. Landau „Quellen“ p. 59).

Webster's Bosola gesagt hatte: *Your brother and yourself are worthy men | . . . and your vengeance, | Like two chain'd bullets, still goes arm in arm* (Duchess of Malfi, Act IV sc. 2);[1]) Valladaura klagt: *All my attempts | Like curses shall against the winde flie back | In mine owne face and soile it* (Act IV, p. 57) — Worte, die wie ein verstümmeltes Echo von Vittoria's kraftvoller Verteidigung klingen: *For your names | Of whore and murderess, they proceed from you, | As if a man should spit against the wind: | The filth returns in's face* (White Devil, Act 3 sc. 2).[2]) Der Nachahmer hat das energische Bild verdorben, Flüche beschmutzen nicht.

[1]) Cf. Hazlitt's Ausgabe vol. II p. 250: Anglia XII 139 ist ein älteres Beispiel dieses Bildes verzeichnet, aus Fairefax' Tasso.'

[2]) Cf. ib. p. 60.

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Nachträge.

Während des Druckes der vorstehenden Abhandlung erschienen folgende ihr Gebiet streifende Werke: „English Writers" vol. XI (London 1895): *Shakespeare and his Time: under James I.* By Henry Morley and W. Hall Griffin. Die im zwölften und dreizehnten Kapitel dieses Bandes (p. 216 ff.) gelieferte Skizze der dramatischen Thätigkeit Ben Jonson's und der Freunde Beaumont und Fletcher bietet der Quellenforschung nichts Neues. In der Bibliographie Fletcher's (p. 379 ff.) sind bei jedem einzelnen der fraglichen Dramen die verschiedenen Ansichten über die Autorschaft verzeichnet. — „Contributo allo studio della novella francese del XV e XVI secolo considerata specialmente nelle sue attinenze con la letteratura italiana." Da Pietro Toldo. Roma 1895. In dieser interessanten Arbeit sind anlässlich französischer Imitationen verschiedene der von mir als Quellen erwähnten italienischen Novellen berührt; zu einer neuen Quelle für die noch nicht unter Dach und Fach gebrachten englischen Dramen hat sie mir jedoch nicht verholfen. — „John Marston als Dramatiker" von Ph. Aronstein (ESt. XXI 28 ff.). In dieser Fortsetzung seines p. 33 Anm. 1 citierten Aufsatzes hat Aronstein, der auf der Bullen'schen Ausgabe fusst, auch Marston's Quellen kurz besprochen und mir auf diese Weise eine sehr willkommene Kontrolle meiner Ausführungen gewährt. Die von mir als eigene Beobachtung hervorgehobene Ähnlichkeit der Lorenzo-Pedringano- und Piero-Strotzo-

Episoden (vergl. oben p. 23) ist auch bei Aronstein erwähnt (l. c. p. 35). Dass der „Thyestes“ des Seneca Marston's „Antonio and Mellida“ auch stofflich beeinflusst haben kann — „die scheinbar freundschaftliche Aufnahme des Andrugio durch seinen Feind und die spätere Zerstückelung des kleinen Julio sind wohl diesem Drama entlehnt“ (l. c. p. 35) — möchte ich nicht bestreiten. Zwischen der „Carthaginoise“ des Montchrestien und der Marston'schen Sophonisba darf keine Verbindungslinie gezogen werden, die beiden Dramen sind durchaus verschieden komponiert. Aronstein's wohl auf Andrae zurückgehende Notiz: „In dieser Bearbeitung kommt nämlich auch wie bei Marston eine Zauberei vor“ (l. c. p. 52), ist irrtümlich. Das übernatürliche Element der französischen Tragödie beschränkt sich auf einen der üblichen, prologisierenden Seneca-Geister, auf eine Furie, welche vor dem dritten Akte weitere Gräuel in Aussicht stellt, mit der Handlung selbst aber nichts zu schaffen hat. Marston's Hexen- und Geisterspuk stammt aus Lucan und — m. E. — aus Shakespeare's Macbeth. Zu den übrigen Stellen, an welchen meine Darstellung, kürzend oder zumeist erweiternd, von Aronstein's Mitteilungen abweicht, habe ich nichts zu bemerken. — Der p. 25 Anm. 1 citierte Aufsatz der Zeitschrift Poet Lore (II, 1890 No. 6 und 7) ist, wie mir Herr Hans H. Busse freundlichst mitteilt, von L. M. Griffiths verfasst und beschäftigt sich nur mit den Shakespeare-Anklängen des Doppelspieles von „Antonio and Mellida“. — P. 58 z. 14 v. o. lies Cap. CLII p. 677 ff. — Zu p. 83 Anm. 2 ist jetzt noch auf einen Aufsatz von Gaston Paris zu verweisen, betitelt *La légende du mari aux deux femmes*, veröffentlicht in dem Sammelbande „*La Poésie du Moyen Age, Leçons et Lectures. Deuxième Série*“ (Paris 1895), p. 109 ff.

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